INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI®

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

The late Ottoman *En'am-ı şerif:*
Sacred text and images in an Islamic prayer book.

by

Alexandra Bain
B. A., Simon Fraser University, 1988
M. A., University of Victoria, 1992

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of History in Art

We accept this dissertation as conforming
to the required standard

Dr. S. Anthony Welch, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

Dr. Nancy Micklewright, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

Dr. John Osborne, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

Dr. Harold Coward, Outside Member (Department of History)

Dr. Jere L. Bacharach, External Examiner (Director, Henry Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington)

© Alexandra Bain, 1999
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This dissertation may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopying or other means, without the permission of the author.

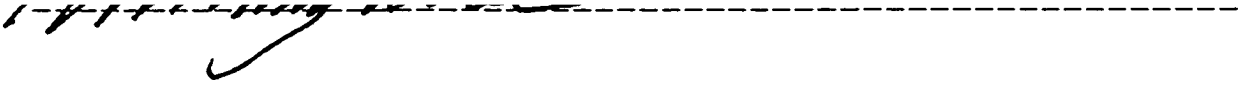
Supervisor: Dr. S. Anthony Welch

ABSTRACT

The inclusion of representational imagery in a sacred context is extremely rare in the history of Islamic art. This dissertation examines the evolution of the Ottoman *En'am-ı şerif*, a group of manuscripts dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, in which sacred text was illuminated by sacred art. In the early period, the content of these prayer books consisted of entire chapters of the Qur'an and various prayers. In the seventeenth century, calligraphic images known as *hilye* were added, consisting of textual descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, representational images of the Prophet's mantle, hand, footprint, sandal, sword, and other relics were included for the sake of their *baraka*, the Divine grace that emanates from God and passes to ordinary people through the prophets and saints, or the objects that they touch.

That Ottoman Islam was heavily influenced by Sufism is apparent in the *En'am-ı şerif*. Its calligraphers and patrons were members or affiliates of the various Sufi orders, and they were also frequently highly placed members of the ruling class. At the same time that the Ottomans were defending themselves against the rise of European nationalism, Islam came under attack from within as the Wahhabi movement challenged the Ottoman sultan's role as protector of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. It is not surprising that Sufi calligraphers chose this precise moment to transform a simple book containing Qur'anic text and prayers into an elaborate manuscript combining sacred text with images of sacred places and objects. In addition to reinforcing the spiritual aspects of Islam that had come under attack from the fundamentalist movement, the artists of the *En'am-ı şerif* also made a strong political statement by choosing to present these images in such a way as to highlight the Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the caliphate and protectors of Islam.

Examiners:



Dr. S. Anthony Welch, Supervisor (Department of History in Art)

Dr. Nancy Micklewright, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

Dr. John Osborne, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)

Dr. Harold Coward, Outside Member (Department of History)

Dr. Jere L. Bacharach, External Examiner (Director, Henry Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page p. i

Abstract p. ii

Table of Contents p. iv

A List of Manuscripts p. vii

A List of Figures and Plates p. viii

Glossary p.xviii

Acknowledgements p. xxii

Dedication p. xxiv

INTRODUCTION p. 1

I. Methodology p. 3
II. Field work p. 8
III. Chapter outline p. 13
IV. A note on dating and transliteration systems p. 16

CHAPTER ONE - The late eighteenth-century Ottoman milieu.

I. Introduction p. 17
II. Internal revolt in the empire: the Wahhabis p. 18
III. Ottoman Islam and Sufism: the Naqshbandis p. 33
IV. Sufism and the Ottoman calligraphers and patrons p. 36

CHAPTER TWO - Prayers and prayer books.

I. The concept of *baraka* and *tabbaruk* p. 42
II. Prayers and prayer books in Islam p. 46
II. 1. The *Dala'il al-khayrat* p. 48
II. 2. The *En'am* p. 49
II. 2a. The pre-Ottoman *En'am* p. 50
II. 2b. The sixteenth-century *En'am* p. 52

III. The seventeenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* p. 58
III. 1. The *'asma al-husna.* p. 59
III. 2. *Zikr* p. 61
IV. The late eighteenth and nineteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* p. 63
IV. 1. *Du'a* p. 63
IV. 2. *Salawat* p. 68

CHAPTER THREE - Calligraphic images in the *En'am-ı şerif*: *hilye, muhr* and the practice of *ta'viz.*

I. The *hilye* p. 70
II. The *muhr* p. 78
III. The practice of *ta'viz* p. 79
IV. The *muhr khatim al-nubuwwat,* or the Seal of Prophethood p. 94
V. The *muhr al-ashab al-kahf,*
or the Seal of the Companions of the Cave (the Seal of the Seven Sleepers) p. 96
VI. The *muhr shifa'a al-Qur'an,* or the Seals of Qur'anic Healing p. 99
VI. 1. The *ta'viz* used against the evil eye p. 100
VI. 2. The *ta'viz* used against illness p. 103
VII. The *muhr of ayat al-kursi,* or the Seal of the Throne Verse p. 107
VIII. The *muhr kabir,* or the Great Seal p. 108
IX. The *muhr* of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq p. 110
X. The *muhr* Süleyman, or the Seal of Solomon p. 114
X. 1. The Seal of Solomon/Seal of the Names of God p. 116
XI. The *muhr* of *"Inna Allah 'ala kulli shay'in qadir,"*
or *"Verily, Allah hath power over all things."* p. 117
XII. The *'Ayn 'ala Allah,* or "An eye upon God." p. 118

CHAPTER FOUR - Miniature paintings in the *En'am-ı şerif.*

I. Religious imagery in Islam p. 124
II. Eighteenth-century Ottoman painting p. 134
III. The images of the *En'am-ı şerif.*
III. 1. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina p. 138
III. 1a. 12th. C. Pilgrimage certificate p. 138
III. 1b. 16th C. Pilgrimage guides p. 139
III. 1c. The *Dala'il al-khayrat* p. 141
III. 1d. The *En'am-ı şerif* p. 142
III. 2. The *Qadam şerif* (The Prophet's Footprint) p. 146
III. 3. *Zülfikar* (The Prophet's/'Ali's Sword) p. 148

III 4. The *Pence şerif* (The Prophet's Hand) p. 150
III. 5. The *Na'l şerif* (The Prophet's Sandal) p. 152
III. 6. The *Mukhallafat* (The Prophet's Relics) p. 154
III. 7. The *Liwa al-hamd* (The Prophet's Flag of Praise) p. 158
III. 8. The *Sancak-ı şerif* (The Prophet's Sacred Banner) p. 162

CHAPTER FIVE - Conclusion p. 164

BIBLIOGRAPHY p. 170

APPENDIX I p. 190

APPENDIX II p. 347

FIGURES & PLATES p. 364

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

Catalogue #1: **TSM R70**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 190
Catalogue #2: **Nuri Arlasez 245**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 193
Catalogue #3: **Ayasofya 19/1 M**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 195
Catalogue #4: **Ali Emiri Arabı 10**, Fatih Millet Library, Istanbul. p. 196
Catalogue #5: **TSM EH 307**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 198
Catalogue #6: **Hasan Hüsnü Pasa 103**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 199
Catalogue #7: **TSM EH 355**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 201
Catalogue #8: **TSM EH 324**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 203
Catalogue #9: **TSM EH 322**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 205
Catalogue #10: **Yazma Bağislar 265**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 208
Catalogue #11: **TSM EH 365**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 211
Catalogue #12: **TSM EH 394**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 218
Catalogue #13: **TSM EH 395**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 220
Catalogue #14: **OR 4251**, British Museum Library, London. p. 222
Catalogue #15: **Halet Ef. 5**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 224
Catalogue #16: **UVic 95-014**, U. of Victoria Library, Victoria, B.C. p. 228
Catalogue #17: **TSM EH 371**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 254
Catalogue #18: **Pertevniyal 43**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 257
Catalogue #19: **IUL 5197**, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul. p. 267
Catalogue #20: **IUL 6386**, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul. p. 284
Catalogue #21: **IUL 5756**, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul. p. 289
Catalogue #22: **Ismirli I. Hakki 1509**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 298
Catalogue #23: **TSM YY 874**, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul. p. 300
Catalogue #24: **IUL 5573**, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul. p. 301
Catalogue #25: **Düğümlü Baba 491**, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul. p. 310
Catalogue #26: **Spencer Turk 9**, New York Public Library, New York. p. 318
Catalogue #27: **M&A Arab 22**, New York Public Library, New York. p. 330
Catalogue #28: **IUL 5619**, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul. p. 338

A LIST OF FIGURES AND PLATES

figure 1.1. TSM R70, cover p. 364
figure 1. 2. TSM R70, ff. 1v-2. p. 364
figure 1.3. TSM R70, f. 1. p. 365
figure 1.4. TSM R70, ff. 70v-71. p. 365
figure 2. 1. Nuri Arlasez 245, cover p. 366
figure 2. 2. Nuri Arlasez 245, ff. 1v-2. p. 366
figure 2. 3. Nuri Arlasez 245, f. 29v. p. 367
figure 3. 1. Ayasofya 19/1 M, cover p. 368
figure 3. 2. Ayasofya 19/1 M, ff. 1v-2. p. 368
figure 3. 3. Ayasofya 19/1 M, f. 21v. p. 369
figure 4. 1. Ali Emiri Arabı10, cover p. 370
figure 4. 2. Ali Emiri Arabı 10, ff. 129v-130. p. 370
figure 5. 1. TSM EH 307, ff. 1v-2. p. 371
figure 6. 1. H. Hüsnü Pasa 103, cover p. 372
figure 6. 2. H. Hüsnü Pasa 103, ff. 1v-2. p. 372
figure 6. 3. H. Hüsnü Pasa 103, f. 120. p. 373
figure 7. 1. TSM EH 355, cover p. 374
figure 7. 2. TSM EH 355, ff. 1v-2. p. 374
figure 8. 1. TSM EH 324, cover p. 375
figure 8. 2. TSM EH 324, ff. 1v-2. p. 375
figure 8. 3. TSM EH 324, ff. 38v-39. p. 376
figure 9. 1. TSM EH 322, ff. 1v-2. p. 377
figure 9. 2. TSM EH 322, ff. 60v-61. p. 377
figure 9. 3. TSM EH 322, ff. 61v-62. p. 378
figure 9. 4. TSM EH 322, ff. 62v-63. p. 378
figure 9. 5. TSM EH 322, ff. 63v-64. p. 379
figure 9. 6. TSM EH 322, ff. 64v-65. p. 379
figure 9. 7. TSM EH 322, ff. 65v-66. p. 380
figure 10. 1. Yazma Bağislar 265, ff. 1v-2. p. 381
figure 10. 2. Yazma Bağislar 265, ff. 48v-49. p. 381
figure 10. 3. Yazma Bağislar 265, ff. 49v-50. p. 382
figure 10. 4. Yazma Bağislar 265, ff. 49v-50. p. 382
figure 10. 5, Yazma Bağislar 265, ff. 54v-55. p. 383
figure 10. 6, Yazma Bağislar 265, ff. 62v-63. p. 383
figure 11. 1. TSM EH 365, ff. 69v-70. p. 384
figure 11. 2. TSM EH 365, ff. 70v-71. p. 384
figure 11. 3. TSM EH 365, ff. 71v-72. p. 385

figure 11. 4. TSM EH 365, ff. 72v-73. p. 385
figure 11. 5. TSM EH 365, ff. 73v-74. p. 386
figure 11. 6. TSM EH 365, ff. 74v-75. p. 386
figure 11. 7. TSM EH 365, ff. 75v-76. p. 387
figure 11. 8. TSM EH 365, ff. 76v-77. p. 387
figure 11. 9. TSM EH 365, ff. 77v-78. p. 388
figure 11. 10. TSM EH 365, ff. 78v-79. p. 388
figure 11. 11. TSM EH 365, ff. 79v-80. p. 389
figure 11. 12. TSM EH 365, ff. 80v-81. p. 389
figure 11.13. TSM EH 365, ff. 106v-107. p. 390
figure 12. 1. TSM EH 394, ff. 56v-57. p. 391
figure 13. 1. TSM EH 395, ff. 1v. p. 392
figure 13. 2. TSM EH 395, ff. 77v. p. 392
figure 13. 3. TSM EH 395, ff. 78. p. 392
figure 13. 4. TSM EH 395, ff. 96v. p. 393
figure 14. 1. OR 4251, ff. 8v-9. p. 394
figure 14. 2. OR 4251, ff. 72v-73. p. 394
figure 14. 3. OR 4251, ff. 73v-74. p. 395
figure 15. 1. Halet Efendi 5, cover (exterior). p. 396
figure 15. 2. Halet Efendi 5, cover (interior). p. 396
figure 15. 3. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 1v-2. p. 397
figure 15. 4. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 43v-45. p. 397
figure 15. 5. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 44v. p. 398
figure 15. 6. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 45. p. 398
figure 15. 7. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 45v-46. p. 398
figure 15. 8. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 109v-110. p. 399
figure 15. 9. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 120v-121. p. 399
figure 15. 10. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 135v-136. p. 400
figure 16. 1. UVic 95-014, cover. p. 401
figure 16. 2. UVic 95-014, p. 4. p. 402
figure 16. 3. UVic 95-014, p. 5. p. 402
figure 16. 4. UVic 95-014, p. 186. p. 402
figure 16. 5. UVic 95-014, p. 187. p. 402
figure 16. 6. UVic 95-014, p. 188. p. 403
figure 16. 7. UVic 95-014, p. 189. p. 403
figure 16. 8. UVic 95-014, p. 190. p. 403
figure 16. 9. UVic 95-014, p. 191. p. 403
figure 16. 10. UVic 95-014, p. 254. p. 404
figure 16. 11. UVic 95-014, p. 263. p. 404
figure 16. 12. UVic 95-014, p. 256. p. 404
figure 16. 13. UVic 95-014, p. 257. p. 404
figure 16. 14. UVic 95-014, p. 258. p. 405

figure 16. 15. UVic 95-014, p. 259. p. 405
figure 16. 16. UVic 95-014, p. 260. p. 405
figure 16. 17. UVic 95-014, p. 261. p. 405
figure 16. 18. UVic 95-014, p. 262. p. 406
figure 16. 19. UVic 95-014, p. 263. p. 406
figure 16. 20. UVic 95-014, p. 264. p. 406
figure 16. 21. UVic 95-014, p. 265. p. 406
figure 16. 22. UVic 95-014, p. 266. p. 407
figure 16. 23. UVic 95-014, p. 267. p. 407
figure 16. 24. UVic 95-014, p. 268. p. 407
figure 16. 25. UVic 95-014, p. 269. p. 407
figure 16. 26. UVic 95-014, p. 270. p. 408
figure 16. 27. UVic 95-014, p. 271. p. 408
figure 16. 28. UVic 95-014, p. 272. p. 408
figure 16. 29. UVic 95-014, p. 273. p. 408
figure 16. 30. UVic 95-014, p. 274. p. 409
figure 16. 31. UVic 95-014, p. 275. p. 409
figure 16. 32. UVic 95-014, p. 276. p. 409
figure 16. 33. UVic 95-014, p. 277. p. 409
figure 16. 34. UVic 95-014, p. 278. p. 410
figure 16. 35. UVic 95-014, p. 279. p. 410
figure 16. 36. UVic 95-014, p. 280. p. 410
figure 16. 37. UVic 95-014, p. 281. p. 410
figure 16. 38. UVic 95-014, p. 282. p. 411
figure 16. 39. UVic 95-014, p. 283. p. 411
figure 16. 40. UVic 95-014, p. 284. p. 411
figure 16. 41. UVic 95-014, p. 285. p. 411
figure 16. 42. UVic 95-014, p. 286. p. 412
figure 16. 43. UVic 95-014, p. 287. p. 412
figure 16. 44. UVic 95-014, p. 288. p. 412
figure 16. 45. UVic 95-014, p. 289. p. 412
figure 16. 46. UVic 95-014, p. 290. p. 413
figure 16. 47. UVic 95-014, p. 291. p. 413
figure 16. 48. UVic 95-014, p. 292. p. 413
figure 16. 49. UVic 95-014, p. 293. p. 413
figure 16. 50. UVic 95-014, p. 294. p. 414
figure 16. 51. UVic 95-014, p. 295. p. 414
figure 16. 52. UVic 95-014, p. 296. p. 414
figure 16. 53. UVic 95-014, p. 297. p. 414
figure 16. 54. UVic 95-014, p. 298. p. 415
figure 16. 55. UVic 95-014, p. 299. p. 415
figure 16. 56. UVic 95-014, p. 300. p. 415

figure 16. 57. UVic 95-014, p. 301. p. 415
figure 16. 58. UVic 95-014, p. 302. p. 416
figure 16. 59. UVic 95-014, p. 303. p. 416
figure 16. 60. UVic 95-014, p. 304. p. 416
figure 16. 61. UVic 95-014, p. 305. p. 416
figure 16. 62. UVic 95-014, p. 306. p. 417
figure 16. 63. UVic 95-014, p. 307. p. 417
figure 16. 64. UVic 95-014, p. 308. p. 417
figure 16. 65. UVic 95-014, p. 309. p. 417
figure 16. 66. UVic 95-014, p. 310. p. 418
figure 16. 67. UVic 95-014, p. 311. p. 418
figure 16. 68. UVic 95-014, p. 263. p. 418
figure 16. 69. UVic 95-014, p. 314. p. 419
figure 16. 70. UVic 95-014, p. 315. p. 419
figure 16. 71. UVic 95-014, p. 316. p. 419
figure 16. 72. UVic 95-014, p. 317. p. 419
figure 16. 73. UVic 95-014, p. 318. p. 420
figure 16. 74. UVic 95-014, p. 319. p. 420
figure 16. 75. UVic 95-014, p. 320. p. 420
figure 16. 76. UVic 95-014, p. 321. p. 420
figure 16. 77. UVic 95-014, p. 322. p. 421
figure 16. 78. UVic 95-014, p. 323. p. 421
figure 16. 79. UVic 95-014, p. 324. p. 421
figure 16. 80. UVic 95-014, p. 325. p. 421
figure 16. 81. UVic 95-014, p. 326. p. 422
figure 16. 82. UVic 95-014, p. 327. p. 422
figure 16. 83. UVic 95-014, p. 328. p. 422
figure 16. 84. UVic 95-014, p. 329. p. 422
figure 16. 85. UVic 95-014, p. 330. p. 423
figure 16. 86. UVic 95-014, p. 331. p. 423
figure 16. 87. UVic 95-014, p. 332. p. 423
figure 16. 88. UVic 95-014, p. 333. p. 423
figure 16. 89. UVic 95-014, p. 334. p. 424
figure 16. 90. UVic 95-014, p. 335. p. 424
figure 16. 91. UVic 95-014, p. 336. p. 424
figure 16. 92. UVic 95-014, p. 337. p. 424
figure 16. 93. UVic 95-014, p. 338. p. 425
figure 16. 94. UVic 95-014, p. 339. p. 425
figure 16. 95. UVic 95-014, p. 340. p. 425
figure 16. 96. UVic 95-014, p. 341. p. 425
figure 16. 97. UVic 95-014, p. 342. p. 426
figure 16. 98. UVic 95-014, p. 343. p. 426

figure 16. 99. UVic 95-014, p. 344. p. 426
figure 16. 100. UVic 95-014, p. 345. p. 426
figure 16. 101. UVic 95-014, p. 346. p. 427
figure 16. 102. UVic 95-014, p. 347. p. 427
figure 16. 103. UVic 95-014, p. 348. p. 427
figure 16. 104. UVic 95-014, p. 349. p. 427
figure 16. 105.UVic 95-014, p. 350. p. 428
figure 16. 106. UVic 95-014, p. 351. p. 428
figure 16. 107. UVic 95-014, p. 352. p. 428
figure 16. 108. UVic 95-014, p. 353. p. 428
figure 16. 109. UVic 95-014, p. 354. p. 429
figure 16. 110. UVic 95-014, p. 355. p. 429
figure 16. 111. UVic 95-014, p. 356. p. 429
figure 16.112. UVic 95-014, p. 357. p. 429
figure 16. 113. UVic 95-014, p. 358. p. 430
figure 16. 114. UVic 95-014, p. 359 p. 430
figure 16. 115. UVic 95-014, p. 359 p. 430
figure 16. 116. UVic 95-014, p. 360 p. 430
figure 16. 117. UVic 95-014, p. 362 p. 431
figure 16. 118. UVic 95-014, p. 363 p. 431
figure 16. 119. UVic 95-014, p. 364 p. 431
figure 16. 120. UVic 95-014, p. 365 p. 431
figure 16. 121. UVic 95-014, p. 366 p. 432
figure 16. 122. UVic 95-014, p. 367 p. 432
figure 16. 123. UVic 95-014, p. 368 p. 432
figure 16. 124. UVic 95-014, p. 369 p. 432
figure 16. 125. UVic 95-014, p. 370 p. 433
figure 16. 126. UVic 95-014, p. 371 p. 433
figure 16. 127. UVic 95-014, p. 372 p. 433
figure 16. 128. UVic 95-014, p. 373 p. 433
figure 16. 129. UVic 95-014, p. 374 p. 434
figure 16. 130. UVic 95-014, p. 375 p. 434
figure 16. 131. UVic 95-014, p. 376 p. 434
figure 16. 132. UVic 95-014, p. 377 p. 434
figure 16. 133. UVic 95-014, p. 378 p. 435
figure 16. 134. UVic 95-014, p. 379 p. 435
figure 16. 135. UVic 95-014, p. 380 p. 435
figure 16. 136. UVic 95-014, p. 381 p. 435
figure 16. 137. UVic 95-014, p. 382 p. 436
figure 16. 138. UVic 95-014, p. 383 p. 436
figure 16. 139. UVic 95-014, p. 384 p. 436
figure 16. 140. UVic 95-014, p. 385 p. 436

figure 16. 141. UVic 95-014, p. 386 p. 437
figure 16. 142. UVic 95-014, p. 387 p. 437
figure 16. 143. UVic 95-014, p. 388 p. 437
figure 16. 144. UVic 95-014, p. 389. p. 437
figure 16. 145. UVic 95-014, p. 390. p. 438
figure 16. 146. UVic 95-014, p. 391. p. 438
figure 16. 147. UVic 95-014, p. 392. p. 438
figure 16. 148. UVic 95-014, p. 393. p. 438
figure 16. 149. UVic 95-014, p. 394. p. 439
figure 16. 150. UVic 95-014, p. 395. p. 439
figure 16. 151. UVic 95-014, p. 396. p. 439
figure 16. 152. UVic 95-014, p. 397. p. 439
figure 16. 153. UVic 95-014, p. 398. p. 440
figure 16. 154. UVic 95-014, p. 399. p. 440
figure 16. 155. UVic 95-014, p. 400. p. 440
figure 16. 156. UVic 95-014, p. 401. p. 440
figure 16. 157. UVic 95-014, p. 402. p. 441
figure 16. 158. UVic 95-014, p. 403. p. 441
figure 16. 159. UVic 95-014, p. 404. p. 441
figure 16. 160. UVic 95-014, p. 405. p. 441
figure 16. 161. UVic 95-014, p. 406. p. 442
figure 16. 161. UVic 95-014, p. 407. p. 442
figure 17. 1. TSM EH 371, ff. 1v-2. p. 443
figure 17. 2. TSM EH 371, f. 105v. p. 443
figure 17. 3. TSM EH 371, f. 106. p. 443
figure 17. 4. TSM EH 371, f. 106v. p. 444
figure 18. 1. Pertevniyal 43, cover p. 445
figure 18. 2. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 1v-2. p. 446
figure 18. 3. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 29v-30. p. 446
figure 18. 4. Pertevniyal 43, ff.52v-53. p. 447
figure 18. 5. Pertevniyal 43, ff.53v-54. p. 447
figure 18. 6. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 54v-55. p. 448
figure 18. 7. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 55v-56. p. 448
figure 18. 8. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 56v-57. p. 449
figure 18. 9. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 57v-58. p. 449
figure 18. 10. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 58v-59. p. 450
figure 18. 11. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 59v-60. p. 450
figure 18. 12. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 60v-61. p. 451
figure 18. 13. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 63v-64. p. 451
figure 22. 1. Izmirli I Hakki 1509 cover. p. 452
figure 22. 2. Izmirli I Hakki 1509 p. 453
figure 22. 3. Izmirli I Hakki 1509 p. 453

figure 22. 4. Izmirli I. Hakki 1509 p. 454
figure 23. 1. TSM YY 874, cover p. 455
figure 23. 2. TSM YY 874 p. 455
figure 23. 3. TSM YY 874 p. 456
figure 25. 1. Düğümlü Baba 491, cover p. 457
figure 25. 2. Düğümlü Baba 491, ff. 1v-2 p. 457
figure 25. 3. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 63v p. 458
figure 25. 4. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 64 p. 458
figure 25. 5. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 64v p. 458
figure 25. 6. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 65 p. 458
figure 25. 7. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 65v p. 459
figure 25. 8. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 66 p. 459
figure 25. 9. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 66v p. 459
figure 25. 10. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 67 p. 459
figure 25.11. Düğümlü Baba 491. f.67v p. 460
figure 25.12. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 68 p. 460
figure 25.13. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 68v p. 460
figure 25. 14. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 69 p. 460
figure 25. 15. Düğümlü Baba 491, ff. 69v-70 p. 461
figure 25. 16. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 71v p. 461
figure 25. 17. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 72 p. 461
figure 25. 18. Düğümlü Baba 491, ff. 72v-73 p. 462
figure 25. 19. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 74v p. 462
figure 25. 20. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 75 p. 462
figure 25. 21 Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 75v p. 463
figure 25. 22. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 76 p. 463
figure 25. 23. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 76v p. 463
figure 25. 24. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 149v p. 464
figure 25. 25. Düğümlü Baba 491, f. 150 p. 464
figure 26. 1. Spencer Turk 9, cover p. 465
figure 26. 2. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 1v-2 p. 465
figure 26. 3. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 38v-39 p. 466
figure 26. 4. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 39v-40 p. 466
figure 26. 5. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 40v-41 p. 467
figure 26. 6. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 41v-42 p. 467
figure 26. 7. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 42v-43 p. 468
figure 26. 8. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 43v-44 p. 468
figure 26. 9. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 44v-45 p. 469
figure 26. 10. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 56v-57 p. 469
figure 26. 11. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 57v-58 p. 470
figure 26. 12. Spencer Turk 9, 58v-59 p. 470
figure 26. 13. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 59v-60 p. 471

figure 26. 14. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 60v-61 p. 471
figure 26. 15. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 61v-62 p. 472
figure 26. 16. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 61v-62 p. 472
figure 26. 17. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 63v-64 p. 473
figure 26. 18. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 64v-65 p. 473
figure 26. 19. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 65v-66 p. 474
figure 26. 20. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 66v-67 p. 474
figure 26. 21. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 67v-68 p. 475
figure 26. 22. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 68v-69 p. 475
figure 26. 23. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 69v-70 p. 476
figure 26. 24. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 70v-71 p. 476
figure 26. 25. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 71v-72 p. 477
figure 26. 26. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 74v-75 p. 477
figure 26. 27. Spencer Turk 9, f. 143 p. 478
figure 27. 1. M&A Arab 22, cover p. 479
figure 27. 2. M&A Arab 22, ff. 2v-3 p. 480
figure 27. 3. M&A Arab 22, ff. 158v-160 p. 480
figure 27. 4. M&A Arab 22, ff. 159v-160 p. 481
figure 27. 5. M&A Arab 22, ff. 160v-161 p. 481
figure 27. 6. M&A Arab 22, ff. 161v-162 p. 482
figure 27. 7. M&A Arab 22, ff. 162v-163 p. 482
figure 27. 8. M&A Arab 22, ff. 163v-164 p. 483
figure 27. 9. M&A Arab 22, ff. 164v-165 p. 483
figure 27. 10. M&A Arab 22, ff. 165v-166 p. 484
figure 27. 11. M&A Arab 22, ff. 166v-167 p. 484
figure 27. 12. M&A Arab 22, ff. 167v-168 p. 485
figure 27. 13. M&A Arab 22, ff. 168v-169 p. 485
figure 27. 14. M&A Arab 22, ff. 169v-170 p. 486
figure 27. 15. M&A Arab 22, ff. 170v-171 p. 486
figure 27. 16. M&A Arab 22, ff. 171v-172 p. 487
figure 27. 17. M&A Arab 22, ff. 172v-173 p. 487
figure 27. 18. M&A Arab 22, ff. 173v-174 p. 488
figure 27. 19. M&A Arab 22, ff. 194v-195 p. 488
figure 27. 20. M&A Arab 22, ff. 199v-200 p. 489
figure 27. 21. M&A Arab 22, ff. 200v-201 p. 489
figure 27. 22. M&A Arab 22, ff. 201v-202 p. 490
figure 27. 23. M&A Arab 22, ff. 202v-203 p. 490
figure 27.2 4. M&A Arab 22, ff. 203v-204 p. 491
figure 27. 25. M&A Arab 22, ff. 204v-205 p. 491
figure 27. 26. M&A Arab 22, ff. 205v-206 p. 492
figure 27. 27. M&A Arab 22, ff. 206v-207 p. 492

Plate 1: *Mizanü'l hatt*, f. 1v-2, Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, **Ali Emiri Efendi**, Fatih Millet Library, Istanbul. p. 493

Plate 2: Shaykh Nazim al-Haqqani, and Shaykh Hisham Kabbani. p. 494

Plate 3: "Peace be upon you, O Beloved of God," *Hırka-i sa'adet* Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul. p. 495

Plate 4: The Prophet's Tomb in Medina
Dala'il al-khayrat, by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ibn 'Ali al-Balansi al-Andalusi, 1025/1616, **M & A Arab 5**, The New York Public Library. p. 496

Plate 5: Exhibition pamphlet: "The Evil-Eye and Healing." May 22 to June 22, 1996, Yildiz Palace Museum, Istanbul. p. 497

Plate 6: Silver *muska* case from the exhibition "The Evil-Eye and Healing," May 22 to June 22, 1996, Yildiz Palace Museum in Istanbul. p. 498

Plates 7 and 7a: Talismanic undershirt from the tomb of Bayezid I, TIEM 539, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul.
Published in *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.*
eds. Ahmet Ertug et. al. Istanbul, 1993, Plates 24A-B. p. 499

Plate 8: Inscribed *shifa' tasi*, or healing bowl from the exhibition "The Evil-Eye and Healing," May 22 to June 22, 1996, Yildiz Palace Museum, Istanbul. p. 500

Plate 9: The angel Gabriel in his original form.
Mi'raj-nama of 1436 written in Herat by Malik Bakshi.
Bibliothéque Nationale, Supplèment Turc 190, f. 36.
Published in Marie-Rose Sèguy's *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet*, George Braziller: New York, 1977, Plate 33. p. 501

Plate 10: *Mi'raj-nama* of 1436 written in Herat by Malik Bakshi.
Bibliothéque Nationale, Supplèment Turc 190, f. 44.
Published in Marie-Rose Sèguy's *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet*, George Braziller: New York, 1977, Plate 38. p. 501

Plate 11: Engraving of the Palace at Versailles, c. 1720.
In Fatma Müge Göcek's, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century*, Oxford University Press: New York and Oxford, 1987, p. 76.
p. 502

Plates 12a and b: The Ka'ba, from a pilgrimage scroll prepared for the lady 'Umm Said, dated the 9th of *Dhu'l Hijja*, 584/January 29, 1189.
In Ahmet Ertug's, *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 9-10. Plate 7. p. 503

Plates 13: Image of the Ka'ba from Muhyi al-din ibn Lari's *Futuh al-haramayn*, dated 1540 C. E., **TSM R 917**, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul.
p. 504

Plate 14: A pilgrimage guide written in 990/1582, by Mahmud ibn Jan Mahmud of Balkh. **Harvard MA 1985.265A**, Harvard University Museum (previously in the Binney collection).
In Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland Art Museum: Portland, Oregon, 1979, p. 155. p. 504

Plate 15: Images of Mecca and Medina in a *Dala'il al-khayrat* by Yesarizade Ismail Efendi, dated 1155/1742. In U. Derman, Kõymet Giray, and Fulya Bodur Eruz, *Sabancı Collection*, Akbank Culture and Art Publication: 60, Istanbul, 1995, p. 40.
p. 505

Plate 16: *Qadam şerif*, or the Prophet's footprint, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul. p. 506

Plate 17: Nineteenth century ablution ewer and basin.
In Ahmet Ertug's, *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Istanbul, 1993. p. 507

GLOSSARY

Amme cüz'ü - last section of the Qur'an.
athar - relics.
aklam-ı sitte, the "six scripts," that would become the basis of later Ottoman calligraphy: *nesih, sülüs, muhakkak, reyhani, tevki'* and *rıka.*
al-ashab al-kahf - the Companions of the Cave, or the Seven Sleepers.
'asma al-husna - the Most Beautiful Names of God.
'asma al-nabi - the names of the Prophet Muhammad.
ayat - a verse of the Qur'an.
baraka - spiritual grace emanating from God that is transmitted through prophets and saintly people or the objects they have come in contact with.
beyne'setur - the illuminated space "between the lines" of text.
bida' - religious innovation.
cedvel - gold borders of a text.
cüz - thirtieth section or part of a Qur'an.
Dala'il al-khayrat - "The Index of Good Things," by Imam Jazuli, a fifteenth century Morrocan saint, containing daily devotions that focus on *salawat.*
dervish - a Sufi.
dhikr - the remembrance of God. A part of the Sufi liturgy.
du'a - invocations, supererogatory prayers.
En'am-ı şerif - a late Ottoman religious manuscript containing Qur'anic surahs, prayers and sacred images.
evrad - prayer litany used by a Sufi order.
Evrad-ı şerif - A manuscript containing the daily litany of prayers used by a Sufi order.
Fatiha - first surah, or chapter of the Qur'an.
faqir - a poor man, frequently used to indicate a dervish or a Sufi.
hadith - saying of the Prophet.
Hanafi - one of the four schools of orthodox (Sunni) Islamic law.
Hanbali - one of the four schools of orthodox (Sunni) Islamic law.
hataym - the semi-circular wall adjacent to the Ka'ba.
hatt - calligraphy, or "beautiful writing."
hijab - a word meaning amulet, synonymous with veil.
hilye - a textual description of a prophet or saintly person's physical and moral characteristics.
hilye şerif - a textual description of the Prophet Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics.
hırka - mantle, or cloak.
Hırka-i sa'adet - the area of the Topkapı Sarayı that houses relics of the Prophet Muhammed.

hirz - collection of prayers.
hizb - collection of prayers.
hizn - collection of prayers.
Hujra şerif - the Tomb of the Prophet.
icazet - (Arabic *ijaza*). Written text acknowledging a student's command of a certain body of knowledge and their teacher's permission to transmit that knowledge.
ijtihad - informed individual analysis, legal reasoning.
imam - religious leader.
'ilm al-huruf - the science of letters.
jihad - struggle in the way of God.
jinn - beings made of smokeless fire.
kafir - an unbeliever.
ketebehu - signature indicating the name of the calligrapher: "he wrote it."
ketkhuda-i rikab-i humayun - deputy director of the imperial court.
khalifa - authorized representative, or successor of a Sufi *shaykh*.
khalwa - period of seclusion undertaken by the order of a Sufi *shaykh*.
khatim al-nubuwwat - Seal of Prophethood.
kiswa - cloth covering the Ka'ba.
liwa al-hamd - the Prophet's Flag of Praise under which all Muslims will gather on the Day of Judgment in hope of gaining his intercession.
madhab - school of Islamic law.
madrasa - Ottoman Turkish *medrese*. Institution of higher religious learning.
mıkleb - the flap of a binding, used as a bookmark.
minbar - pulpit from which the imam delivers the Friday sermon.
miswak - tooth-stick for cleaning the teeth, a prelude to ritual ablution.
mu'awwidhatan - the two "refuge-seeking," surahs, the last two surahs of the Qur'an.
muhr - a seal.
murid - student of a *shaykh*, a disciple.
musawir - effigy-maker, or picture-maker.
mushaf - manuscript copy of the Qur'an.
na'l şerif - the Prophet's sandal.
nazar - the evil-eye.
nesih - cursive style of script favoured by Ottoman calligraphers for writing Qur'ans.
nishandji - the chancellor, or secretary of state for the Sultan's *tughra*.
niyat - intention.
pence şerif - An Ottoman Turkish word meaning the whole hand, also a set of five things or persons, traditionally understood to be the Prophet and his family: his daughter Fatima, son-in-law 'Ali, and grandsons Hasan and Hussain.

qadam şerif - the Prophet's footprint.
rakib - catchword system whereby words written on a slant in the lower left corner of the verso page indicate the first word of the following page.
rashidun caliphs - the first four leaders of the Muslim community: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali.
rawdah - tomb of the Prophet.
reis al-kuttab - chief of clerks, the head of the offices attached to the Grand Vezirate.
ruqya - a prayer of protection.
sancak şerif - Ottoman flag that incorporated fragments of the Prophet's banner.
salawat - invocation of blessings on the Prophet.
şemse - central medallion of a binding.
serlevha - the first, double-page spread of an illuminated text.
şeyh - Ottoman Turkish word for *shaykh.*
şeyhü'l-islam - Arabic, *shaykh al-Islam,* the highest member of the *'ulema* in the Ottoman empire.
shafa'a - intercession.
shifa'a - healing.
Shafi'i - one of the fours schools of orthodox (Sunni) Islamic law.
shifa'a - healing.
shari'a - Islamic law.
shaykh - spiritual leader of a Sufi order.
shirk - sin of associating anyone or anything with God.
sirah - biography.
silsila - chain of transmission of spiritual authority in a Sufi order.
sohbet - association, religious gathering.
sülüs - cursive style of script, frequently used for chapter headings.
sunna - the religious example set by the Prophet Muhammad.
surah - chapter of the Qur'an.
surat - an effigy, image, or a statue.
tabbaruk - the receiving of Divine grace.
tamima - a pre-Islamic bead-type amulet.
taqlid - following qualified religous opinion.
tarikat - Sufi order, headed by a *shaykh.*
tasawir - pictures.
tasbih - glorifying God, also prayer beads.
tasliya - part of the ritual prayer, or *salat,* in which blessings are invoked on the Prophet Muhammad and his family.
ta'viz - an amulet prepared according to the Islamic practice of using Qur'anic verses, prayers, God's Names, etc., for healing or protection; or the practice itself.

ta'widh - Arabic for *ta'viz.*
tawassul - supplicating God through an intermediary.
teber - battle-ax.
tekke - Sufi lodge.
tezhip - gilding, illumination.
tilsim - an Arabic word of perhaps Greek, Persian, or Ethiopic origin meaning mystical words of power. The source of our own word talisman.
'ulema - Islamic scholars.
unwan - Refers to a rectangular panel of illumination that may appear above or below an image. The *unwan* itself may contain information such as the title of the accompanying image or text, or a brief explanation of its contents.
unvan sahifesi - richly decorated first page of an Ottoman prayer book.
vakf - religious endowment, in this case books, or libraries.
wird - individual, supererogatory prayers said by members of a Sufi order.
wu'du - ritual ablution.
zawiyye - Sufi teaching centre, or lodge.
Zemzem - well near the Ka'ba, its water is considered to contain *baraka.*
Zülfiqar - the Prophet's sword double-bladed sword inherited by 'Ali.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My interest in the *En'am-ı şerif* began in the autumn of 1995 when the University of Victoria purchased an eighteenth-century manuscript at the request of my supervisor, Dr. Anthony Welch. In addition to suggesting the subject matter of this dissertation, Dr. Welch provided me with invaluable guidance and grounding in art-historical methodology. His advice to focus my early research on a thorough examination of the manuscripts themselves has resulted in one of the most significant contributions of this work, the detailed catalogue of some twenty-eight manuscripts found in Appendix I. Dr. Welch is very supportive of his students, and I consider myself very fortunate to have had him serve as my supervisor for both my Master's and Ph. D.

I wish to make particular mention of the invaluable assistance provided by Dr. Nancy Micklewright. I am eternally grateful to her for the countless hours she has spent with me discussing Ottoman painting and religious imagery. Her suggested changes to this dissertation have improved it immensely.

The other members of my committee, Dr. John Osborne and Dr. Harold Coward, have also offered help above and beyond that usually associated with such an endeavor. I have had the opportunity of taking several of Dr. Osborne's classes and he has served as departmental chair and graduate advisor several times during my years at the University of Victoria. He has always been tremendously supportive and encouraging. As the director of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, Dr. Coward has also been of considerable support. I am very grateful to Dr. Coward and the Centre for awarding me the first Ian Stewart Graduate Student Fellowship.

Special thanks goes to my external examiner, Dr. Jere Bacharach, director of the Henry Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington and president of the Middle Eastern Studies Association. Dr. Bacharach took time from his very busy schedule to suggest a number of important changes. He also very kindly made the trip up to Victoria for my dissertation defence, which is unusual in these days of video-conferencing.

I would also like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the University of Victoria's faculty of Graduate Studies and the Department of History in Art for their financial support. I would particularly like to thank the Dean of Graduate Studies, Dr. Gordana Lazarevich, for chairing both my Master's and Ph. D. defences. Dr. Lazarevich and her staff have done everything they can to help me throughout my program.

The University of Victoria's Department of History in Art could not function without the dedication and hard work of departmental assistant

Darlene Pouliot. Neither could I. She makes sure deadlines are met and frazzled nerves are soothed with an always friendly smile.

Thanks also go to Chris Petter and his staff in Special Collections at McPherson Library at UVic, and to slide librarian Karen MacDonald and her staff in the Department of History in Art. The Faculty of Fine Arts Computer Lab, in particular Dave Broome and Mike Huston, rendered great service in walking me through the process of scanning, manipulating and printing the images.

The manuscripts studied in the course of this dissertation are located in Istanbul, London and New York. I send heart-felt thanks to my host family in Istanbul, Şukria Anné and Resmiye Tarim, as well as my research assistants Savaş Kilic and Zeynep Cebeeci. Thanks also goes to the directors and staff of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, the Süleymaniye Library and the University of Istanbul Library. I also send warmest thanks to my friend Batul in New York for her warm hospitality.

One of the highlights of my research summer in Turkey was the opportunity to meet one of the foremost authorities on Ottoman calligraphy, Mr. Uğur Derman. I wish to express my appreciation to Mr. Derman, who was most gracious with his time and encouragement. Heartfelt thanks also go to America's foremost calligrapher, Mr. Mohammed Zakariya, for reading the penultimate draft of the dissertation and making valuable comments.

Special thanks to my friend and fellow student Janice Currier for her ongoing support and our many "Ph. D Walks" through Mystic Vale! Thanks also go to a number of my students who frequently served as sounding boards and who have provided me with enormous moral support: Dealla Fahlman, Jenne McLennan, Kia Mathison, Diana Marfleet, Stephanie Gibson, and Alison Wickett.

This dissertation could not have been written without the help of my spiritual teacher, Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, and his wife, Naziha Adil Kabbani. In addition to providing me with Ottoman and Arabic translations, they very kindly arranged for me to stay with family and friends in Turkey, England and America throughout the period of my research and writing. My understanding of Sufism, and the role these manuscripts played in the life of the Sufi orders has been shaped through their teaching. Shaykh Hisham and his wife are my guiding lights, and I ask God to send blessings and peace upon them, and reward them for their works.

Finally, I would like to thank the three people who are my reason for doing all this, my children, Katie Smardon-Bodhjelian, and Amina and Hassen Mohamed. May Almighty God bless and keep you safe, and reward you for your patience.

In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

All praise and thanks are due to Almighty God. May He send peace and blessings upon His beloved Prophet Muhammad, his pure family, righteous companions and all of the saints. This work is dedicated with sincere love and affection to my grandshaykh, Shaykh Muhammad Nazim Adil al-Qubrusi al-Haqqani al-Naqshbandi. May God bless him and grant him the rewards of his efforts in this life and in the hereafter.

INTRODUCTION

> *"Do they not travel through the earth and see what was the end of those before them? They were even superior to them in strength, and in the traces (they have left) in the land..."*[1]

All Islamic actions are based upon the *niyat*, or intention. The believer forms the intention prior to beginning an action, for example: "I intend to make *wu'du* (ritual ablution) for the purpose of saying my obligatory prayer." The Islamic encouragement of the study of history is intended so that *"hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom,"* and *"ears may learn to hear."*[2] The Qur'an tells us that history's lessons are to be found in the contemplation of the *athar*, the ruins or traces (we might call it the material culture) that a community leaves behind. Sometimes, as in the Qur'anic example of Egypt's pharaohs, these *athar* are magnificent palaces, tombs and temples. Sometimes, as in the case of the Ottoman *En'am-ı şerif*, they are literally books that fall in your lap.

Used by common folk and ruler alike, the *En'am-ı şerif* was perhaps the most popular Ottoman prayer book of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet aside from noting the fact of its existence, little if anything has been written about it. In 1995, the University of Victoria purchased an illustrated eighteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* from a local resident, Robert Noel-Bentley. The family was Turkish, originally named Ben Ezra, and were the descendents of Sephardic Jews from Spain.[3] This two hundred-year-old manuscript had been brought to Canada from Istanbul in the 1930s by Noel-Bentley's immigrant grandfather, a Jewish carpet

---

[1]The Qur'an, chapter 40, verse 21. Qur'anic passages have been italicized for ease of identification. The English translation by Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: English translation of the meanings and commentary*, revised and edited by The Presidency of Islamic Researches, IFTA, Call and Guidance. Medina. 1410/1989-90. All further references to the Qur'an will simply be noted according to chapter and verse, eg.: 40:21.

[2]22:46.

[3]At the time of the Christian Reconquest, many Jews accepted the invitation of the Ottoman sultan to settle in Ottoman lands.

merchant. The manuscript passed from father to son until 1995, when the University of Victoria purchased it from Noel-Bentley.[4]

As both a Muslim and a scholar, I have found the study of the *En'am-ı şerif* to be a remarkable challenge, for its very existence flies in the face of what has long been accepted as a primary rule of Islamic art, the rejection of representational imagery in a sacred context. Until now, existing religious imagery has been dismissed by scholars as either being historical or didactic in nature, or as having come from heterodox, or Shi'a sources. This study will prove that one of the most popular prayer books in the Ottoman Empire from the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries combined Qur'anic text with images that can only be described as sacred in nature.

The *En'am-ı şerif* was a manuscript produced and owned by members of the orthodox religious clergy who were also frequently initiates of the various Sufi orders or their affiliates. These *En'am-ı şerif* were often placed in endowed libraries by members of the ruling elite for the use of ordinary Muslims as an aid or enhancement to their daily devotions. The manuscript's sacred text, as well as its images, both calligraphic and representational, were considered to be conduits for *baraka*, or Divine grace. In order to better comprehend this concept, it helps if we think in terms that are analogous to the modern understanding of electricity. The Qur'an refers to God as having *"power over all things."*[5] God is perceived as being the source of all power, all Divine grace. The average person wishing to benefit from that grace, or power, cannot tap directly into its Source, much as one cannot not plug directly into an electric power station. What is needed is a transmitter of that power, a saintly person or object acting not as a source, but as a conduit for Divine grace. As we shall see in the pages that follow, to the Ottomans of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the *En'am-ı şerif* served as just such a conduit.

---

[4]Knowing my interest in the religious aspect of Islamic art, my supervisor, Anthony Welch, suggested this manuscript as a possible dissertation topic, and the rest, as they say, is history.
[5]3:189.

I. *Methodology.*

The question we must begin with, is to what extent can we ever really know about the people of the past, given any number of barriers such as a diversity of religious beliefs, languages, as well as political and economic ideologies or systems? For example, the study of Islamic art in the late twentieth century has been strongly influenced by the work of Oleg Grabar. In a number of works, including his seminal *The Formation of Islamic Art*,[6] Grabar questions the validity of the very term, "Islamic" art. For Grabar, a self-proclaimed secular humanist,[7] the term "Islamic" does not refer to the art of a particular religion.[8]

> "...the adjective 'Islamic' should not be taken seriously in its literal sense. It is a conventional term to cover a broadly defined cultural entity over many centuries and the faith of Islam is only one aspect of that entity."[9]

Secularism is an ideology whose proponents "consciously denounce all forms of supernaturalism and the agencies devoted to it, advocating non-religious or anti-religious principles as the basis for personal morality and social organization."[10] Given this definition, it is not suprising that a scholar who embraces a secular ideology would reject religion as the primary basis of Islamic art.

Grabar's secularist point of view has been taken up by his successors in the field. In the first paragraph of their 1997 book, *Islamic Arts*, Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom begin with a definition of Islamic art: "Islamic art refers to the arts of all Islamic cultures and not just to the arts related to the religion of Islam."[11] In the

---

[6]Published by Yale University in 1973 and revised in 1987.
[7]Although Dr. Grabar has not, to my knowledge, made clear his own world-view in his writings, he did so in his opening remarks delivered to a conference on "Inscription as Art in the World of Islam," held April 25-27, 1996 at Hofstra University in Hampstead, New York.
[8]Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, revised edition, Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1987, p. 1.
[9]Oleg Grabar, "The Aesthetics of Islamic Art," in *The Pursuit of Excellence: Works of art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Istanbul, 1993, p. xix.
[10]*The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Elide, vol. 6, p. 159.
[11]Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *Islamic Arts*, Phaidon Press, London, 1997, p. 1.

The Arts and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800, Blair and Bloom note that until recently the study of Islamic art was largely the purview of Western scholars. However, they note, an increasing number of scholars from within the Islamic world is perceiving the art "in a different light and ask of it different questions."

> "Paradoxically, while much of the Islamic world has been intent on rediscovering and validating a tradition of Islamic art...other scholars, particularly in the West, have come to question the validity of concepts such as 'Islamic' art."[12]

Blair and Bloom argue that the concept of a unified Islamic art is largely a creation of nineteenth and twentieth-century Western scholarship that has been accepted "somewhat uncritically by newly empowered countries seeking to validate their position in the twentieth century and create connections with past glories."[13]

On the other side of the argument we find Muslim scholars such as Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Titus Burckhardt, Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar who view Islamic art as one which is essentially sacred in nature, inextricably connected to the religion itself.

> "The question of the origin of Islamic art and the nature of the forces and principles which brought this art into being must therefore be related to the world-view of Islam itself, to the Islamic revelation, one of whose radiations is directly the sacred art of Islam and indirectly the whole of Islamic art. The causal relation between the Islamic revelation and Islamic art, moreover, is borne out by the organic rapport between this art and Islamic worship, between the contemplation of God as recommended in the Qur'an and the contemplative nature of this art, between the remembrance of God *(dhikrallah)* which is the final goal of all Islamic worship, and the Islamic art of both a plastic and sonoral nature in the life of individual Muslims and the community or *al-ummah* as a whole. This art could not perform such a spiritual function if it were not

---

[12]Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800,* Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1995, (preface).
[13]Ibid.

related in the most intimate manner to both the form and content of the Islamic revelation."[14]

One of the main problems facing those who would examine the connections between Islam as a religious system and the production of art or architecture is that of authorial voice.[15] All scholarly works are written by individuals who have a particular point of view. It has been argued that the great divide among Islamic art historians today is not so much Muslim vs. non-Muslim as it is a secular world view vs. one which is religious.[16] When an authorial voice is not identified as such, underlying assumptions or agendas may not be clearly articulated, rendering scholarly arguments difficult for the reader to assess. One major problem is that both secular and religiously oriented scholars have fallen short of the mark when it comes to examining specific buildings or objects. While the secularists acknowledge Islam's essential role in the creation of an underlying aesthetic or meaning, their subsequent consideration of particular works generally omits any serious discussion of religion. On the other hand, while those with a religious world-view have made "a strong case for unity of expression in all Islamic art production based on Islamic precepts," they have rarely attempted a "serious consideration of the art itself."[17]

---

[14]Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, Ipswich, 1987, p. 4. This argument is repeated in various forms in the works of Titus Burckhardt (see for example: *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*, trans. P. Hobson, World of Islam Festival: London, 1976, or "The Spirituality of Islamic Art," in *Islamic Spirituality*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, vol. 20 of World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest, Crossroad: New York, 1991, pp. 506-527); and Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1973.

[15]For a discussion of the concept of authorial voice and subject positions see Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: an introduction*, University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1983, especially p. 67 and 119.

[16]The following argument is based upon Nancy Micklewright's lecture entitled: "Religious Imagery in Islamic Art: Problems of Definition and Understanding," delivered to the University of Victoria's Centre for Studies in Religion and Society on January 15, 1998.

[17]Taken from an unpublished paper by Dr. Nancy Micklewright and quoted by permission of the author.

As a Muslim, my own world-view is one that is inherently religious. As such, I cannot help but write this dissertation from a religious, and specifically Islamic point of view.[18] As a scholar I am trained in the scientific methods of observation and analysis, and these, too, form an integral part of my work. In his article entitled, "The Study of Muhammad: a survey of approaches from the perspective of the history and phenomenology of religion," James Royster outlined the benefits of a phenomenological approach to the study of religion. Royster rejected a strictly historicistic approach, one that seeks "what really happened," for a number of reasons. Historicism, he says, remains valid as long as it is descriptive. Unfortunately, faced with a frequent lack of reliable sources researchers have sometimes made "hasty observations from which they draw *non-sequitur* conclusions upon which they base sweeping generalizations that lead to erroneous pronouncements."[19] These pronouncements are then cited by students as "facts."[20] Royster also discredits reductionist methodologies, such as cultural reductionism, or functionalism, which seeks to explain things in terms of their cultural context, and exordial reductionism which seeks to discover origins, sources and influences because they "can contribute little to an understanding of how germinal elements are appropriated, adapted and nurtured within a given religious tradition, much less what such features actually mean to the people who have assimilated them."[21]

A phenomenological approach, on the other hand, makes understanding its primary objective. This understanding, the "gaining of insight into the nature of religious experience,"[22] is achieved through the process of grasping meaning, either the meaning of an action or, in the case of the , an object, from the point of

---

[18]In her introduction to *Deciphering the Signs of God: A phenomenological approach to Islam*, Annemarie Schimmel notes that especially when dealing with religion "the personal bias of the researcher cannot but be reflected in the study." p. xii.

[19]James Royster, "The Study of Muhammad: a survey of approaches from the perspective of the history and phenomenology of religion," *The Muslim World*, vol. 62, 1972, p. 55.

[20]The illusory nature of historical facts has been a subject of epistemological debate since Edward Hallet Carr's *What is History?* Vintage Books: New York, 1961. See pages 89-94.

[21]Royster, p. 61.

[22]Royster, p. 68.

view of those who created or used it.[23] Perhaps the most significant contribution of phenomenology has been to focus on the process of understanding that takes place when a given subject, say for example a religious person or scholar, confronts an object, a religious phenomenon, or text.[24] A phenomenological approach assumes that the empirical manifestations of religious phenomena conceal deeper noumenal or sacred realities.[25] By viewing the process of religion in terms of stimulus/response whereby the sacred or noumenal calls forth a religious thought or action, phenomenologists are able to isolate this religious response or experience as a field of research.[26]

Due to the sacred nature of the *En'am-ı şerif*, and on the basis of the arguments outlined in the above discussion, I have decided to use a methodology that is both phenomenological and historical in approach.[27] An appended catalogue includes detailed descriptions of some twenty-eight manuscripts. This catalogue has been produced using the tools of observation, recording and analysis familiar to anyone who has studied art history. Wherever possible, in the body of the text I have used the voices of Muslims themselves, preferably those of the contemporary period. As it is not possible to question eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottomans concerning their use of these manuscripts, I have relied upon the knowledge of those who are the inheritors of their oral traditions.[28] As to my ability to bracket out my beliefs, a vital factor in

---

[23]The phenomenological goal of understanding an object "from the point of view of those who created or used it," is not an easy one. It has many of the same difficulties as functionalism, which tries to gain an understanding of how objects were used in society. Although both approaches make understanding their primary objective, a functional approach concentrates on the function, or role a given object may have played, while the phenomenological approach focuses on its meaning.

[24]Richard C. Martin, "Islam and religious studies: an introductory essay," in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985, p. 8.

[25]Martin, p. 7

[26]Martin, p. 8.

[27]According to Martin (p. 7), "Many phenomenologists have opted for methodological pluralism, combining whatever approaches in historical, linguistic, and social-scientific studies that would seem to throw light on the religious phenomena under investigation."

[28]The methods of learning and transmitting knowledge in the Islamic world have traditionally been oral. Beginning with the Qur'an, Islamic texts have been learned "by

successfully using a phenomenological approach, I make no such claim.[29] Instead, I propose to clearly identify these beliefs, and hopefully allow the reader to see how these beliefs have shaped my arguments.

II. *Field work.*

I began my research by thoroughly familiarizing myself with the University of Victoria's manuscript. I researched the catalogues of library and museum holdings in North America and Europe, finding several examples of manuscripts that seemed similar in content. The earliest of these manuscripts, **OR 4251**, dated 1170/1756-57, was located in the British Library's Oriental and Indian Office collection, necessitating a preliminary visit to London in 1995. During the winter of 1996 I travelled to New York to examine and photograph several manuscripts in the New York Public Library. The summer of 1996 was spent in Istanbul, photographing and taking detailed notes of more than a hundred manuscripts in several locations, including the Süleymaniye Library, the Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, the Istanbul University Library, and the

---

heart," and a teacher's permission to transmit them, the *icazet*, would be granted only after the student had offered proof of their memorization and understanding. These written *icazet* would contain the names of all those who had transmitted the text, reaching back to the original author. The was a manuscript produced and used primarily by members of the various Sufi orders and their affiliates. The Sufi orders also have their *silsilas*, or chains of transmission of authority, reaching back from teacher to pupil to the Prophet Muhammad. As such, today's Sufi shaykhs are the inheritors of their orders' oral traditions concerning Islamic belief and ritual. I have relied upon this oral tradition to explain the ritual use of the images found in these texts, especially in my discussion of the practice of *ta'viz*, or the preparation of protective amulets, in Chapter Three.

[29]Royster's statement that the phenomenological approach is the closest one may come to an understanding of someone else's religion short of actual conversion (p. 64) might be taken as an argument which would preclude me from using this methodology. My answer to this challenge would be two-fold. First, that being a believer does not mean that one must necessarily lack either objectivity or balance. Secondly, from an Islamic point of view, all revealed religions are simply variations of the same Message. Because there are as many understandings of Islam as there are Muslims, the challenge to be objective and balanced should not be any harder for me than it would be for scholars of another faith.

Fatih Millet Library. Following field research in Turkey, it became obvious that the British Library manuscript was the earliest of its kind, necessitating a return to London in February, 1998 to collect images and re-evaluate earlier findings.

Undoubtedly the time spent in Turkey was the most fruitful, as well as the most frustrating. One story in particular illustrates the unusual nature of events. A week and a half after my arrival in Turkey I had yet to be granted permission to enter any of the manuscript holding libraries. Unfamiliar as I was with the Turkish bureaucracy, my research appeared to be at a standstill as the papers that would allow me entry into these libraries had not yet arrived, despite my having duly sent the required application from Canada over four months earlier. As it often happens in Turkey, where connections mean everything, a chance meeting with a former colleague from McGill resulted in a pleasant Sunday afternoon tea in her home in Beylerbey, and the most welcome offer of an introductory telephone call to the husband of her Qur'an teacher, who also happened to be the director of Fatih Millet Library. Müdür Mehmed Taysi graciously invited me to visit his library and examine its manuscript collection the following Tuesday. The very next day, a Monday, I was digging through the calligraphy section of the IRCICA library[30] when suddenly a large book fell on my head. Opening it, I read that it was a facsimile edition of a unique manuscript written by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi in the nineteenth century. Hilmi's *Mizan'ül Hatt* (The Measurement of Calligraphy), was a rich discovery as it contained the *silsilas*, or chains of transmission, of many of the greatest Ottoman calligraphers. Included among these calligraphers were the names of twenty-seven grand shaykhs of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, into which I had been initiated five years previously. Reading on I was startled to discover that the sole copy of the original was held in none other than the Fatih Millet Library, where I had been invited to work the following day! **(Plate 1)**

---

[30]IRCICA, or The Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, is a God-send to would-be researchers with no official papers, but unfortunately it lacks a manuscript collection.

Within days a phone call to the Canadian consulate resulted in my finally being allowed entrance to the Süleymaniye (with thanks to its assistant director Nezhat Kaya), and I had acquired two very enthusiastic undergraduate research assistants: Savaş Kilic and Zeynep Cebeeci, who ably assisted me in dealing with the Turkish bureacracy as well as the library system. I was also fortunate enough to take advantage of my research assistants' translation skills when the opportunity of interviewing Uğur Derman, Turkey's foremost authority on calligraphy, presented itself. Mr. Derman had undergone major surgery only a short while before my visit, but he graciously consented to see me nevertheless. We discussed the evolution of Ottoman calligraphy in general, and the *hilye şerif* in particular, as Mr. Derman had just finished writing an article (as yet unpublished) on this topic in the *Islam Ainsiklopedisi.* When I described my study of the *En'am-ı şerif*, Mr. Derman expressed his approval, noting that although it was often listed in biographies as a major part of a calligrapher's work, virtually no scholarly work had been devoted to this important manuscript. Mr. Derman's assistance, his patience and understanding, have added much to this study.

After collecting extensive notes, photocopies and photographs of a group of twenty-eight manuscripts, I began the lengthy process of translation. First, several hundred slides had to be scanned and printed at the Fine Arts Computer Lab at the University of Victoria, in order to render the slide images readable as text. The summer of 1997 was spent at the Michigan home of Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, the leader of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani community in North America, and his wife Hajja Naziha Adil, the daughter of Shaykh Nazim Qubrusi al-Haqqani, who is the present day grand shaykh of the order. **(Plate 2)** With the utmost graciousness, patience and stamina, Hajja Naziha painstakingly helped me work my way through the Qur'anic inscriptions and provided me with the necessary Ottoman Turkish translations. As a young woman, Hajja Naziha grew up in an intellectually stimulating environment where learned guests frequently discussed *shari'a*, or religious law, *tariqat*, or the Sufi way, and *haqiqa*, or mystical realities. Given her understanding of the religious context of these manuscripts, she was the perfect choice of translator for such a task.

Once the translations were complete, I began to catalogue each manuscript thoroughly. These catalogue entries appear in chronological order in Appendix I. Appendix II contains bibliographies of the calligraphers, patrons and owners of the *En'am-ı şerif.*

It should be noted that any attempt at constructing a history of the production and patronage of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century must begin by acknowledging the existence of substantial gaps in data. To begin with, although the frequent citation of the in calligraphers' biographies makes it certain that hundreds if not thousands of manuscripts were produced, most of them have not survived. Over the intervening years hundreds of these manuscripts have been cut up and sold, largely for their calligraphic and representational images.[31] For example, a London gallery recently advertised a page from an eighteenth century *En'am-ı şerif* featuring calligraphic representations of the words "Allah" and "Muhammad," in the magazine *Arts & the Islamic World.*[32] Pieces of several such cannibalized manuscripts were observed for sale in the booksellers' market surrounding Bayezid mosque in Istanbul during field research in the summer of 1996.

Many of the manuscripts that do remain in museums and libraries were originally collected in private libraries that were later made *vakf,* or a religious endowment. The Süleymaniye collection, in particular, represents the bringing together of more than eighty other library holdings under one roof. These libraries were all *vakf* collections, often collected by a single individual and held in mosques, *tekkes,* or smaller libraries. As a result of the outlawing of the Sufi orders and the closing of their *tekkes* in 1924, many of these collections entered the Süleymaniye.

> Pursuant to the Law of Unification of Instructions dated March 3, 1924, and the law concerning the prohibition of dervish lodges,

---

[31]The Ottoman-Turkish term for both library and bookshop is *kitab-khane,* and this has not boded well for many of the manuscripts. See Redhouse, p. 1524.
[32]no. 27 & 28.

> tombs and recluse's cells dated 1927, following the declaration of the Turkish Republic, the books maintained in the libraries of various institutions...as in the libraries established in the dervish lodges, tombs, mosques, etc., were carried to the Süleymaniye Library, the most comprehensive library of Islamic manuscripts in the world."[33]

The Süleymaniye's collection (including 67,152 Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts)[34] has been accessioned using the names of the one hundred and nine foundation libraries. It is therefore a very simple process to identify the collector, if not the actual patron of a Süleymaniye manuscript. Biographical information on these collectors has been gleaned from a number of sources, including the *Sicilli Osmani*, the *Islam Ainsiklopedisi*, the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and other historical studies found in the bibliography.

Our knowledge of the lives of calligraphers has been based largely upon the biographies written by their contemporaries. The most detailed account of the lives of eighteenth-century calligraphers is *Tufe-i hattatin*, published in 1202/1787 by Süleyman Sa'd el-Din, known as Mustakimzade (d. 1202/1787-8), a historian and member of the Naqshbandi order.[35] Mustakimzade's entries are quite detailed in many instances, including information on the calligraphers' religious as well as political affiliations. For calligraphers who produced manuscripts after this period, one of the most important sources is *Hat ve hattatan*, written in 1305/1887-8 by Mirza Habib Efendi. Habib Efendi's work includes information on Iranian as well as Turkish calligraphers, but unfortunately the entries are frequently less comprehensive than those of Mustakimzade's in the type of information they include. Although Habib Efendi collected information from Mustakimzade's work and did write about his own contemporaries, he did not include information about calligraphers in the intervening years, from 1200/1785-86 to about 1270/1853-54. This leaves a

---

[33] *Fotograflarla Istanbul Kutuphaneleri (Libraries of Istanbul).* Turkish Librarians' Association, Istanbul Branch Publications; 17. Istanbul. 1995.
[34] As of the 1995 publication of the above-mentioned article.
[35] Abu-Manneh, p. 18.

critical gap in our knowledge of many of those Ottoman calligraphers who were responsible for the *En'am-ı şerif.* As a result, we know very little about a number of important calligraphers, such Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi (c. 1201/1786-87), the calligrapher of the University of Victoria's manuscript, or Mustafa Nazif (c. 1208/1793-94), the calligrapher of the magnificent **Pertevniyal 43** (Cat. #18).[36] In some cases the only available information has been about the teachers of these individuals, and it has been included.

III. *Chapter outline.*

Chapter One begins with a historical overview of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottoman milieu, using secondary sources from both the Islamic and Western world. The chapter includes a discussion of the role of Sufism in the Ottoman empire and the emergence of the fundamentalist Wahhabi sect, focussing on the ongoing polemics between the two. Here we are also introduced to those who produced and used the *En'am-ı şerif.*

The role of Islamic prayers and prayer books is the focus of Chapter Two. Unlike the better known *Dala'il al-khayrat,* the work of a single author, the components of the *En'am-ı şerif* seem to have changed and evolved according to the needs of each individual calligrapher or patron. I have chosen to refer to the earlier, unillustrated texts as *En'am,* and to the later, elaborately illustrated texts as *En'am-ı şerif.* [37] From the late thirteenth century to the late nineteenth century, the text of these manuscripts grew to include an ever larger number of Qur'anic chapters and prayers. For the most part, these prayers have been analysed using Islamic sources; however at least one non-Muslim source proved too invaluable to be excluded, Constance Padwick's *Muslim Devotions,* a sensitive and

---

[36] The manuscripts of this study are identified in bold face, and by the number in which they appear in the catalogue. The catalogue of manuscripts is located in Appendix I.

[37] The various catalogues and list of manuscripts I have found refer to earlier works using either name, but consistently refer to the later versions as .

thoroughly researched study of the prayer manuals still in use during the mid-twentieth century.

The calligraphic imagery of the *En'am-ı şerif* and its use in sacred ritual are the subjects examined in Chapter Three. First to appear in the manuscripts were the *hilye şerif,* or textual descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics. These *hilye* were intended to stimulate dreams and visions of the Prophet, serving as a conduit for *baraka,* or Divine grace, while remaining within the letter of Islamic law. The *muhr,* or seals, containing Qur'anic verses and the Names of God, appeared slightly later and as I will argue were used for protection and healing. The theory and ritual practices associated with the use of these sacred objects are explored through interviews with and observation of a modern day Sufi shaykh who has been trained in these practices. Although caution must be exercised in any attempt at interpreting the past through present day sources, it may be argued that the system of oral transmission as it has been traditionally practiced in the Sufi orders provides its practioners with a certain measure of authority on this subject.

Chapter Four discusses the miniature paintings of the *En'am-ı şerif,* and the role of representational imagery in a sacred context. From the mid-eighteenth century, miniature paintings of the Prophet's hand and footprint, sword and other relics began appearing in the *En'am-ı şerif.* While these images technically remain within the bounds of *shari'a* by stopping short of depicting the entire person of the Prophet, they do pose interesting questions in terms of usage. Given the context, it appears that the images in these manuscripts were intended to serve the same purpose as was the Qur'anic text, the *hilye* and the *muhr:* they were all meant to be conduits of the Divine Grace, or *baraka,* sought by those who used these books as part of their daily devotions.

Chapter Five, the concluding chapter of this dissertation, highlights the most significant discoveries made in the course of this research, and examines the impact of these discoveries on our understanding of Ottoman Islam, its history and its art. Suggestions for further research are explored.

Appendix I consists of a catalogue of the twenty-eight manuscripts selected for this study. These manuscripts were chosen on the basis of their significance to the evolution of the *En'am-ı şerif.* Each manuscript has been thoroughly described, and the important passages have been translated. Images of the manuscripts have been included where available.[38]

Appendix II contains the biographies of the calligraphers, patrons and owners of the *En'am-ı şerif.*

Our intention in studying a manuscript such as the *En'am-ı şerif* must be to gain a greater understanding of the dynamics of late Ottoman society. During the final years of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ottoman power waned as European power expanded exponentially with the rise of the nation-state. Islamic orthodoxy and even Ottoman sovereignty itself came under attack as fundamentalism gained control in Islam's Holy Cities. It is at this particular moment that Sufi calligraphers began to transform a simple text containing Qur'anic chapters and prayers into an elaborate manuscript containing images of sacred places and objects. The *En'am-ı şerif* represents a unique moment in the history of Islamic art; here, for the first time, Qur'anic surahs and representational imagery appear together in a single manuscript. It is only in the context of late Ottoman history that the choices of the artists of the *En'am-ı şerif* make sense. Locked in a battle to maintain their traditional way of life, the artists of the *En'am-ı şerif* chose to reinforce the spiritual aspects of Islam that had come under attack from the fundamentalist movement. They did so by presenting the images of the *En'am-ı şerif* in such a way as to highlight the Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the caliphate and protectors of Islam.

---

[38]It is important to note that gathering images from collections in Istanbul was an activity that may be described as difficult at best. Some collections were more accessible to photographers than others. The Istanbul University Library in particular demanded astronomical prices for their photographs, therefore no images from that library have been included.

A note on dating and transliteration systems.

The Muslim world records its dates according to the Islamic calendar, beginning with the *Hijra*, or emigration from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E. The Muslim year is lunar, and therefore falls eleven days short of the solar year. Exact conversion of dates from the Christian (Gregorian) to the Islamic era and vice versa requires a standard but time-consuming calculation, therefore Ottoman dates will be given in both calendrical systems, as is generally done in the field of Islamic studies. The *Hijri* date will be given first, followed by the Gregorian, e.g., 1/622.

As an Ottoman religious text, the *En'am-ı şerif* contains both Arabic and Ottoman Turkish terms. For the most part, I have spelled Islamic terms according to the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies'* system of Arabic/English transliteration. Words that are particular to the Ottoman world, and the place of the *En'am-ı şerif* in it, including the terms used by calligraphers and words that refer to the objects themselves, have been transliterated according to the Turkish/English system, e.g., the Turkish *ta'viz* instead of the Arabic *ta'widh.*

CHAPTER ONE

The late eighteenth-century Ottoman milieu.

I. *Introduction.*

Commissioned, produced, and owned by high ranking members of the 'ulema' and the ruling elite, and placed in *vakf*, or endowed libraries for the benefit of the ordinary people, the *En'am-ı şerif* offers us a unique and insightful view of Islam in the late Ottoman empire. Here, in these manuscripts, we find visual evidence of the vital connection between Sufism and the Ottoman elite in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While remaining always within the legal boundaries set by *shari'a*,[1] the *En'am-ı şerif* combines sacred text with images of places and objects that relate directly to the role played by the Prophet as both conductor of *baraka*, or Divine grace, and intercessor for humanity on the Day of Judgment; concepts that form the basis of Sufi teachings. As time progressed, the artists who were responsible for these manuscripts chose to present the images in a way that increasingly highlighted the Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the caliphate and protectors of Islam. These changes occurred precisely at the time that these important symbols were threatened as the Ottoman empire suffered its first attack from within.

In his book *The Middle East and the West*, Bernard Lewis identifies two religious movements, the Naqshbandis and Wahhabis as being particularly important in the eighteenth century.[2] From its origins in Central Asia the Naqshbandi Sufi order spread to Akbar's India where, under the leadership of Shaykh Ahmed Sirhindi (1564-1624) it "became the vanguard of renascent Islamic orthodoxy."[3] From the beginning, Central Asian Sufism had been an important

---

[1]This will be discussed at greater length in the chapter on miniature paintings. Basically, the shari'a precludes the depiction of the human figure in a sacred context.
[2]See also J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, The Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1971, p. 105.
[3]Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, Harper & Row: New York, 1966, p. 96.

factor in the Turkish people's acceptance of Islam,[4] and by the late eighteenth century Naqshbandi influence in particular had been credited with revitalizing Islam and the religious sciences.[5] As we shall see further on, the Naqshbandi order had a marked impact on Ottoman calligraphy in general, and the *En'am-ı şerif* in particular.

II. *Internal revolt in the eighteenth-century Ottoman empire: the Wahhabis.*

The second important movement was that of the Wahhabis, founded by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792). Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab began his movement of puritan revivalism as a reaction to what he perceived to be the corruption of Islam as it was practiced by the Turks, in particular their veneration of the Prophet and the saints. What began as movement to purify Islam became a threat to the empire itself as the followers of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab denounced anyone who disagreed with them as an unbeliever whose life and property was forfeit to the emerging Wahhabi state. A Wahhabi alliance with the family of Ibn al-Sa'ud led to a series of military successes, including the occupation of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in the early nineteenth century.

Although the Wahhabis were merely one of a number of eighteenth-century revivalist movements and by no means the only one which was averse to Sufism,[6] theirs was a particularly virulent brand of fundamentalism which was to

---

[4]Trimingham, p. 54.
[5]Lewis, p. 99.
[6]See, for example, Madeline Zilfi's discussion of the fundamentalist Kadizadeli movement in *The Politics of Piety: the Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, Bibliotheca Islamica: Minneapolis, 1988. Ironically, both the Naqshbandi and the Wahhabi movements urged a return to the ideal of the early Islamic period, and both stressed the importance of following the *shari'a* and the revival of the *sunna* of the Prophet. Some have suggested that Naqshbandi thought may have influenced early Wahhabism, (see, for example John Voll, "Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab: an analysis of an intellectual group in eighteenth-century Madina," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1975, pp. 32-39. but this may be dismissed for a number of reasons, including the Wahhabis' rejection of the *madhahib*, or orthodox schools, versus the insistence by the Naqshbandis on *taqlid*, or the following of classical scholarship. The most compelling

have a lasting effect on the Ottoman empire and the Islamic world in general. The late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was a time during which the Ottoman government was repeatedly threatened by external forces, for example: from 1787 to 1792 they were at war with Russia and Austria; in 1798 Napoleon invaded Egypt, and in 1799 he invaded Palestine and the holy city of Jerusalem; in 1800 Russia annexed Georgia; and from 1806 to 1812 the Ottomans were again at war with Russia. Emerging as it did during this period, Wahhabism was able to profit from the Ottomans' inability to deal effectively with internal dissent. Because of their location at the centre of Islam, and their ability to control the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, the Wahhabis succeeded in striking a blow at Ottoman Islam and the very fabric of the empire itself.

> "The Wahhabi movement in the eighteenth century is in many ways significant. At a time when the Ottoman Empire was suffering defeat and humiliation at the hands of Christian enemies, the Wahhabi revolution marks a first withdrawal of consent from Ottoman Turkish supremacy."[7]

As a young man, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab had studied under Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi, a well-known teacher in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. John Voll conducted an analysis of Muhammad Hayya's teachers and students, in order to examine the connections between several of the eighteenth century's major intellectual movements. Voll noted the predominance of Naqshbandi initiates, including Muhammad al-Hayya himself, and such luminaries as 'Abd al-Wahhab's fellow student, 'Ali al-Muradi, who was the senior member of Syria's leading Naqshbandi family, who served for many years as the Hanafi Mufti of Damascus, and whose patron was the Ottoman sultan

---

evidence against this claim is the differing political views held by the two movements: the Naqshbandis sought to uphold the Ottoman Empire while the Wahhabis tried to destroy it. (See Hamid Algar, "A brief history of the Naqshbandi order," in *Naqshbandis: Historical developments and present situation of a Muslim mystical order*, Proceedings of the Sevres Round Table, 2-4 May 1985, ed. M. Garborieau et. al., Éditions Isis: Istanbul and Paris, 1990, p. 31.)

[7] Lewis, p. 99.

himself.[8] According to Voll, Muhammad Hayya, who was praised by the contemporary historian Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi as the "bearer of the banner of the Sunna in Madina,"[9] had an impact on the young 'Abd al-Wahhab, "encouraging him in his developing determination to denounce rigid imitation of medieval commentaries and to utilize informed individual analysis *(ijtihad)."*[10] More importantly, for our purposes,[11] Voll notes that: "Muhammad Hayya also taught Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab a rejection of popular religious practices associated with 'saints' and their tombs that is similar to later Wahhabi teachings."[12] Voll bases this statement on the evidence of an interaction that occurred between teacher and pupil beside the tomb of the Prophet, as narrated by the Wahhabi chronicler Ibn Bisr (d. 1288/1871-2), and related by George Rentz in an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation:[13]

> "One day when Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was standing beside the chamber that contains the Prophet's tomb in the great mosque of Medina, a throng of people gathered about, praying to the Prophet and beseeching him to aid them. Muhammad Hayah [sic] chanced along and joined his pupil, who asked him what he had to say about the behavior of the throng. The teacher replied that what the people were doing was futile and vain, an answer in full accord with the Unitarian doctrine as understood by the young man of Najd [ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab]: prayers such as these should be directed to God alone and to no other, not even the Prophet, noble as he had been."[14]

---

[8]Voll, 1975, pp. 37-38.
[9]Voll, 1975, p. 33.
[10]Voll, 1975, p. 32.
[11]Subsequent chapters will discuss the role of the *En'am-ı şerif* as a sacred object imbued with *baraka*, or Divine Grace, that emanates from the Prophet, in the same way that his tomb, and the tomb of the saints is understood to emanate this Divine Grace.
[12]Voll, 1975, p. 32.
[13]Ibn Bisr's work draws heavily upon the previous work of Ibn Ghannam (d. 1225/1811), who is believed to have settled in the Nejd to be near Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, whom he admired greatly. See George Rentz, *Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/04-1792) and the beginnings of the Unitarian Empire in Arabia,* unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, 1948, pp. 306-308.
[14]Rentz, pp. 27-28. In Cook's "On the Origins of Wahhabism," the author cites Ibn Bishr as quoting Muhammad Hayya's recitation of Qur'an 7:139 in answer to Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's query: "As to these folk, the cult they are in is (but) a fragment of ruin, and vain is the

Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's teacher, an initiated Naqshbandi, was answering his pupil according to the Shari'a, whereby worship is due is to God alone. In *The Reliance of the Traveller*, a fourteenth-century manual of Shafi' law written by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (d. 769/1368), the author describes the proper *adab*, or manners, required while visiting the Prophet's tomb:

> "It is recommended to pray two *rak'as* to greet his mosque, and then approach the noble and honoured tomb and stand at the head of it with one's back to the direction of prayer (qibla). One bows one's head and summons to mind reverent awe and humility, then greets the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and blesses him in a normal voice...after which one supplicates Allah for whatever one wishes. Then one steps back half a meter to the right to greet Abu Bakr, and again to the right to greet 'Umar (Allah be pleased with them). Then it is recommended to return to one's original place and do much of supplicating Allah, turning to Allah through the Prophet,... and invoking blessings upon him (Allah bless him and give him peace), after which one supplicates beside the pulpit (minbar) and in the Rawda."[15]

The Shari'a forbids the worship of any other than Allah, in this case those who are praying to the Prophet. However, the practice of *tawassul*, or supplicating Allah by means of an intermediary, turning to Allah through the Prophet, is legally valid in all four schools of Sunni Islam.[16] In a hadith narrated by Tirmidhi (d. 279/892), a blind man seeking the Prophet's prayers for his eyesight, was told:

> "Go make ablution (*wudu*), perform two *rak'as* of prayer, and then say: 'O Allah, I ask You and I turn to You through my prophet Muhammad, the Prophet of Mercy; O Muhammad, I seek your

---

(worship) which they practice." Cook notes that in a manuscript found in the British Library (Or. 7,718, f. 6a,6) it is Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab who quotes these words from the Qur'an.

[15] Noah Ha Mim Keller, *The Reliance of the Traveller*, (of Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri), Sunna Books: Evanston, 1991, p. 356.

[16] Keller, p. 934.

> intercession with my Lord...for my need, that it may be fulfilled. O Allah, grant him intercession for me."[17]

According to scholars, this hadith indicates the implicit validity of seeking *tawassul* through a dead person, or rather the positive meaning *(ma'na tayyib)* attached to a person in both life and death.

> "The body is but the vehicle that carries that significance, which requires that the person be respected whether alive or dead; for the words 'O Muhammad' are an address to someone physically absent - in which state the living and the dead are alike - an address to the meaning, dear to Allah, that is connected with his spirit, a meaning that is the ground of tawassul, be it through a living or dead person."[18]

Muhammad Hayya's answer to his student's question, that prayer to the Prophet was futile and in vain, seems to have been given in accordance with the saying of the Prophet, "speak to each according to his level of understanding." It was certainly never meant to condone, as Voll seems to have suggested, 'Abd al-Wahhab's later extremist views whereby Muslims were publicly declared disbelievers for asking for the intercession of the Prophet, or a saint.

The most significant area of disagreement between the Wahhabis and orthodox Islam,[19] especially Sufism, concerns the role of the Prophet

---

[17]Keller, p. 935.
[18]Keller, p. 935.
[19]In his foreword to Shaykh Hisham Kabbani's *Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine*, vol. 1, Mountain View, 1998, pp. xi-xii, Seyyid Hossein Nasr offers a cogent definition of Islamic orthodoxy:

> "Normative Islam has over the centuries included schools of law, both Sunni and Shi'ite, schools of thought, both theological and philosophical, and Sufism in its multifarious manifestations. All of these schools and their teachings have together constituted Islamic orthodoxy and tradition understood in the universal sense of these terms."

Nasr notes that while there have been differences of opinion, and even conflict (usually the result of "social and political powers using different religious interpretations as a way of legitimizing or strengthening their power"), this universal orthodoxy prevailed until the emergence of the Wahhabis and their *Salafi* successors.

> "It remained for modern times for this universal orthodoxy to be attacked

Muhammad. While Sufi practices are based upon love and veneration of the Prophet, the Wahhabis vehemently reject the Prophet's role as intercessor and conduit of Divine grace. Eldon Rutter, an Englishman who made the *hajj* and visited the Prophet's tomb in Medina weeks after the Wahhabis took control in 1925, overheard one of them arguing with a Meccan on this very subject after the Meccan had been heard calling upon the Prophet, an epithet heard daily throughout the Islamic world.

> "Now I heard the Wahhabi say, 'This my stick is better than Muhammad. Why better?...Because Muhammad is dead and gone, and can profit nothing; but this my stick has a use. It is more useful to me than is Muhammad."[20]

Carsten Niebuhr, a Danish engineer and one of the earliest European travellers to visit Arabia (1763) and write about his experiences, wrote that the beliefs of the Wahhabis were so different from those of Sunni Islam, that the former actually constituted a new religion.

> "Abd ul Wahheb...forbade the invocation of saints, and the very mentioning of Mahomet, or any other prophet, in prayer, as practices favouring of idolatry. He considered Mahomet, Jesus

---

not only from without by the forces of modernization emanating from a secularized West but also from within by so called reform movements which in the name of purifying Islam set out to destroy that universal orthodoxy on the basis of their own narrow interpretation of Islam and as a pretext to return to the purity of the *salaf* or ancestors. Meanwhile, such movements started an aggressive opposition to Sufism, to *kalam* and philosophy or the whole of the Islamic intellectual tradition, to Shi'ism, to nearly all the Islamic arts and sciences, and even to whatever in the Sunni tradition did not agree with their views, much of which was a veritable innovation *(bid'ah)* in the Islamic sense of the term. This opposition from within did much to weaken the Islamic world both religiously and intellectually, making it a great deal easier for the forces of modernism to dominate much of the Islamic world through the process of divide and conquer."

[20]Rutter, vol. 1, p. 272. It would appear that this argument was a favorite one with Wahhabis. The same argument is cited almost verbatim in Al-Zahawi (see further down) who notes that, according to consensus, disparaging the Prophet is an offense punishable by death in all four schools of Sunni law.

> Christ, Moses, and many others, respected by the Sunnites in the character of prophets, as merely great men, whose history might be read with improvement; denying, that any book had ever been written by divine inspiration, or brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel. He forbade, as a crime against Providence, the making of vows, in the manner of the Sunnites, to obtain deliverance from danger."[21]

The actual sources of Wahhabi doctrine remain questionable. In an article on the origins of Wahhabism, Michael Cook discussed several alternatives. Those who believe that Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's sources were literary, generally agree with Baghdadi Haydari (d. 1330/1882) who "regarded the career of the Shaykh as an object lesson in the dangers of reading too much without talking to other scholars."[22] Aside from the traditionally cited dependence on the two Hanbalite scholars of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), Cook found little evidence of any near-contemporary scholar as a source of Wahhabi doctrine. In fact, many notable Hanbalis of the eighteenth century had strong connections with Sufism. In an article on "The non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of eighteenth century Syria," John Voll notes that: "the Hanbalis of eighteenth century Damascus not only did not oppose the mysticism of their time, but in fact, were closely associated with it."[23] An interesting possibility for the source of Wahhabi doctrine has been suggested by Michael Cook: that Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab believed his knowledge to be Divinely inspired. The religious scholar Suleyman ibn Muhammad ibn Suhaym of Riyad, reported Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab as having sent a letter declaring that the knowledge he received had been unknown to his teachers. Ibn Suhaym wrote an open letter in reply, asking by what means Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's knowledge had

---

[21]Carsten Niebuhr, 1792. *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East.* 2 vols., trans. Robert Heron, Edinburgh, vol. 2, p. 134.
[22]Michael Cook, "On the origins of Wahhabism." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* series 3, vol. 2, no. 2, 1992, p. 191.
[23]John Voll, "The non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of eighteenth century Syria," *Der Islam,* 1972, p. 287.

been received? In a dream? Revelation? From the devil?[24] A letter written by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab no later than 1158/1745, may have been that which elicited the indignation from the Riyadi scholar:

> "I will tell you about myself. By God, apart from Whom there is no god, I sought learning (*talabtu 'l-'ilm)*, and those who knew me believed that I had some; yet at that time I did not know the meaning of 'there is no god but God', nor did I know the religion of Islam, before this blessing *(khayr)* which God vouchsafed to me. Likewise not one of my teachers knew it; if any of the scholars of the 'Arid claims that he knew the meaning of 'there is no god but God', or knew the meaning of Islam, before this time, or maintains that any of his teachers knew it, he lies, fabricates, leads people astray, and falsely praises himself."[25]

Cook's understated and somewhat tongue-in-cheek reaction to Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's letter is worth repeating: "In a culture which had scant regard for claims to originality in matters of faith, this statement is a remarkable one. Unfortunately the Shaykh does not elaborate on the character of the divine blessing, or on the time and place of its bestowal."[26]

In the mid-eighteenth century, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab launched a militant campaign in Arabia that sought to eradicate Ottoman Islam, tainted as he saw it with the idolatrous innovations of the Sufis, and replace it with his own brand of extremism. Not only did Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab reject all Sufi devotional practices as *bida'*, and declare the veneration of any human being, including saints and prophets, to be *shirk*, he also proclaimed that anyone who followed such practices was a *kafir*, or an unbeliever, and must be executed. "In the absoluteness of his rejection of Sufism, he went beyond virtually all other Muslim fundamentalists - both those who had preceeded him and those who succeeded

---

[24]Cook, 1992, pp. 201-202.
[25]Ibn Ghannam quoted in Cook, 1992, p. 202.
[26]Cook, 1992, p. 202.

him in later generations."[27] Although the Wahhabis were particularly vociferous against Sufi practices, they also attacked the four orthodox Sunni *madhabs*, or schools, which in their view had been "contaminated by heretical practices and ideas."[28]

The Wahhabi revolt began in 1744, and with the political and military support of Muhammad ibn Saud, the Wahhabis soon conquered much of eastern and central Arabia. Following a successful series of raids by ibn Saud's son and successor 'Abd al-Aziz into southern Iraq in 1769, the Wahhabi message became even more extremist:

> "...all the rituals of religion had to be obeyed to the letter as manifestations of sincere belief, and all aberrations, including to pray even a single time, were considered to be the worst of sin, punishable by death. To sins such as the construction of tombs, lighting of candles, and veneration of saints and prophets were added the use of drink and tobacco and the playing of music, which were considered to be heretical innovations since they were not specifically mentioned in the Koran. All Muslims who had not yet accepted the Wahhabi teachings were considered to be pagans or polytheists who had to be converted or killed.[29]

Although scholarly objections to the Wahhabi ideology and movement began as early as 1163/1750,[30] (not incidentally, this date closely coincides with that of the first illustrated *En'am-ı şerif)*, little official attention was paid to what must have appeared at first as a mere nuisance. Even in 1787, when the Şerif of Mecca, Galib ibn Musaid, who was well aware of the religious and political threat the Wahhabi movement posed to the Ottoman government, sent a series of

---

[27]John Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World,* Westview Press: Colorado, 1982, p. 61.
[28]Lewis, p. 98.
[29]Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 224.
[30]There exists an epistle written no later than this date written by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Afaliq al-Ahsa'i: *Risala,* MS. Berlin 2,158, ff. 56a-73b. Cited in Cook, 1992, p. 200, ff. 88.

messages to Istanbul, these messages had little impact.[31] However, in 1796, this situation changed rather quickly as a result of successful Wahhabi attacks on the centers of Ottoman power in the Arab world.[32] In 1799 and 1800, Wahhabi pilgrims gained access to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, making the pilgrimage for the first time, so that at the end of the eighteenth century, the Wahhabis found themselves "face to face with the Ottoman Empire."[33]

> "As the century came to a close, all Ottoman efforts to check the Saudis had failed. This dangerous political and religious movement ruled without check in most of Arabia. The Sultan's failure to punish it caused him tremendous loss of prestige in the Muslim world, and left it in a position to gain new adherents and new power at the expense of the Ottomans in the years which followed."[34]

This Sa'udi/Wahhabi control of Mecca and Medina was only temporary. In 1802, the Wahhabis had attacked the city of Ta'if, a summer residence for the people of Mecca, killing its inhabitants, including infants and the infirm. The following year the Wahhabis laid seige to Mecca itself. After a period of three months the Meccans finally surrendered, and in May, 1803, the Wahhabis took control of the city, "killing those who refused to accept the new doctrines and destroying tombs and other objects of veneration...they had ravaged holy places which the Sultan was supposed to defend as part of the basic duties of his office. They had challenged the official state religion of the empire in the streets of the holiest place of Islam."[35] One of their first acts was to remove the Ottoman sultan's name from the Friday prayers. Since the Ottoman defeat of the Mamluks in 1517, Selim I and his successors had become the guardians of the Holy Cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and the most important Muslim leaders in the

---

[31]Shaw, 1971, p. 224.
[32]Shaw, 1971, p. 226.
[33]Lewis, p. 98.
[34]Shaw, 1971, p. 227.
[35]Shaw, 1971, p. 295.

world.[36] The legitimacy of the Ottoman sultan rested at least in part upon his role as the Caliph of Islam and the Protector of the Holy Cities.[37] The Wahhabi attack against Ottoman Islam, and especially their occupation of the Holy Cities in 1803, represented a serious threat to that legitimacy.

The city of Medina fell in the spring of 1804, with the Wahhabis stripping the Prophet's tomb of its valuables. Visits to the Prophet's Mosque were permitted, but not to his tomb, as the Wahhabis believed this to be idolatrous. Although they desecrated the tombs of the Prophet's family and his companions, the Wahhabis stopped short of removing the dome over the Prophet's tomb.[38] Although they were quickly expelled from Mecca, in 1804 the Wahhabis ravaged Medina, and then advanced as far as Baghdad. In 1807 the *hajj* caravan was refused entry to the holy city of Medina and the Wahhabis entered Mecca and Medina once again. By substituting his own name for that of Selim III in the Friday prayers at Mecca, Ibn Saud effectively co-opted the Muslim world's most important symbol of sovereignty.[39]

Popular belief held that in 1517, the last Mamluk Caliph al-Mutawwakil made a formal transference of his office to the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, "and as a symbol of this transference handed over to him the sacred relics believed to have come down from the days of the Prophet."[40] However, in his classic work on the caliphate, written in 1924, Thomas Arnold pointed out that while the fact of the Ottoman Sultan's acquisition of the relics was certainly without question, 'of the

---

[36]Roderic Davidson, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923: the impact of the West*, University of Texas Press: Austin, 1990, p. 9.

[37]Ottoman claims to the Caliphate are discussed later in this chapter.

[38]See John Lewis Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys Collected During His Travels in the East, by the Late John Lewis Burckhardt*, 2 vols., Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley: London, 1831, vol. 2, pp. 95-245.

[39]Shaw, 1971, p. 297. By 1813, the Ottomans re-gained control of the holy cities at the hands of the Egyptian governor, Muhammad 'Ali.

[40]Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford, 1924. p. 142. The Prophet's relics were placed in a special room of the Topkapı Palace known as the *Hirka-i Sa'adet*, and played an important role in a Ottoman ceremonies, especially during the month of Ramadan. Images of these relics served as symbols of the Ottoman's rightful role as inheritors of the Caliphate and as such were an important feature of contemporary *En'am-ı şerif*. These images are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

alleged transfer of the dignity of the Khilafat there is no contemporary evidence at all."[41] Using documentary evidence, Arnold argued that the Ottoman 'ulema generally regarded the caliphate as having ended thirty years after the Prophet's death with the death of 'Ali. In any case, the Ottoman Sultans were far less interested in assuming the title of caliph, which had by that time been assumed by so many insignificants, than they were in being named during the Friday prayers at Mecca as the "Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries." It was this title, a title that had been borne by the Mamluk sultan and not the caliph, that was seen as an implicit recognition of Selim I's sovereignty of the Muslim world.[42]

It was not until the late eighteenth century, faced with a loss of territory to Christian European powers as well as internal dissent, that the Ottomans began to lay serious claim to the caliphate. The fiction of a formal act of transfer of caliphal power from the Mamluks to the Ottomans was first put forward in 1787 by a European scholar, M. d'Ohsson, in his *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman.* [43] The first evidence of a formal claim to the caliphate had taken place thirteen years earlier, as part of the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarci between the Russians and Ottomans. The treaty included a clause that granted Abdülhamid I, as Ottoman Caliph, religious authority over the Tatars, much as the Empress of Russia claimed to be the patron of Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman territories. The Ottomans interpreted this as giving them the right to send a diploma of investiture to the Khan, and to continue appointing legal officers, qadis and muftis. Not surprisingly, the Russians insisted on removing the clause in 1783 when they realized its political implications.

The late nineteenth century saw an unprecedented emphasis placed upon the Ottoman Sultan's claim to the Caliphate, culminating in Abdülhamid II's promulgation of the Constitution of 1876, in which Article Three of the Constitution stated that "The Sublime Ottoman Sultanate, which possesses the Supreme Islamic Caliphate, will appertain to the eldest of the descendants of this

---

[41]Arnold, p. 142.
[42]Arnold, p. 152.
[43]Arnold, pp. 146-147.

house; and Article Four stated that "His Majesty the Sultan, as Caliph, is the protector of the Muslim religion."[44] Abdülhamid's claim to the Caliphate and the ensuing Pan-Islamic movement marked a shift in identity of the Ottoman ruler, who until then had been seen as Servant of the Two Holy Cities. The Hamidian claim to the Caliphate was the logical extension of claims that had been building since the late eighteenth century, claims that had as much to do with the Wahhabis internal, ideological threats to Ottoman Islam as they did with external territorial losses.

When the Sa'udis again took Mecca and Medina at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Wahhabis once again destroyed the tombs that had been rebuilt in the intervening years. Aside from removing inscriptions which address the Prophet by saying *"Ya Rasul Allah,"* (O Messenger of God!) the Wahhabis left his tomb alone, although they continue to discourage visitors from engaging in any activity that they determine to be excessive acts of veneration. A visitor to Medina a few weeks after the 1925 Wahhabi victory made this observation:

> "Certain it is that the Wahhabis would have long since thrown down the Dome, and rebuilt the Haram so that it did not enclose the Prophet's tomb, if their leaders had not been deterred by the caution of the statesman more than they were urged by the zeal of the religious fanatic. To lay violent hands on the Prophet's tomb is too dangerous a proceeding: such an act could hardly fail to arouse the entire Islamic world to drive its perpetrators out of the Holy Land."[45]

In 1905, as the Wahhabi/Sa'udi alliance again threatened the Holy Cities, the scholar, poet, writer and teacher, Jamil Efendi al-Siqdi al-Zahawi (1863-1936), the son of the Mufti of Iraq, wrote a book: *Al-fajr al-sadiq fi al-radd 'ala munkiri al-tawassul wa al-khawariq*, or "The true dawn: a refutation of those who deny the validity of using means to God and the miracle of saints." In it, he described

---

[44]Arnold, p. 148.
[45]See: Eldon Rutter's *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, G. P. Putnam's & Sons, Ltd.: London & New York, vol. 2, 1928. pp. 244-45.

some of what he considered to be Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's deviations from orthodox Islam:

> "He forbade people to read Imam Jazuli's *Dala'il al Khayrat,*[46] to perform superrogatory acts of devotion, to utter the names of God in His remembrance, to read the mawlid celebrating the Prophet's birth, or to evoke blessings and prayers on the Prophet from the Minaret after the call to prayer. What's more, he killed whoever dared to do any of those things. He forbade any kind of act of worship after the canonical prayers. He would publicly declare a Muslim a disbeliever for requesting a prophet, angel or individual of saintly life to join his or her prayers to that person's own prayer expressing some intention whose fulfillment might be asked of God as, for example, when one supplicates the Creator for the sake of Muhammad, on him be peace, to accomplish such-and-such a need. He also said anyone who addressed a person as lord or master (sayyid) was a disbeliever."[47]

The activities listed by al-Zahawi describe the typical supererogatory religious devotions of the Sufi orders. Included in the list of forbidden activities is the reading of the *Dala'il al khayrat* of Imam Jazuli, a book of prayers in praise of the Prophet Muhammad that is comparable in many ways with the *En'am-ı şerif.*[48] According to al-Zahawi, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab "burned many books containing prayers for the Prophet, among them *Dala'il al-Khayrat*, and others, similar in content and theme."[49] In a letter written in his own defense, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab denied the accusations levelled against him by the orthodox 'ulema, including the burning of books in praise of the Prophet.

---

[46]*The Dala'il al khayrat* of Imam Jazuli is a book of prayers in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. It was frequently illustrated with images of the Ka'ba and Medina, and will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

[47]Jamal Effendi al-'Iraqi al-Sidqi al-Zahawi, *The Doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna Versus the "Salafi" Movement* , tr. Shayhk Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, Kazi Publications: Chicago, 1996. p. 29.

[48]Among other things, the Dala'il al Khayrat was frequently illustrated with images of the Ka'ba and Medina.

[49]al-Zahawi, p. 25.

"As you know, I heard that Sulayman ibn Suhaym's letter has reached you, and that some of your scholars have accepted it and given it credence, and Allah knows that that man has claimed things, concerning me, which I never said, and most of which never even came to my mind.

Among them are his claim that I reject the Four Schools, and that I say people have been in ignorance for the past six hundred years (i.e. since the time of ibn Taymiyya), and that I claim *ijtihad* (the capacity to interpret Qur'an and Sunna independently), and that I am exempt of *taqlid* (following qualified opinion), and that I say: differences among the *'ulama* are a curse (a reversal of the *shari'a* principle that such differences are a blessing), and that I call *kafir* those who seek *tawassul* from the pious, and that I call al-Busiri *kafir* for saying (about the Prophet) "O most honored of creation," and that I say: if I could destroy the dome of the Prophet [at Medina] I would destroy it...and that if I could supress the (golden) drainage pipe of the Ka'ba and replace it with a wooden one I would, and that I forbid the visit of the Prophet's tomb, and those of one's parents and others, and that I call *kafir* whomever swears by other than Allah, and that I call Ibn al-Farid and (Muhyiddin) Ibn 'Arabi *kafir* s, and that I burn *Dala'il al-khayrat* and *Rawh al-rayyahin*[50] and that I call it *Rawh al-shayatin.*[51]

My answer to these matters is: *"Glory to Thee (Allah), this is a most serious slander!"*(24:16)[52]

My examination of the *En'am-ı şerif* shows it to be a text that expressed love and even veneration of the Prophet Muhammad. It contained prayers, as well as images, both calligraphic and representational, that were intended as a means of seeking the Prophet's intercession on the Day of Judgment. As such, the *En'am-ı şerif,* like the *Dala'il al-khayrat* and similar texts, went against the beliefs of the Wahhabis. It is abundantly clear that these books served as a focal

---

[50]Another book of invocation of blessings on the Prophet: *"The refreshment of the aromatic herbs."*

[51]*"The refreshment of Satan."*

[52]Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, *Mu'allafat al-shaykh al-imam Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab* , ed. 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Zayd al-Rumi, Muhammad Bultaji, and Sayyid Hijab, 8 vols. in 12 (Riyadh: s.n., 1980) 5: 11-12.

point in the polemics between orthodox Islam as practiced by the Ottomans, and the emerging fundamentalism that rejected it.

III. *Ottoman Islam and Sufism: the Naqshbandis.*

A result of the attention that has been focused on fundamentalism in the late twentieth century is the increased voice given to its proponents and the resulting ubiquitousness of their view of Sufism's place in Islam.[53] In *The Dervish Lodge: architecture, art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* Raymond Lifchez argues against the frequent depiction of Sufism as a bizarre aberration of Muslim life. "On the contrary, dervish culture was not a deviant body within the mainstream of Ottoman Islam but a self-selected aspect of Muslim life that was almost as old as Islam itself."[54] In the Ottoman world, Sufism and Islam were synonymous. By the mid-nineteenth century Istanbul's population was approximately three-quarters of a million, the majority were Muslim "and of these most were likely affiliated with the *tekkes,* either as dervishes or sympathizers."[55]

The first *tarikats,* or Sufi orders, arrived almost immediately after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. The end of the fifteenth century saw the Halvetis and Naqshbandis established under the patronage of Bayezid II. Other orders soon followed, among those with the most significant followings were the Kadiris and Mevlevis. Although the Bektashis *tarikat* had strong Shi'a

---

[53]See Hamid Algar's discussion of the variant concepts of the origins of Sufism in "The Naqshbandi order: a preliminary survey of its history and significance," pp. 123-125.
[54]Raymond Lifchez, *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1992, p. 5.
[55]Ibid. Lifchez does not indicate whether or not this number includes women. Traditionally, Ottoman women were rarely seen in public, although this had changed somewhat by the middle of the nineteenth century. As wives and mothers, women were affiliated with Sufi orders through their husbands and sons. Some orders actually initiated women, and allowed them to participate in tarikat rituals, while others did not. Unfortunately, the topic of gender has been virtually ignored in what work has been done on life within the orders. (See Cemal Kafadar, "The new visibility of Sufism in Turkish studies and cultural life," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1992, p. 309.

sympathies,[56] it had from a very early period become part of the fabric of Ottoman society through its close association with the Janissaries. However, the Bektashis, who were persecuted and finally supressed under Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) in 1826, were not represented in this study because not a single *En'am-ı şerif* was found to have been written by a Bektashi calligrapher. As will be discussed further in a later chapter, the *En'am-ı şerif* was a thoroughly Sunni text.

Many of the Ottoman 'ulema's most influential members had "strong Sufi inclinations." For example, several eighteenth and nineteenth-century *şeyhü'lislam*s were members of the Mevlevi or Naqshbandi orders.[57] During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Naqshbandi order in particular gained many adherents among many of the members of the Ottoman 'ulema because of its strong commitment to *shari'a*.[58]

The Naqshbandi order had been introduced to the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth century, following the conquest of Istanbul. The first Naqshbandi *tekke* to open in Istanbul was at the Zeyrek *madrasa* under the guidance of Molla Abdullah Ilahi of Simav, who had travelled to Samarkand to become first a disciple and eventually a *khalifa* of Khwaja Ubaid'ullah Ahrar, the third of the grand-shaykhs to follow Shah Bahauddin Naqshband, from whom the order takes its name. Molla Ilahi's *murids* included many of the finest scholars of his day, and even Sultan Fatih Mehmet attended his *sohbets*, or associations, in the Ayasofya Mosque.[59] When he left Istanbul, Molla Ilahi appointed Emir Buhari Seyyid Ahmed Efendi as his chief *khalifa*, and the latter also became widely

---

[56]See Trimingham, p. 69.
[57]Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman 'ulema and westernization," in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, vol. 9, The Hebrew University: Jerusalem, 1961, p. 68.
[58]David W. Damrel, "The spread of Naqshbandi political thought in the Islamic world," in *Naqshbandis: historical developments and present situation of a Muslim mystical order*, Proceedings of the Sèvres Round Table, 2-4 May 1985, ed. M. Gaborieau et. al., Editions Isis: Istanbul - Paris, 1990, p. 269.
[59]Hamid Algar, "A brief history of the Naqshbandi order," in *Naqshbandis: Historical development and present situation of a Muslim mystical order.* Proceedings of the Sévres round table, May 2-4, 1985, eds. M. Gaboreau et al. Editions Isis: Istanbul - Paris, p. 17.

known.[60] Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi,[61] perhaps the most famous of the Ottoman calligraphers, was a follower of Şeyh Ahmed Efendi. Şeyh Hamdullah's most illustrious pupil, Bayezid II, also followed Şeyh Ahmad and served as the patron of three Naqshbandi *tekkes*, one near Fatih Cami, the second near Ayvansaray, and the third at Edirnekapı.[62]

Naqshbandis were an integral part of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectual circles.[63] Naqshbandi saints and scholars were to be found in centres throughout the Ottoman empire, including Istanbul, Damascus, and Cairo as well as the holy cities of Mecca, Medina.[64] What was significant about the Naqshbandi order was that it was an urban order that spread primarily among the more educated members of society: "Do not initiate into the order except distinguished 'ulama'," wrote Khalid al-Baghdadi, the most important of the eighteenth century Naqshbandi shaykhs, to one of his disciples.[65] Al-Baghdadi's chain of transmission, known as the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi had passed through India before it reached the Ottoman lands, and had been shaped by the thought of such men as Ahmad Sirhindi and Shah Wali Allah. According to them, the basic message of the order was the vital necessity of restoring the *shari'a*, and the responsibility of the shaykh for initiating its resurgence.

> "The history and teachings of this order, which by this time were well-known in the intellectual and religious circles of the Ottoman Empire, demonstrated that a Sufi *shaykh's* role in society was not confined to the spiritual instruction of his disciples alone. Rather,

---

[60]Ibid. p. 18.
[61]The Arabic word *shaykh* is written as *şeyh* in Ottoman Turkish. The Ottoman Turkish spelling will be used where it is appropriate.
[62]Ibid.
[63]Damrel, p. 269. See also Hamid Algar's, "A brief history of the Naqshbandi order," in the same volume, p. 15.
[64]Damrel, p. 271.
[65]Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman lands in the early 19th century," *Die Welt des Islams* XXII, 1984, p. 7.

> the Mujaddidi [renewer] precedent established the role of the *shaykh* as a power for change within the society as a whole."[66]

This promotion of social and religious reform spread to many other Sufi circles during the eighteenth century, and it was widely accepted that the best way of achieving this change was for a spiritually adept shaykh to "confront and attempt to correct a degenerate and corrupt Muslim regime."[67] In order to succeed in this most vital of enterprises, the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi tradition enjoined its shaykhs to seek influence with rulers as a part of their spiritual mission."[68] One of the ways in which this was accomplished was through the teaching of calligraphy and the production of manuscripts such as the *En'am-ı şerif.*

IV. *Sufism and the Ottoman calligraphers and patrons.*[69]

The history of calligraphy in the Ottoman empire is closely intertwined with the history of Sufism. In her article on "Calligraphy and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey," Annemarie Schimmel pointed out that most Ottoman calligraphers were members of a Sufi order.[70] The calligraphers of my study lend considerable weight to that argument. A quick perusal of the appended biographical index shows most calligraphers as being affilitated in some way or another with a number of the various Sufi orders active in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottoman world.

From the fourteenth century onward, surviving guild-tracts typically included a *silsila,* or chain of initiation, similar to those of the Sufi orders: Allah initiates Gabriel, who initiates the Prophet Muhammad, who initiates 'Ali, who

---

[66]Damrel, p. 274.
[67]Ibid.
[68]Abu-Manneh, p. 20.
[69]Appendix II contains biographies of the calligraphers and patrons of the *En'am-ı şerif.*
[70]Annemarie Schimmel, "Calligraphy and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* ed. Raymond Lifchez, University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1992, p. 242.

initiates Salman al-Farsi, who initiates the *Pirs*, or the traditional patrons of the guilds, and so on, down to the most recently initiated master.[71] Texts by or about calligraphers frequently also began with these *silsila*. One such text, *Mizan'ül hatt*, [72] or "The Measurement of Calligraphy," written in 1266/1849, by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi (d. 1268/1852), known as Hakkak-zade, documents the vital connection between these Sufi calligraphers and the Ottoman sultans.[73] The manuscript includes a lengthy *silsila* of calligraphers beginning with Isma'il, Abraham's son, and continuing down through Abu Bakr[74] until the contemporary period. Included are the names of some twenty-seven grand shaykhs of the Naqshbandi order together with those of renowned calligraphers such as ibn Muqla, Yaqut al-Musta'simi, Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi, and Hafiz Osman, as well as Ottoman Sultans Bayezid II (886-918/1481-1512), Mustafa II (1106-15/1695-1703), Ahmed III (1115-43/1703-30), Mustafa III (1171-87/1757-74), Selim III (1203-22/1789-1807), Mustafa IV (1222-23/1807-08), and Abdülmecid I (1255-77/1839-61).

Şeyh Hamdullah, who is the first calligrapher in the chain of most Turkish *silsilas*, was renowned for his deep understanding of Sufism.[75] Annemarie Schimmel has noted that many of the leading masters of calligraphy were also shaykhs of the various Sufi orders.[76] It is known that Şeyh Hamdullah inherited the *khalifat* of several Sufi orders from his father, including the Zeyniye, Helveti, Suhrawardi and Rifa'i,[77] before he began to follow the Naqsbandi shaykh Emir

---

[71]Bernard Lewis, "An epistle on manual crafts," in *Islamic Culture* 12/2 (Hyderabad-Deccan) 1943, p. 151. (reprinted in *Studies in classical and Ottoman Islam (7th - 16th centuries)*, Variorum Reprints: London. 1976.)

[72]The original and only existing copy of this manuscript is to be found in the Fatih Millet Library, a facimile edition was recently published in Istanbul. Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, *Mizan'ül hatt*, Osmanlı Yayınevi: Istanbul, 1986.

[73]As a part of his training, each of the Ottoman sultans pursued one of the crafts.

[74]The Naqshbandi *tarikat* is the only one of the Sufi orders to trace its origins through Abu Bakr Siddiq, Islam's first caliph. All other orders trace their origins through 'Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and the fourth caliph.

[75]*Muhittin Serin, Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Türk Hat Üstadlari 2, Kubbealti Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfi: Istanbul, 1992, p. 29.

[76]Schimmel, "Sufism and spiritual life in Turkey," in *Islamic spirituality*, ed. S.H. Nasr, New York, 1991, p. 246.

[77]Serin, p. 31.

Buhârî Seyyid Ahmed Efendi.[78] The participation by the sultans in the art of calligraphy was largely supervised by calligraphers who were also Sufis,[79] for example, Şeyh Hamdullah was the teacher of Beyazid II, Hafiz Osman taught both Mustafa II (1664-1703) and Ahmed III (1673-1736), and Mustafa Rakim (1758-1826) taught Sultan Mahmud II. The relationship between master calligrapher and student was very similar to that of a Sufi shaykh who required absolute obedience and respect from his *murid*.[80] It is said that Bayezid II had so much respect for Şeyh Hamdullah that he held his teacher's inkwell as he wrote, and seated him in the place of honour amongst the other members of the 'ulema. A similar story is told about the relationship of Sultan Mustafa and his teacher, Hafiz Osman.[81]

The calligraphers, patrons, and owners of the eighteenth and nineteenth century *En'am-ı şerif* may be described as individuals who were members of the orthodox 'ulema, as well as members or affiliates of Sufi orders. One of the most noticeable factors in the biographies of these individuals is their membership in the ruling class. For the sake of brevity I will only mention a number of representative individuals. Further information on the connection between the calligraphers, patrons and the ruling elite see the biographies in Appendix II. **Mustafa Pasa b. Mehmed Pasa** (d. 1176/1763), the calligrapher of **Halet Efendi 5**, was the son Sultan Ahmed III's grand vezir Mehmed Pasa (1071-1124/1660-1 to 1712). Although we do not know the name of Mustafa Pasa's patron, the eventual owner of Halet Efendi 5, was Mehmed Sa'id Halet Efendi (1760-1823), one of Sultan Mahmud II's chief administrators, who dominated the political scene in Istanbul between 1812 and 1822.[82] Shaw calls Halet Efendi, who was

---

[78]Serin, p. 28.
[79]Schimmel, 1991, p. 231.
[80]Schimmel, 1991, p. 245.
[81]Uğur Derman, "Calligraphy," in *Sabancı Collection*, Akbank Culture and Art Publication: 60, Istanbul, 1995, p. 70. These stories, in which a ruler treats a calligrapher with great respect, are fairly common. Anthony Welch suggests that they may constitute a type of literary hyperbole on the part of the chroniclers.
[82]Abu-Manneh, p. 21.

appointed *reis al-kuttab*[83] in 1222/1807, *ketkhuda-i rikab-i humayun*[84] in 1226/1811, and *nishandji*[85] in 1230/1815, the "most influential and long-lived among the conservative leaders of the time...a member of the 'ulema and closely attached to the Galip Dede *mevlevi* dervish lodge of Galata."[86] Heyd refers to him as "the virtual arbiter of the Empire's destiny."[87] Halet Efendi was also said to be a follower of Şeyh 'Ali Behjet, the Naqshbandi shaykh of the Selimiyye *zawiyye* in Uskudar built by Selim III. It has been argued that Halet Efendi's close connection with the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order may have resulted in a series of proclamations issued in 1821 under the name of Selim III, that were reminiscent of Naqshbandi teachings: the need to return to the ideal of the early Islamic period, the importance of following the shari'a and the revival of the *sunna* of the Prophet. [88] Halet Efendi built a library in the Galata Mevlevi *tekke* and endowed it with important and very rare works of history, literature and Sufism, including the *En'am-ı şerif.*

Kadiasker Mustafa Izzet Efendi (d. 1293/1876), one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century, was a member of the Naqshbandi order[89] and protegé of Sultan Mahmud II. During the subsequent reign of Abdülmecid, Mustafa Izzet held a number of high religious and judicial positions, including serving as Sultan Abdülmecid's imam and as the imam of the *Eyyüb* mosque. Mustafa Izzet served as a member of the Supreme Court, as the *kadıasker* of Rumeli (the head of the 'ulema second only to the *şeyhülislam),* and as the representative of the *şerif* of Mecca in Istanbul. **Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi** (n.d.) the calligrapher responsible for two of the manuscripts in this study, **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509** and **YY 847**, was one of Mustafa Izzet Efendi's foremost students.[90]

---

[83]The *reis al-kuttab* was the chief of clerks, head of the offices attached to the Grand Vezirate. After the eighteenth century, the *reis al-kuttab* served as foreign minister.
[84]The deputy director of the imperial court.
[85]The chancellor, or secretary of state for the Sultan's *tughra.*
[86]Shaw, 1977, vol. 2, p. 8.
[87]Heyd, p. 69.
[88]Abu-Manneh, pp. 21-23.
[89]Sevket Rado, *Türk Hattatları,* Istanbul, n.d., pp. 216-7.
[90]Mustakimzade, p. 217.

Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, wife of Mahmud II and mother of Abdülaziz I (1277/1861-1293/1876), was one of the nineteenth-century's most powerful women, and an important patron of the arts. She donated over eight hundred books, including **Pertevniyal 43** to the library of the mosque which she founded in Aksaray. In addition to her endowment of a number of hospitals, public fountains and waterworks, Pertevniyal also provided for the upkeep of several saint's tombs, mosques and dervish lodges, as well as ensuring the recitation of Mevlut at Eyyüb Mosque, Istanbul's most holy site and Qur'anic recitations in Mecca for the Prophet, her husband and son.[91]

The most frequently noted Sufi order in the biographies of those who created and used the *En'am-ı şerif* is the Naqshbandi.[92] This is not surprising, given the tangible evidence (already noted in **Mustafa Hilmi**'s mid-nineteenth century *Mizan'ül hatt)* of the important role played by the Naqshbandi order in the history of Ottoman calligraphy. **Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi**, the calligrapher of three of the manuscripts in our study, is specifically mentioned as following a Naqshbandi shaykh, as is **Halet Efendi**, the collector of another. Two more manuscripts were written by **Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi**, the student of **Mustafa Izzet** who was one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century, and a member of the Naqshbandi order. Unfortunately, biographical information on the calligrapher **Abd al-Samad Naqshband** was not to be found, however, as he bears an appropriate cognem and has written an *En'am-ı şerif* that includes a Naqshbandi *silsila,* one may assume his allegiance to the order. Although it was written by an unknown calligrapher, the Süleymaniye Library's **Düğümlü Baba 491** was originally part of a collection of a *tekke* built to honour a Naqshbandi saint. Finally, the choice of Qur'anic *du'a* in 'Abd al-Samad's *En'am-ı şerif* is very

---

[91] A catalogue description of the endowment deed has been published in, *9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman: Woman in Anatolia,* Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture - General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, Istanbul, 1993, p. 240.

[92] The two Ottoman sultans specifically mentioned as being Naqshbandi initiates both reigned during this period: Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1789), and Mustafa IV (r. 1807-1808). See Algar, 1990, p. 130.

similar to that of the University of Victoria's, and although tenuous, it may suggest a possible Naqshbandi connection.

Our examination of the lives of the calligraphers and patrons of the *En'am-ı şerif* has illustrated the strong connections that existed between orthodox Sufism and the Ottoman elite in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the same period, the rise of the European nation-states underscored a decline in Ottoman power; while Islamic orthodoxy and Ottoman sovereignty itself came under attack from within at the hands of the Wahhabi fundamentalists. It is not surprising that Sufi calligraphers chose this particular moment to transform a simple book containing Qur'anic text and prayers into an elaborate manuscript combining sacred text with images of sacred places and objects that were intended to serve as conductors of *baraka*, or Divine grace. In addition to reinforcing the spiritual aspects of Islam that had come under attack from the fundamentalist movement, the artists of the *En'am-ı şerif* made a strong political statement by choosing to present these images in such a way as to highlight the Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the caliphate and protectors of Islam.

CHAPTER TWO

Prayers and prayer books

I. The concept of *baraka*, and *tabbaruk*.[1]

On the 20th of *Dhu'l Hijjah*, 791/1389, as Timur's army beseiged the city of Damascus, Shams al-Din ibn al-Jazari finished writing a book of Prophetic sayings and prayers that he entitled, *al-Hisn al-hasin*, or The Strong Fortress:

> "I write these lines while all roads leading to and from Damascus are closed, in fact sealed with stones; the populace have all taken up positions at the city wall and crying out for help to Allah; they are in utter misery as a result of the town being laid under siege; no water is allowed to enter the city; the helpless people's hands are raised in *du'a*, the surroundings of the city have been put to fire and most of the little villages in the surroundings have been destroyed; every person is in fear for his life, family and property and (knowing this to be the consequences of his sins he regrets) his wrongdoings; hence, every person is concerned about saving himself according to his own best ability.
>
> At a time like this I have made this *kitab* my sanctuary and I have depended on Allah alone for He suffices me and He is the Best Patron.
>
> "When I completed this collection by correcting and arranging it, I was summoned by an enemy (ie. the leader of the *Timurs)* who was so powerful that only Allah could eliminate him."[2]

---

[1]Referring to the emanation and receiving of Divine Grace from sacred relics.

[2]Shams al-Din al-Jazri, quoted in *A Comprehensive collection of nasnoon duas based on al-Hisnul hasin*, Karachi, 1993, epilogue, p. 307. The reference is to Timur (1336-1405), known in the West as Tamerlane, a Turkish leader whose "Mongol-style terror was the most visible and even the most consistent element in his political discourse." See Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, vol. 2, p. 432.

Repeatedly reciting the prayers taught by the Prophet and contained in his collection, Imam al-Jazri experienced a dream in which the Prophet appeared and seemed to be asking him what he wanted. Al-Jazri replied "Oh Messenger of Allah, pray for me and all the Muslims." The Prophet then lifted his hands in a prayer of intercession, and in what has become a characteristic movement throughout the Islamic world, ended the prayer by passing his hands over his face. This ubiquitous action may be seen as a physical manifestation of the belief in the transmission of *baraka,* or Divine grace. Al-Jazri said:

> "I saw this dream on Thursday night and the enemy ran away on Sunday night...and God gave relief to me (al-Jazari) and to the Muslims by the *baraka* of what is in this book."[3]

According to al-Jazri, Allah granted the Muslims deliverance by virtue of the blessed words and prayers of the Prophet. By referring to authentic hadith the author offered his readers these prayers for the sake of their *baraka,* "as a means of withstanding any difficulty and hardship and...presented it as a shield against the mischief of both men and *jinn."*[4]

This concept of *baraka* is integral to the understanding of sacred art in Islam. *Baraka* may be defined as "a spark of divine power or grace attached to personalities and pre-eminently to the personality of the Prophet."[5] This *baraka* is not only a source of Divine grace, but may also serve as a shield against sickness, evil and misfortune, and as the means through which the ordinary individual

---

[3]Al-Jazri quoted in al-Nabhani's *al-Wird al-shafi:* " in *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer Manuals in Common Use,* Oneworld: Oxford, 1996, p. xxvii.
[4]Ibid.
[5]Padwick, p. xxvi. According to Seyyid Hossein Nasr:

> "The origin of Islamic art must be sought in the inner realities *(haqa'iq)* of the Qur'an which are also the principal realities of the cosmos and the spiritual reality of the Prophetic Substance from which flows the 'Muhammadan grace' *(al-barakat al-muhammadiyyah)."*

See: *Islamic Art and Spirituality.* Ipswich, 1987, p. 6.

may seek the Prophet's intercession with Allah for his daily needs as well as on the Day of Judgment. While the Wahhabis emphatically denied that anyone, including the Prophet, had the ability to intercede for anyone else, many verses in Qur'an state that Allah gives the right of *shafa'a,* or intercession to whom He wills.[6] Of particular importance is the verse: *"And on those whom they call beside Him have not the authority for intercession, except him who bears witness to the truth, as they are aware."*[7]

Eldon Rutter, an early nineteenth-century traveller to Mecca, overheard a Wahhabi arguing with a Meccan that since the Prophet was dead he was unable to assist anyone. The role of the Prophet is a major source of disagreement between the Wahhabis and orthodox Islam, especially Sufism. The Qur'an says: *"Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him, and salute him with all respect."*[8] In a hadith narrated by Abu Huraira and related by Abu Dawud, the Prophet is heard to say: "No one who sends greetings on me but Allah will restore my spirit to me so that I may respond to his greeting."[9] This hadith is understood as proof of the Prophet's continuing spiritual presence. One sends blessings on the Prophet in order that that those blessings may be returned upon the sender. According to another version of the hadith, Muslims refer to the Prophet as being "alive and fresh" in his grave; spiritually awake and aware. The *tashahhud* of the ritual prayer includes a *salawat,* or invokation of blessings on the Prophet, in a grammatical form that is only appropriate in reference to one who is alive: *assalamu 'alaika ayyuha nabiyyu,* "peace be upon you, O Prophet!" A similar phrase, "Peace be upon you, O Beloved of Allah," is inscribed over the doorway of the *Hırka-i sa'adet,* **(Plate 3)** the area of the Topkapı Sarayı that houses the various relics of the Prophet Muhammad said to have been brought to Istanbul from Cairo by the

---

[6]In particular: 21.28; 2.255; 10.3; 20.109; 21.28; 34.23.
[7]43.86
[8]33:56.
[9]Imam Nawawi, *Riyad us-salihеen,* tr. M. Matraji, vol. II, Dar el Fikr: Lebanon, 1993, p. 281.

Caliph al-Muta'wakkil III when he transferred the caliphate to Selim I.[10] These *athar*, or relics, including the Prophet's footprint, sword, banner, and *hirka*, or mantle, are considered to be sources of Prophetic *baraka* and were important symbols of Ottoman sovereignty. Images of these objects appear frequently in the *En'am-ı şerif*, and their significance will be discussed at length in the final chapter on miniature paintings. In order to understand how the prayers, invocations and imagery of the *En'am-ı şerif* were used, it is important to first understand the concept of *tabarruk*, or deriving blessings from something once owned or touched by a holy person.

The Qur'an relates two incidents in which the relics of holy men were used as sources of *baraka*. The first is a story in which the Prophet Yusuf's shirt was used to restore his father Jacob's vision.

> *"Go with this, my shirt, and cast it over the face of my father: he will come to see (clearly). Then come ye (here) to me together with all your family. ..Then when the bearer of the good news came, he cast (the shirt) over his face, and he forthwith regained clear sight. He said: 'Did I not say to you, "I know from Allah that which ye know not?"'"* [11]

The second reference concerns the relics of the family of Moses and Aaron.

> *"And (further) their Prophet said to them: 'A sign of his authority is that there shall come to you the Ark of the Covenant, with (an assurance) therein of security from your Lord, and the relics left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, carried by angels. In this is a Symbol for you if ye indeed have faith."*[12]

The various books of hadith contain numerous examples of how during the Prophet's lifetime his companions used to seek *tabarruk* with his hair, nails, sweat, saliva, ablution water, cloak, his grave, even the very earth of Medina

---

[10]See Chapter 1, footnote #39.
[11]12:93-96
[12]2:248.

itself. After his death, this practice was continued by members of his family and his companions. According to 'Abd Allah, the freed slave of Asma' bint Abu Bakr, the latter brought out a cloak made of Persian cloth with a hem of (silk) brocade and said: "Here is the cloak (*jubba*) of Allah's Messenger...this was Allah's Messenger's cloak with 'Aisha until she died, then I got possession of it. The Apostle of Allah used to wear it, and we washed it for the sick so that they could seek cure thereby."[13] According to Imam Nawawi, "In this *hadith* is proof that it is recommended to seek blessings through the relics of the righteous and their clothes (*wa fi hadha al-hadith dalil 'ala istihbab al-tabarruk bi athar al-salihin wa thiyabihim.*)"[14]

II. Prayers and prayer books in Islam.

Islamic worship consists of several different sorts of prayer, including *salat,* or ritual prayer; *du'a,* or supplication; *dhikr*[15], or the remembrance of Allah; and *salawat,* or the invoking of blessings. Our concern here is not with the many books of instruction in the *salat,* or daily prayer ritual, but rather with what Constance Padwick called:

> "the great mass of...devotions...built up of well-tried small items arranged in ever new patterns - traditional prayers of the Prophet, Qurân verses, blessings of the Prophet, forgiveness-seekings, refuge-seekings, cries of praise, all on known and authorized forms."[16]

In her landmark study written in 1961, and entitled, *Muslim Devotions: a study of prayer-manuals in common use,* Padwick examined the many prayer-books

---

[13]narrated by Abu Dawud.
[14]*Sharh Sahih Muslim* (Book 37, Chaper 2, no. 10).
[15] Turkish, *zikr.*
[16]Padwick, p. xxviii.

then available throughout much of the Muslim world. Seeking to examine those texts which were accessible to the common Muslim, she confined her study to popular books which were easily purchased, avoiding what she termed "the more esoteric works for the inner life of the dervish orders." Nevertheless, she discovered that even these books were associated in some way or another with the various Sufi orders.

> "...Indeed it seems almost impossible for a man seeking for instruction in prayer, beyond directions for the daily prayer rite, to avoid works connected with one or the other of the orders. Since these became illegal in Turkey there is a dearth of devotional material in Istanbul, once so rich a centre."[17]

Padwick notes that the earliest collections of devotions were works attributed to such early Muslims as the contemporary of the Prophet, Uwais al-Qarani,[18] and 'Ali Zain al-Abidin (d. 92/710 or 94/712-13.[19] In the medieval period the devotions of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 561/1166)[20] and Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 656/1258)[21] were widely known.[22] The most common names used for collections of prayers were *hizb*, meaning a section or division (usually of Qur'an), as in the famous *Hizb al-bahr*, taught to al-Shadhili by the Prophet in a dream; and *hirz*, or its synonym *hizn*, meaning stronghold, or protection, as in the previously mentioned *Hisn al-hasin* of al-Jazri. Each Sufi order also had its own

---

[17]Padwick, p. xi-xii.
[18]Although he was a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad, Uwais never actually set eyes on him. His love for the Prophet was so great that as the latter lay dying he ordered that his mantle be brought to Uwais by 'Umar and 'Ali.
[19]Zain al-Abidin (d. 92/710 or 94/712-713) was the great-grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and one of the Shi'a imams.
[20]'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 561/1166) lived in Baghdad and was the eponymous founder of the Qadiri order of Sufis.
[21]Al-Shadili (d. 656/1258) was the founder of the Shadhili order, which has widely spread throughout West and North Africa.
[22]Padwick, pp. xiv-xvii.

set of daily prayers passed from shaykh to pupil and known as an *awrad,* (Turkish *evrad)* and these were often collected and published.

II. 1. The *Dala'il al- khayrat.*

The most famous prayer-book, and that which is most often reproduced, is the *Dala'il al-khayrat,* written by the Moroccan saint Abu 'Abdallah ibn Suleyman ibn Abi Bakr al-Jazuli (d. circa 875/1470), a Sufi master of the Shadhili order. The *Dala'il al-khayrat* is a litany of blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad. It also includes a description of the *rawdah,* or tomb of the Prophet, and it is this image that appears as the first illustration to be used in a prayer-book. **Plate 4** is an image from the earliest illustrated *Dala'il al-khayrat* , a seventeenth-century copy written in the Maghrib by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ibn 'Ali al-Balansi al-Andalusi. Above three graves and below a scalloped archway hangs a golden lamp with a flared top and base. The graves are labelled with the names of the occupants: the Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Overhead, the dome protecting the Prophet's tomb is surmounted by a golden finial bearing the name of God. [23]

By the eighteenth century, Padwick notes that writers of prayer-books such as Mustafa al-Bakri (d. 1162/1749) were "preoccupied with the mystical figure of Muhammad as the centre of the spiritual universe."[24]

---

[23]This manuscript was probably produced in the Maghrib, in 1025/1616. It is now to be found in the New York Public Library, M&A, Arab. ms. 5. Published in Schmitz, p. 46 and figure 31. It is interesting to note that seventeenth-century Moroccan and North African *Dala'il al-khayrat* s began to be illustrated with images of the Prophet's Mosque and the Ka'ba at precisely the same time that the area "witnessed a lengthy triangular struggle...about the very issue of the caliphate and its territorial, political and economic implications." See: Abderrahmane El Moudden, "The idea of the Caliphate between Moroccans and Ottomans," in *Studia Islamica* 1995/2 (October) 82, p. 105.

[24]Padwick, p. xviii. Here Padwick notes that al-Bakri lived and wrote in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo, as well as Istanbul. "His life of Sufism...on its outward side was one of relationship with Turkish authorities, spiritual and governmental."

II. 2. The *En'am.*

The history of the *En'am-ı şerif* begins with manuscripts held today in numerous libraries and collections, and frequently catalogued simply as *du'alar,* or prayerbooks. These manuscripts consist of elegant renderings of *Surah al-An'am,* the sixth chapter of the Qur'an, and occasionally a selection of other surahs. The *En'am-ı şerif* is unique among prayer-books in that no one particular author is cited as being responsible for its text. The selection of specific Qur'anic text, prayers and later images seems to have varied according to the needs or wishes of the individual calligrapher, illuminator/illustrator or patron.

The action of Qur'anic recitation is widely understood to bring great reward, for on the Last Day those who recited the Holy Book may hope for *shafa'a al-Qur'an,* or the intercession of the Qur'an itself:

> "(From Abu Umama.) He said: I heard the Apostle of God say, 'Recite the Qur'an, for on the Resurrection Day it will come as an intercessor for its companions.'"[25]

According to a tradition narrated by Ibn Abbas, *Surah al-An'am* was revealed in its entirety during the later period at Mecca when the nascent Muslim community was struggling for its very existence. In addition to enunciating the basic Islamic principles, it offers encouragement to the Prophet and his followers, warning those who disbelieve and oppose them. Named after cattle, *(an'am)* mentioned in verses 136, 138 and 139, it is the first long Meccan surah. According to al-Jazri, the Prophet said: "By Allah, so many angels came to convey this Surah that the corners of the heavens became covered with their great numbers."[26] A hadith narrated by Asma bint Yazid says:

---

[25]Imam Nawawi, quoted in Padwick, p. 111.
[26]Imam al-Jazri, *Al-Hisn al-Hasin,* p. 266.

> "During the revelation of this surah, the Holy Prophet was riding on a she-camel and I was holding her nose-string. The she-camel began to feel the weight so heavily that it seemed as if her bones would break under it.[27]

Surah al-An'am contains the names of eighteen prophets, gives their geneology and describes their descendents. The verse, *"It is He who has produced you from a single soul."*[28] offers tangible evidence of humanity's common descent. An esoteric understanding of this surah is that it contains knowledge, including the names, of all those who have ever been, or will ever be born. One of the Naqshbandi order's grand shaykhs, Sharafu'd din Daghestani (d. 1355/1936), a former *şeyhülislam* and advisor to Sultan Abulhamid, spent the final months of his life in jail, studying this chapter. He told his successor, Şeyh Abdullah Daghestani, that he would pass away soon because, "I spent too much of my power extracting the secrets of *Surat al-An'am.*"[29]

> For three months I have been diving into the ocean of *Surat al-An'am* to bring out from one of its verses the names of all the saints of the Naqshbandi order, whose number is 7,007. Praise belongs to God, I was able to obtain their names with all their titles and I have recorded them in my private notebook, which I am giving to my successor, Shaykh Abd Allah. It contains the names of all the different group of saints who are going to be present in the time of Mahdi [A.S.]"[30]

II. 2a. The Pre-Ottoman En'am.

---

[27]S. Abul A'la Maududi, *The Meaning of the Qur'an*, Islamic Publications Ltd.: Lahore, 1989, vol. 3, p. 87.
[28]6:98.
[29]Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain*, Kazi Publications: Chicago, 1995, p. 344.
[30]Kabbani, p. 344. The letters A.S., or s.a.w.s., are abbreviations of the *tasliya*, or invocation of blessings recited after every mention of the Prophet's name.

The Topkapı Sarayı Museum possesses the earliest manuscript in this study to feature *Surah al-An'am,* **TSM R70** (Cat. #1), dated 690/1291, by the hand of the illustrious calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi for the treasury of the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'sim. Yaqut was the last of the great Abbasid calligraphers, and his work was considered the foundation upon which Ottoman calligraphy was built. In addition to *Surah al-An'am,* this manuscript includes surahs *al-Fatiha, al-Kahf, Saba,* and *Fatir. Al-Fatiha,* or "The Opening," is the logical choice to begin a collection of surahs; however, given the mystical nature of the other three chapters it may be argued that its appearance here suggests a protective use. The saying of *al-Fatiha* is ubiquitous in the Islamic world. It is the first surah taught to children, repeated seventeen times daily in the obligatory ritual prayers, and intoned at the commencement of any public gathering. The repetition of *al-Fatiha* accompanies a promise of marriage and is said for a departed soul. Tombstones frequently ask passers-by to recite *al-Fatiha* for the occupant of the grave, and the colophons of religious texts regularly ask the same for the author. Padwick notes the protective use of *al-Fatiha,* comparing it with the use of Qur'anic text in amulets.[31] These amulets, or *ta'viz,* are an important feature of eighteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* and will be examined in depth in the following chapter.

The title of *Surah al-Kahf,* "The Cave," refers to the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, a story familiar throughout Christendom in the Middle Ages. Seven youths who believed in the One God fell asleep with their dog in a cave near Ephesus, on the west coast of Asia Minor, escaping the wrath of their pagan neighbours during the time of Christianity's persecution by the Roman Empire. They awoke several hundred years later to find a much changed world, with Christianity the state religion. The Qur'anic version warns against arguments based upon the details of the story, saying that only Allah knows the truth of such things. Instead, the Qur'an stresses the importance of having trust in Allah as the main point. The names of the Seven Sleepers, not mentioned in

---

[31]Padwick, pp. 113-114.

the Qur'an but known through tradition, are regularly featured in eighteenth and nineteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* as the basis of *taviz*, or calligraphic amulets, intended to bring prosperity and success, the connection being that this prosperity, or *rizq*, can only come through trust in Allah.[32]

The subject matter of surahs *Saba* and *Fatir* include Solomon's control over the *jinn*, and the mystery of Allah's creation and its maintenance by angelic forces. These subjects will continue to be important in the later *En'am-ı şerif* as evidenced through the use of numerous images of the Seal of Solomon, and other protective seals and amulets bearing the names of the archangels.[33]

II. 2b. The sixteenth-century *En'am*.

The history of Ottoman calligraphy begins with the work of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (833-926/1429-1520).[34] There are three manuscripts in this study by the hand of this renowned sixteenth century calligrapher; two of these, **Nuri Arlasez 245** (Cat. #2), and **Ayasofya 19/1 M** (Cat. #3), both in the Süleymâniye Library, consist simply of *Surah al-An'am*. The third Şeyh Hamdullah manuscript, **Ali Emiri Arabi 10** (Cat. #4), belonging to the Fatih Millet Library, contains surahs *al-Fatiha, al-An'am, Ya Sin, Mulk, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas,* and a repetition of *Fatiha*. The repetition of *Surah al-Fatiha* upon the completion of the Qur'an's recitation indicates its eternal quality, and also serves to underscore the text's liturgical aspect. The combination of *Surah al-An'am* with

---

[32]These *ta'viz* are featured with other seals and amulets in Chapter Three.

[33]I have used the term archangels because of its familiarity to the Western reader. The angel Jibril (Gabriel) is entrusted with bringing revelation to mankind; the angel Mika'il (Michael) with bringing rain and making plants grow; the angel Isra'fil will blow the trumpet at the end of time; and the angel Azra'il is the angel of death. Together, these four angels represent the mightiest of all the angels. See Sheikh 'Abdu'l-Hamid Kishk, *The World of the Angels*, London, 1994, pp. 14-17.

[34]According to Uğur Derman, Şeyh Hamdullah "marks the beginning of Ottoman predominance in calligraphy, and thereafter the art followed a continual course of development until the twentieth century." *Sabancı Collection*, p. 24.

other surahs, especially *al-Kahf, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Rahman, al-Mulk* and *al-Nabaa,* was considered to be a highly protective and efficacious amulet against sickness and evil.[35]

Surah Ya Sin is known as the "heart of the Qur'an." Ya Sin is one of the Prophet's names, and the surah deals primarily with the Holy Prophet and the message sent to him by Allah. *Surah Ya Sin* speaks at length about the hereafter, and for this reason its repetition is encouraged at the death-bed of a believer. According to Ma'qil bin Yasar, the Prophet said: "Recite *Surah Ya Sin* to the dying ones among you."[36]

> *"Doth not man see that it is We who created him from sperm? Yet behold! he (stands forth) as an open adversary!*
> *And he makes comparisons for Us, and forgets his own (origin, and) creation: he says: "Who can give life to (dry) bones and decomposed ones (at that)?"*
> *Say: "He will give them life Who created them for the first time! For He fully knows all creation.*
> *The same who produces for you fire out of the green tree, when behold! ye kindle therewith (your own fires)!*
> *Is not He who created the heavens and the earth able to create the like thereof?" - Yea, indeed! For He is the Creator Supreme, of Skill and Knowledge (infinite)!*
> *Verily, when He intends a thing, His Command is "Be", and it is!*
> *So glory to Him in Whose Hands is the Dominion of all things: and to Him will ye all be brought back."*[37]

Surah Ya Sin's prophylactic qualities are also well known, and this is undoubtedly a major reason for its inclusion in this type of prayer book. Several

---

[35]Stephen Venoit, *Occidentalism. Islamic Art in the 19th Century.* The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. XXIII, The Nour Foundation: Oxford and New York. p. 46.
[36]Maududi, vol. 11, p. 39.
[37]36:77-83.

of the manuscripts in this study actually omit *Surah al- An'am* and begin instead with *Surah Ya Sin.*[38]

Surah al-Mulk begins with an explanation of the meaning of life.

> *"Blessed be He in Whose hands is Dominion (Al-Mulk);*
> *and He over all things hath power;-*
> *He Who created Death and Life, that He may try which of you is best in deed:*
> *and He is the Exalted in Might, Oft-Forgiving."*[39]

This surah begins the final fifteenth of the Qur'an, contrasting the external "reality" of the world with the profound inner Reality. It serves as a wake-up call to those who would be heedless of its message. The word *mulk* in the first verse may be translated as dominion, lordship or sovereignty - it defines the right to rule. A second but inseparable concept of Divine rulership contained within this verse is power: *"wa Huwa 'ali kulli shayi'in qadir," (And He over all things has power).* This concept of Divine rulership was important to the Ottomans, whose legitimacy was based upon their adherence to Islam. This last phrase was one which formed the basis of a calligraphic seal seen in a number of eighteenth and nineteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif.*[40]

The final three surahs found in Şeyh Hamdullah's sixteenth-century *En'am* are *Surah al-Ikhlas* and the last two verses of the Qur'an. *Surah al-Ikhlas*, the chapter of sincerity, is frequently referred to as being equal in its recitation to one-third of the Qur'an. It is a chapter that is frequently used in Sufi *evrads,*[41] and again, plays a role in a number of calligraphic seals found in later *En'am-ı şerif.* The final two chapters of the Qur'an, *al-Falaq* (Dawn), and *al-Nas* (Mankind), are

---

[38]**Pertevniyal 43, IUL 5756** (which is specifically referred to in its colophon on f. 169 as an *En'am-ı şerif* despite the fact that it does not contain *Surah al-An 'am.),* **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509, YY 874, Spencer Turk 9, M&A Arab 22,** and **IUL 5619.**
[39]67:1-2.
[40]See chapter three.
[41]Padwick, p. 116.

known as *al-Mu'awwidhatan,* or "the two Refuge-Seekings," and are taught as protective verses. These two verses in particular are frequently written and used in amulets.

Şeyh Hamdullah's grandson, Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah, included a number of surahs in **H. Husnu Pasa 103** (Cat. #6), his *En'am* of 956/1549, that would become ubiquitous in later manuscripts: *al-Dukhan, al-Rahman,* and *al-Waqi'a,* along with the *amme cüz'ü,* or the final thirtieth of the Qur'an.[42] *Surah al-Dukhan* is the fifth of seven *surahs* beginning with the letters *Ha Mim. Surah al-Dukhan,* named after the word "smoke" in verse ten, describes how spiritual forces must triumph over worldly pride and power. *Surah al-Rahman* begins with the Name of God, *Al-Rahman,* the Merciful. It stresses the wonders of creation and the Mercy and Guidance of Allah and rhythmically punctuates the litany with the question, "Then which of the favours of your Lord will you deny?" This chapter is addressed to both human beings and *jinn.* Tradition relates how once when the Prophet was reciting *al-Rahman* at prayer, a group of passing *jinn* stopped to listen and accepted Islam. "How is it," the Prophet asked the people,"that I am not hearing from you the kind of good answer that the *jinn* had given to their Lord?" When the *jinn* heard Allah's question as to which of His favours they would deny, they answered: "We do not deny any of our Lord's blessings."[43]

> *"All that is on earth will perish: But will abide (for ever) the Face of thy Lord, full of Majesty, Bounty and Honour.*
> *Then which of the favours of your Lord will you deny?*
> *Of Him seeks (its need) every creature in the heavens and on earth: every day in (new) Splendour doth He (shine)!*
> *Then which of the favours of your Lord will you deny?*
> *Soon shall We settle your affairs, O both ye worlds!*

---

[42]The Qur'an is divided into thirty sections, or *juz.* The Qur'an may be written in its entirety, or each *juz* may be separately bound in a volume, with its own colophon.
[43]Maududi, vol. 13, p. 296.

Then which of the favours of your Lord will ye deny?
O ye assembly of Jinns and men! If it be ye can pass beyond the zones of the heavens and the earth, pass ye! Not without authority shall ye be able to pass!
Then which of the favours of your Lord will ye deny?"[44]

Surah al-Waqi'a was of the first surahs to be revealed. *Al-Waqi'a* warns of the certainty of the Day of Judgment when the world as we know it will be shaken to its foundations, and people will be divided into three groups: those who are foremost in faith will be the Closest to Allah; next will be the righteous, or Companions of the Right Hand; and finally the unbelievers, or Companions of the Left Hand.

"When the Event Inevitable cometh to pass,
Then will no (soul) deny its coming.
(Many) will it bring low; (many) will it exhalt;
When the earth shall be shaken to its depths,
And the mountains shall be crumbled to atoms
Becoming scattered abroad,
And ye shall be sorted out into three classes."[45]

The surah contains vivid descriptions of the pleasures of Paradise and Hell. Paradise is portrayed as "Gardens of Bliss," where believers recline on couches encrusted with gold and precious stones, and where lustrous-eyed *houris* serve them fruit and non-intoxicating wine from clear flowing fountains. Hell is a fierce blast of fire, boiling water and black smoke. Those who used to deny Allah and the Hereafter, saying: *"What! when we die and become dust and bones, shall we then indeed be raise up again? We and our fathers of old?"*[46] shall be forced to eat of the fruit of Hell's poisonous Tree of Zaqum and wash it down with boiling water: *"Indeed ye shall drink like diseased camels raging with thirst."*[47]Those who denied the

---

[44]55:26.
[45]56:1-7.
[46]56:47-48.
[47]56:55.

Creator are asked: *"Do ye then see the human seed that ye emit? Is it ye who created it, or are We the Creators?"*[48] The surah contains a final challenge to those who would deny the Creator, and His Message:

> *"Then why do ye not (intervene) when (the soul of the dying man) reached the throat, -*
> *And ye the while (sit) looking on, -*
> *But We are nearer to him than ye, and yet ye see not, -*
> *Then why do ye not, - if you are exempt from (future) account, -*
> *Call back the soul, if ye are true (in your claim of independence)?"*[49]

Although the *En'am* (as well as the later *En'am-ı şerif*) show a certain consistency in their choice of Qur'anic surahs, there are also a number of exceptions. For example, **H. Husnu Pasa 103** (Cat. #6) contains a surah that is unique amongst the various *En'am*, *Surah al-Qiyamat*. Later *En'am-ı şerif* have similarly unique additions, such as the use of *Surah al-Sajda* in the University of Victoria's manuscript (Cat. #16), and *Surah al-Juma'a* in the New York Public Library's **Spencer Turk 9** (Cat. #26). These variations indicate an ongoing process of selection. Several of the manuscripts in our study were produced by the same calligrapher, and these inevitably show a variation in the selection of surahs. For example, a second manuscript by the hand of Dervish Muhammad, found in the Tokapı Sarayı and dated the same year, contains only *Surah al-An'am*.[50] Like his grandfather, it appears that Dervish Muhammad produced manuscripts consisting simply of *Surah al-An'am*, as well as those that included a selection of other surahs. Variations are also apparent in the works of Hasan al-Rashid: the University of Istanbul's **IUL 5197** (Cat. #19)and **IUL 5756** (Cat. #21); and Mehmet Hilmi: the Süleymaniye Library's **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509** (Cat.

---

[48] 56:58-59.
[49] 56:83-87.
[50] The last manuscript that I have found to consist only of *Surah al-An'am* was written in 965/1557 by Huseyin Sah, better known as Hüsameddin, a student of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.

#22)and the Tokapı Sarayı's **YY 874** (Cat. #23). These variations in the choice of Qur'anic passages seem to indicate a selection process that was influenced at least in part by the producer or eventual user of the manuscript.[51]

III. *The seventeenth-century* En'am-ı şerif.

The work of Hafiz Osman (d. 1110/1698) dominated the seventeenth century. The first of his manuscripts in this study, **TSM EH 324** (Cat. #8), dated 1080/1669-70, represents a typical *En'am*, consisting simply of selected surahs. Hafiz Osman's second manuscript, **TSM EH 322** (Cat. #9), dated three years later in 1092/1681, is the first manuscript that may appropriately be called an *En'am-ı şerif* as it is the first manuscript to include calligraphic images with the Qur'anic material. Although it is obvious from the quality of the script that the same hand was used throughout, the calligrapher was careful to place his colophon immediately after the Qur'anic passages, separating them from any other text. Hafiz Osman's reluctance to relate the subsequent text with the Qur'anic verses may have been exacerbated by the image-like nature of the material.

TSM EH 322 contains virtually the same selection of passages as Hafiz Osman's earlier work, followed by *al-Fatiha*, and a *du'a* to be recited after reading the Qur'an, indicating its emerging liturgical use. The Süleymaniye Library's **Yazma Bagislar 265** (Cat. #10), written by Hafiz Osman's student Hasan Üskudari, places the colophon after both the Qur'anic and extra-Qur'anic material, and actually incorporates a Sufi *evrad* as part of the text.[52]

The most significant changes that appear in Hafiz Osman's **EH 322** are the inclusion of calligraphic "images" known as *hilye*, consisting of textual descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad's physical appearance and moral

---

[51]Anthony Welch suggested the possibility that some *En'am* might have been made in workshops producing books for sale in bookshops, and if so, the variations would be the result of the popularity of certain surahs.

[52]See ff. 55-62.

character (to be decribed at length in the following chapter), the *asma' al-husna*, the Beautiful Names of God, and the *asma' al-nabi*, the names of the Prophet.

III. 1. *The* asma' al-husna.

The Qur'an says: *"The most beautiful names belong to Allah: so call on him by them."*[53] The *asma' al-husna*, "the Most Beautiful Names," of God are traditionally set at ninety-nine, based upon a saying of the Prophet, narrated on the authority of Abu Huraira:

> "God - great and glorious - has ninety-nine names, one hundred minus one; single, He loves odd numbers, and whoever enumerates them will enter Paradise.'"[54]

The Names, and the order in which they are most frequently written, are taken from this hadith:

> "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. He is Allah, and there is no other god but He: *Al-Rahman* (The Infinitely Good), *Al-Rahim* (The Merciful), *Al-Malik* (The King), *Al-Quddus* (The Holy), *Al-Salam* (The Source of Peace), *Al-Mu'min* (The Preserver of Security), *Al-Muhaymin* (The Protector), *Al-'Aziz* (The Mighty), *Al-Jabbar* (The Overpowering), *Al-Mutakabbir* (The Great in Majesty), *Al-Khaliq* (The Creator), *Al-Bari'* (The Maker), *Al-Musawwir* (The Fashioner), *Al-Ghaffar* (The Forgiver), *Al-Qahhar* (The Dominant), *Al-Wahhab* (The Bestower), *Al-Razzaq* (The Provider), *Al-Fattah* (The Decider), *Al-'Alim* (The Knower), *Al-*

---

[53] 7:180.

[54] From *Sahih Muslim*, the chapter on *dhikr*, quoted in al-Ghazali's, *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God. al-Maqsad al-asna fi sharh asma' Allah al-husna.* tr. David Burrell and Nazih Daher, Cambridge, 1992. p. 49. The list of Names and their translation is also to be found in the same volume, on pp. 49-51. The *asma' al-nabi*, or Names of the Prophet, may also be referred to as the *asma' al-şerif*, or the Noble Names. Again, although the names were traditionally said to number ninety-nine, as many as one thousand have been enumerated.

Qabid (The Withholder), *Al-Basit* (The Plentiful Giver), *Al-Khafid* (The Abaser), *Al-Rafi'* (The Exalter), *Al-Mu'izz* (The Honourer), *Al-Mudhill* (He Who Humbles), *Al-Sami'* (The All-Hearing), *Al-Basir* (The All-Seeing), *Al-Hakam* (The Arbitrator), *Al-'Adl* (The Just), *Al-Latif* (The Benevolent), *Al-Kabir* (The Totally Aware), *Al-Halim* (The Mild), *Al-'Azim* (The Tremendous), *Al-Ghafur* (The All-Forgiving), *Al-Shakur* (The Grateful), *Al-'Ali* (The Most High), *Al-Kabîr* (The Great), *Al-Hafiz* (The All-Preserver), *Al-Muqit* (The Nourisher), *Al-Hasib* (The Reckoner), *Al-Jalil* (The Majestic), *Al-Karim* (The Generous), *Al-Raqib* (The All-Observant), *Al-Mujib* (The Answerer of Prayers), *Al-Wasi'* (The Vast), *Al-Hakim* (The Wise), *Al-Wadud* (The Lovingkind), *Al-Majid* (The All-Glorious), *Al-Ba'ith* (The Raiser of the dead), *Al-Shahid* (The Universal Witness), *Al-Haqq* (The Truth), *Al-Wakil* (The Guardian), *Al-Qawi* (The Strong), *Al-Matin* (The Firm), *Al-Wali* (The Patron), *Al-Hamid* (The Praised), *Al-Muhsi* (The Knower of each separate thing), *Al-Mubdi'* (The Beginning, The Cause), *Al-Mu'id* (The Restorer), *Al-Muhyi* (The Life-Giver), *Al-Mumit* (The Slayer), *Al-Hayy* (The Living), *Al-Qayyum* (The Self-Existing), *Al-Wajid* (The Resourceful), *Al-Majid* (The Magnificent), *Al-Wahid* (The Unique), *Al-Samad* (The Eternal), *Al-Qadir* (The All-Powerful), *Al-Muqtadir* (The All-Determiner), *Al-Muqaddam* (The Promoter), *Al-Mu'akhkhir* (The Postponer), *Al-Awwal* (The First), *Al-Akhir* (The Last), *Al-Zahir* (The Manifest), *Al-Batin* (The Hidden), *Al-Wali* (The Ruler), *Al-Muta'ali* (The Exalted), *Al-Barr* (The Doer of Good), *Al-Tawwab* (The Ever-Relenting), *Al-Muntaqim* (The Avenger), *Al-'Afu* (The Effacer of sins), *Al-Ra'uf* (The All-Pitying), *Malik al-Mulk* (The King of Absolute Sovereignty), *Dhu'l Jalal wa l-Ikram* (The Lord of Majesty and Generousity), *Al-Muqsit* (The Equitable), *Al-Jami'* (The Uniter), *Al-Ghani* (The Rich), *Al-Mughni* (The Enricher), *Al-Mani'* (The Protector), *Al-Darr* (The Punisher), *Al-Nafi'* (He Who benefits), *Al-Nur* (Light), *Al-Hadi* (The Guide), *Al-Badi'* (The Absolute Cause), *Al-Baqi* (The Everlasting), *Al-Warith* (The Inheritor), *Al-Rashid* (The Right in Guidance), *Al-Sabur* (The Patient).[55]

---

[55]Many of these Names have multiple meanings that depend upon their context, and it is not unusual to come across a number of different translations for the same Name.

Each of God's Names stands for an attribute, and although the number ninety-nine is traditional, it is by no means the maximum. Noting that these lists of God's Names are a frequent feature of many prayer books, Padwick cites one in which it is claimed that there are variously three hundred, a thousand and one, or even one hundred and twenty four thousand Names - a number equivalent to "the number of prophets, for every prophet is endowed with the inward reality of a special Name."[56] The use of each of God's Names wields a certain power.[57] The same may be said of the names of angels and *jinn* whom God has set as guardians of that power. These names play a major role in the creation of *ta'viz*, to be discussed at length in the following chapter.

III. 2. *Zikr.*

Numerous verses of the Qur'an encourage the believer to remember God, or *zikr Allah.*[58] Specific attention is paid to the recitation of God's Names: *"But keep in remembrance the name of thy Lord, and devote thyself to Him whole-heartedly."* [59] A hadith recorded by Imam Muslim states that, "The Hour will not rise before [the Name] Allah, Allah is no longer said on earth."[60] In another hadith Abu al-Darda' narrates:

> "The Prophet once asked his companions: 'Shall I tell you about the best of all deeds, the best act of piety in the eyes of your Lord, which will elevate your status in the Hereafter, and carries more virtue than the spending of gold and silver in the service of Allah

---

[56]Padwick, p. 105.
[57]Padwick, p. 106.
[58]Arabic, *dhikr*. Among the verses that specifically refer to the practice of *zikr* are: 51:55; 2:152; 33:41-42; 3:190-191; 29:45; 87:14-15; 20:14; 24:36-37; 33:35; 8:2; 2:152; 29:45; 13:28; 7:205; 39:23; and 39:23.
[59]73:8.
[60]Muslim in Book of Iman Ch. 66.

> or taking part in *jihad* and slaying or being slain in the path of Allah? The *dhikr* of Allah."[61]

According to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar, the Prophet used to say,

> "Everything has a polish, and the polish for hearts is the remembrance of God. Nothing is more calculated to rescue from God's punishment than remembrance of God." He was asked whether this did not apply also to *jihad* in God's path, and said, 'Not even if one should ply his sword till it is broken."[62]

Abu Huraira reported God's Messenger as stating that God says:

> "I am present when my servant thinks of me, and I am with him when he remembers Me. If he remembers Me inwardly I shall remember him inwardly, and if he remembers Me among people I shall remember him among people who are better than they.[63]

The practice of *zikr* among Sufis is the means by which their spiritual aims are achieved. Ahmad ibn 'Isa Abu Sa'id al-Kharraz (d. 277/890-1) was the first to explain the doctrine of annihilation in God (*fana'*) and the higher station of subsistence (*baqa'*). Abu Sa'id was renowned both for his scrupulous adherence to the *shari'a*, as well as his passionate love of God. He has left us an exquisite description of the effect of *zikr* on the heart of a believer:

> "Abu Sa'id al-Kharraz said: "When Allah desires to befriend a servant of His, He opens the door of *dhikr* for that servant. After the latter takes pleasure in *dhikr*, He opens the door of proximity for him. After that, He raises him to the meetings of intimacy and after that he makes him sit on a throne of Oneness.
>
> Then He removes the veils from him and He makes him enter the abode of Singleness and unveils Majesty and Sublimity to

---

[61] related in Ibn Malik's *Muwatta* , the *Musnad* of Ahmad, Tirmidhi's *Sunan* , Ibn Majah, etc.
[62] transmitted by Baihaqi in Al-Tabrizi's, *Mishkat al-masabih*. trans. James Robson. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf: Lahore, 1991, vol. 1, p. 482.
[63] (Bukhari and Muslim) *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 1, p. 476.

> him. When the servant beholds Majesty and Sublimity, he remains without "he". He becomes extinguished, immune to the claims and pretensions of his ego, and protected for Allah's sake."[64]

IV. The late eighteenth and nineteenth-century illustrated *En'am-ı şerif*:

In addition to *Surah al-An'am* and selected Qur'anic chapters, the late eighteenth-century calligraphers of the *En'am-ı şerif* began to include representational images with the sacred text. These images will be discussed at length in Chapter Four. During this same period, the *En'am-ı şerif* also began to include lengthy passages containing *du'a*, or supplications, and *salawat*, or invocations of blessings on the Prophet. Given the argument that these illustrated manuscripts were produced in response to the polemic between Wahhabis and Ottomans, it is significant that these prayers were often accompanied by explanatory texts in Ottoman Turkish.

IV. 1. *Du'a.*

Many of the prayers, or *du'a*, included in the *En'am-ı şerif* were themselves Qur'anic. For example, the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif* begins with three passages from the Qur'an: *al-Fatiha*;[65] the first five verses of *al-Baqara*;[66] the last three verses of the same surah,[67] and the last twelve verses from *al-Imran*.[68] The last three verses of *Surah al-Baqara*, 284-286, have been referred to as the "penitential psalm" of Islam and are frequently used in devotions and as a bedtime prayer.[69] Here, they are prefaced with the instructions: "Read these

---

[64]see: Qushari's *al-Risala* , 1:161-162 and Brockelmann, 1:646.
[65]1:1-7.
[66]2:1-5.
[67]2: 284-286.
[68]3:189-200.
[69]Padwick, p. 116.

verses after each of the five prayers every day." The passage from *Surah al-Imran* begins with instructions that read: "Read this every day and night until death." Such passages are frequently used as part of an *evrad,* or daily litany of a Sufi order. The inclusion of instructions on when to read the prayers are further indication that this manuscript may have served in part as an *evrad.* [70]

The University of Victoria's manuscript begins with the above Qur'anic *du'a,* followed by a typical selection of surahs: *Al-An'am; Al-Kahf; Al-Sajda; Ya Sin; Al-Dukhan; Al-Ahqaf; Al-Fath; Al-Rahman; Al-Waqi'a;* and *Al-Mulk.* These are followed by a section entitled *"ayat şerif,"* or "noble verses." These "noble verses" are passages that are frequently written and used as amulets or talismans for protection, healing, and to gain sustenance. Many of these passages form the basis of the calligraphic "images" found in the chapter that follows.

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Say: 'Nothing will happen to us except what Allah has decreed for us: He is our Protector': and on Allah let the believers put their trust."* (9:51)

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. If Allah touch thee with hurt, there is none can remove it but He; if He do design some benefit for thee, there is none can keep back his favour: He cause it to reach whomsoever of His servants He pleaseth. And He is the Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."* (10:107)[71]

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance dependeth on Allah: He knoweth its resting place and its temporary deposit: all is in a clear Record."* (11:6)

---

[70] A number of the manuscripts studied in the course of this research have been given the title *Evrad-ı şerif* (either by the calligraphers themselves in the text, or by the librarians who catalogued them.). Each Sufi order had its own *Evrad-ı şerif,* containing a specific litany of prayers to be recited only with the permission of that order's shaykh, while the *En'am-ı şerif* could be used by anyone.

[71] see **IUL 6386** f. 39a (note, this man. contains Naqshbandi *silsila* f. 73a)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. How many are the creatures that carry not their own sustenance? It is Allah who feeds (both) them and you: For He hears and knows all things." (29:60)[72]

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. I put my trust in Allah, my Lord and your Lord! There is not a moving creature, but he hath grasp of its forelock. Verily, it is my Lord that is on a straight path. (11:56)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. What Allah out of His Mercy doth bestow on mankind none can withold: What He doth withold, none can grant, apart from Him: and He is the Exalted in Power, Full of Wisdom." (35:2)[73]

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. If indeed thou ask them who it is that created the heavens and the earth, they would be sure to say, "Allah". Say: 'See ye then? The things that ye invoke besides Allah, - can they, if Allah wills some affliction for me, remove His affliction? Or if He wills some Mercy for me, can they keep back His Mercy?' Say: 'Sufficient is Allah for me!'" (39:38)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a message to all the worlds." (68:51-52)

An almost identical selection of verses appears in a similar fashion in the Istanbul University Library's **IUL 6386** (Cat. #20), dated 1257/1841-42, by the hand of 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband.[74] As mentioned earlier, in addition to the obviously significant cognomen of its calligrapher, this manuscript also includes a section on the Naqshbandi order's *silsila*, or chain of transmission of authority, indicating a probable connection with the order. The similarity between the University of

---

[72]see **IUL 6386** f. 39b and f. 40a
[73]see **IUL 6386** f. 39b and 40a
[74]Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain any further information about this calligrapher.

Victoria's manuscript and this manuscript suggests a possible connection with the Naqshbandi order.

The final *juz* of the Qur'an and the repetition of *al-Fatiha* follows the "noble verses." The next section of the manuscript features verses from the Qur'an selected because they contain variations on the root word *hafiza*, to guard, preserve. The *unwan* states that the purpose of these verses is to give protection and benefit.

> "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
> Allah send blessings upon our master Muhammad, his family and companions, everyone. *Guard strictly your (habit of) prayers. Especially the Middle Prayer; and stand before Allah in a devout (frame of mind).* (2:238) *And He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in Glory).* (2: 255) *Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient and guard in (the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard.* (4:34) *We have not sent thee to watch over them.* (4: 80).[75]

The manuscript also contains a fairly lengthy selection[76] of non-Qur'anic prayers in Arabic, with instructions in Ottoman Turkish explaining when these prayers should be recited. The prayers seek Allah's blessings and His protection against evil, illness, calamity and disbelief:

> "Read this prayer evening and morning.
> In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
> O Allah, we beg of you to grant us Paradise, and all words and deeds that may lead us to it. And we seek your protection from the fire of hell and all words and deeds that may lead us to it.

---

[75]Underlined words are variations on the root word *hafiza*. Subsequent pages contain the following verses which include similar words: (p. 255): 44; 5:89; 6:61; 6:92; 6:104; 6:107; 9:112; 11:57; 12:63; (p. 256): 12:64; 12: 65; 12:81; 13:11; 15:9; 15:17; 21:32; (p. 257): 21: 82; 24:31; 33:35; 34:21; 37:7; 41:12; 42:6; 42:48; (p. 258): 50:4; 50:32; 70:34; 82:10-12; 83:33; 85:21-22; 86:4.

[76]p. 286-310.

Read this prayer evening and morning:
In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
O Allah I seek your protection against association with anything other than You, and forgive me from the sins I knowingly commit and those I am unaware of. And You know what is hidden.

Read this prayer evening and morning:
In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
O Allah we seek your protection against association with anything other than You, and forgive us for the sins we knowingly commit and those we are unaware of.

Read this prayer evening and morning:
In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
O Allah, keep us safe, and safeguard our religion. And do not take our faith in the final moments, and do not allow anyone to oppress us mercilessly. And give us goodness in this life, and in the hereafter. And you have power over all things.

Read this prayer for those who are sick:
In the Name of Allah, (I recite?) and it is Allah who heals all disease that comes *from the mischief of those who blow on knots, and from the mischief of the envious one as he practices envy*. (113:4-5)

Read this prayer day and night for Allah's protection against Shaytan and his armies:
In the Name of Allah who is the Clear Proof; the Most Powerful Sovereign. And it is by Allah's will that I seek His protection from Shaytan the accursed.

Read this prayer during the holy months of Rajab and Shaban:
O Allah, bless us during Rajab and Shaban and permit us to reach Ramadan.

Read this prayer anytime:
Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe. Send blessings and peace upon all of your prophets and messengers, and upon all the righteous servants of Allah. O Allah, our Lord, give us goodness in this life and in the Hereafter, and protect us from the fire of Hell. O our Lord, make our spouses and progeny good servants, and make

> our leaders righteous. O Allah, give us more light and forgive us. And Allah has power over all things. O Allah accept our prayers, heal our sick and have mercy on our dead. Allah write for us peace and health: for those making Hajj, those fighting for the sake of Allah, travellers (by land and on water), and those who stay at home, and the nation of Muhammad, for all of them. O Lord of the Universe, peace be upon all messengers and praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe.

IV. 2. *Salawat.*

Qur'an 33:56, said to have been revealed upon the occasion of the Prophet's Night Journey,[77] commands the believers to call down blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad: "*Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him and salute him with all respect.*"[78] It is said that the repetition of this *tasliya*,[79] brings great reward and is a means of forgiveness of sins. Prayers accompanied by *salawat* are guaranteed to be answered. According to Imam Nawawi, the *salawat* is sacramental in nature: "Muhammad said: 'No one who sends greetings on me but Allah will restore my spirit to me so that I may respond to his greeting."[80] The *tasliya* is an obligatory part of the ritual prayer as well as an important aspect of Sufi devotions. Entire books of prayer have been devoted to *salawat.* The most famous of these books of prayers devoted to the endless variations of *tasliya* is the *Dala'il al-khayrat* of the Moroccan saint al-Jazuli (d. 870/1465).[81]

Perhaps the most important aspect of this type of prayer, and a common aspiration of the *En'am-ı şerif,* is that "it is a sovereign means of vision of the

---

[77]Padwick, p. 154.
[78]This verse, 33:56, is frequently inscribed in the *En'am-ı şerif,* especially in the Seal of Prophethood.
[79]The plural of *tasliya* is *salawat* or calling down of blessings upon the Prophet.
[80]Imam Nawawi, *Riyad us-saliheen,* tr. M. Matraji, vol. II, Dar el Fikr: Lebanon, 1993, p. 281.
[81]During Ottoman times the *muezzin* invoked blessings on the Prophet at the end of every *adhan.* This was one of the supererogatory practices that the Wahhabis forbade.

Prophet and communion with him."[82] It is significant that the moment of ascent during the Prophet's Night Journey was chosen to reveal the verse concerning the order to make *salawat* on the Prophet. The Prophet's Night Journey serves as the prototype of the spiritual ascent made by each soul back to its Lord. Visions and dreams of the Prophet are much sought after: as well as bringing great blessings, protection, and reward, they also represent progress along the spiritual path toward the Divine Presence.

In addition to the lengthy *du'a salawat kabir*, or "Prayer for Great Blessings," the University of Victoria's manuscript also contains thirteen pages displaying a series of prayers that consist largely of the Names of God followed by *ayats* containing these Names and Attributes. The text ends with a beautiful *salawat*, or prayer of blessing on the Prophet: "By each and every letter of the Qur'an, praise the Prophet a thousand times upon a thousand."

Unlike other books of prayer that were written by a single author, the contents of each *En'am-ı şerif* varied slightly according to the wishes of the individual calligrapher or his patron. In some cases, the choice seems to indicate popular preference, for example the inclusion of the *asma' al-husna*, or *Surah Ya Sin*. In other cases we may see the hand of a particular *tarikat*, or an individual shaykh, such as in the incorporation of *evrads*. In the seventeenth century, calligraphers and/or their patrons began to select extra-Qur'anic text for their *En'am-ı şerif*. By the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these additions included prayers that were typical of Sufi practice: *dhikr*, in the form of the Names of God; *du'a*, or supplications taken from the Qur'an itself, or from the prayers of the Prophet or saints; and *salawat*, or invocation of blessings on the Prophet. The purpose of this extra-Qur'anic material was to seek God's blessing and protection through the intercession of the Prophet. In next chapter we will see how in the seventeenth century, calligraphers began to create calligraphic images that were intended to serve the same purpose.

---

[82]Padwick, p. 162.

CHAPTER THREE

Calligraphic images in the *En'am-ı şerif:* *hilye, muhr* and the practice of *ta'viz.*

"Our lord Solomon once inquired of one of the Jinn what speech was, whereupon he made answer, 'It is but wind, it leaves no trace,' 'Then what can fetter it?' he asked. The Jinni answered, 'Writing.'[1]

I. The *hilye.*

In the last half of the seventeenth century, calligraphers of the *En'am* began to include calligraphic images known as *hilye* along with the Qur'anic surahs and prayers. It is at this point that the manuscripts may be referred to as *En'am-ı şerif.* In order to understand these images, it is important to begin our discussion with an explanation of their origins.

During his Night Journey, the Prophet Muhammad ascended to the Throne of God, entering the Divine Presence. "He passed through these vast Divine oceans of knowledge, which God, Almighty and Exhalted, has created, until he was completely dissolved in God's Existence, seeing nothing except Him."[2] The goal of Sufi training is to reach this state of Union with the Divine, but first, one must first achieve spiritual union with the Prophet Muhammad. Visions of the Prophet, whether waking, or in dreams, are the means by which this spiritual union manifests itself. According to a well-known hadith, the Prophet said, "He who saw me in a dream in fact saw me, for the satan does not appear in my form."[3] In his *Kitab al-ruya,* or "Book of Vision," Muslim cites

---

[1]From the *Kitab al-lum'at fi 'ilm al-khatt,* by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 1545). Translated by Edward Robertson in, "Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman on calligraphy," *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* vol. 1, 1920, p. 66.
[2]Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain,* Kazi Publications: Chicago, 1995, p. 58.
[3]Abu Huraira quoted in *Sahih Muslim,* vol. 4, p. 1225.

several narrators, including the son of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, who report the Prophet as saying that the dreams of believers may serve to convey good tidings from Allah, and therefore represent a fractional (variously cited as being between one-seventieth and one-fortieth) part of prophecy. "Abu Huraira reported Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) as saying, "The vision of a pious man is the forty-sixth part of Prophecy."[4] Al-Ghazali explained the difference between a waking vision and a dream.

> "When the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'I saw Abdul-Rahman enter Paradise crawling,' you are not to suppose that he did not see him thus with his own eyes. No, awake he saw him, as a sleeper might see him in a dream, even though the person of Abdul-Rahman b. 'Awf was at the time asleep in his house. The only effect of sleep in this and similar visions is to suppress the authority of the senses over the soul..."[5]

A seventeenth-century grand shaykh of the Naqshbandi order, Muhammad Masum (d. 1079/1668), described such a vision of the Prophet.

> "...I entered the City of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). I went to visit him at his tomb. When I directed my face to his face, I saw the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) coming out of his grave. He hugged me and kissed me. Then I saw myself in a state, where my heart was combining with his heart, my tongue with his tongue, my ears with his ears, until I no longer saw myself, I saw the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). That vision took me to the station of ascending to where the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) had ascended in the Night of Ascension...Then I saw a vision that God removed from me all the veils that were on my heart, and I saw that all that God had created from the station of the throne to the station of the earth was in need of the beloved Muhammad

---

[4]ibid.
[5]Ghazali, *Mishkat al-anwar*, trans. W. Gairdner, "The niche for lights," p. 141.

(s.a.w.s.). He was the center of all light that moves in every atom..."[6]

The Prophet's physical and moral characteristics had been described in detail by his companions, and these descriptions were transmitted by the collectors of cannonical hadith. In the third/ninth century, a student of Bukhari, named Muhammad ibn 'Isa al-Tirmidhi (d. 279/892), wrote *al-Shama'il al-nabawiyya,* (The Prophetic Traits) a book which gathered together these various traditions. Another important source of hadith describing the Prophet is the *Mishkat al-masabih,* a compendium of some 5,945 hadith taken from a large number of well-known collections and classified according to subject matter. The *Mishkat al-masabih* originated with the work of Abu Muhammad al-Hussain b. Mas'ud b. Muhammad al-Farra al-Baghawi (d. 516 or 510/1116-17 or 1122-23) and was completed in its present form in 737/1336-37, by Wali al-din Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Khatib al-Tibrizi.[7]

In 1007/1598-9, Mehmed Bey Hakani (d. 1015/1606-7) wrote his well-known *mesnewi* [8]poem, *Hilye-i şerif,* also known as the *Hilye-i Hakani.* [9] The poem tells the story of how after a *faqir*[10] presents the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (d. 193/809) with a piece of paper upon which is written a *hilye,* or description of Muhammad, the caliph sees the Prophet in a dream. The Prophet tells him,

---

[6]Quoted in Kabbani, 1995, pp. 246-247. Muhammad Masum was the son of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi.

[7]See the introduction to Al-Tabrizi, *Mishkat al-masabih.* 2 vols, trans. James Robson. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf: Lahore, 1991.

[8]*Mathnawi* in Persian. Refers to a form of verse using rhyming couplets.

[9]Khaqani, Mehmet Bey, *Hilya-i şerif.* [Istanbul], 1264H/1847. This work was chosen to be the second Ottoman manuscript to be published usingthe *ta'liq* script. The first was a fifteen page booklet on the basics of Sunni Islam. See Eleazar Birnbaum, "An Ottoman printing puzzle: the *Hilye-i Khaqani* of 1264/1848,"in *The Islamic World: From classical to modern times,* Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis, ed. C. E. Bosworth et. al., The Darwin Press, Inc.:Princeton, New Jersey, pp. 434-435. See also E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry,* ed. Edward G. Browne, Luzac and Company Ltd.: London, vol. 2, pp.193-198.

[10]A word meaning a poor man, frequently used to indicate a dervish, or Sufi.

> "O Harun! Since you are delighted by my *hilye*, and regard it well, and since you have presented the dervish with gifts, I shall now make you glad. God has commanded me that whoever sees my *hilye* shall become happy; whoever carries it, it shall become an amulet of life; and when the day of Resurrection comes, Hell's fire shall be forbidden for them, and neither shall they suffer in this world, or in the next..."[11]

Hakani's advice "Our wise ancestors never refused any beggar who gave them a *hilye*," was heeded by the sixteenth-century Ottomans, who frequently carried pieces of paper inscribed with *hilyes*, in order to obtain the Prophet's intercession and good fortune.[12]

Until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, *hilyes* were simply written on a piece of paper and carried as a *ta'viz*, or protective amulet.[13] In the year 1678, the calligrapher Hâfiz Osman (d. 1698)[14] who was known to have trained approximately fifty students, including Ottoman sultans Mustafa II (1664-1703) and Ahmed III (1673-1736), was the first to write the *hilye* in the form of a *levha*, a circular calligraphic composition that become popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These *levha* were intended to be read as well as to serve a decorative function, and were most often framed and hung upon interior walls.[15]

The earliest image of a *hilye* that I have found in an *En'am-ı şerif*, is that produced in 1092/1681, by Hafiz Osman. **TSM EH 322**, ff. 65v-66, Cat. #9, **(figure**

---

[11]Mehmed Hakani, *Hilye-i Sa'adet*, haz. Iskender Pala,Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Yayinlar: 67, Ankara, 1991, pp. 40-43. Translation provided by Savaş Kilic.
[12]Ibid. p. 43.
[13]See Uğur Derman, *"Calligraphy," in Sabancı Collection*, Akbank Culture and Art Publication: 60, Istanbul, 1995, p. 53.
[14]There are two manuscripts by the hand of Hafiz Osman in this study: **TSM EH 322**, Cat. #9, and **TSM EH 324**, Cat. #8.
[15]Mustafa Izzet (d. 1293/1876), one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century, known to have written more than thirty *En'am-ı şerif*, was also the calligrapher responsible for the famous circular *levhas* found in the Ayasofya, containing the names, "Allah," "Muhammad," the four rightly-guided caliphs, Hasan and Hussain.

9. 7)[16] Framed in a circle, this description of the Prophet Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics was intended to function as a connection between the observer and the subject. Moreover, the two pages act as a double page with a connected single text, causing the viewer to see both images at once. Were these circular "images" meant to represent eyes?[17] By gazing at this textual "image" of the Prophet, one might be blessed with a true vision of him, and thus obtain his intercession and profit from his *baraka.*

The text of this *hilye* is written in two golden circles, each with four surrounding semi-circles containing the names of the four *rashidun* caliphs: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, and the phrase, "may Allah Almighty be pleased with them all." Golden arabesques with pale green blossoms surround the circles. Hafiz Osman has managed to create an exquisite tension between text and white space, punctuated by golden verse stops. The top *unvan*s read: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful,"* and *"We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures."*[18] This Qur'anic verse reveals the Prophet's nature as well as his role in history. The text of the *hilye* is written in Arabic. It reads:

> "He has a large forehead. His beard is very thick. (He is) wide-eyed. It is said that his complexion is white. It is said that his appearance is pleasing. Smooth cheeked. His nose is aquiline. His chest is broad. His face and beard are round. It is said that his forehead is wide. Of long hands, perfect shape. Medium height and weight. His body is hairless except for a line of hair rising from his chest to his navel. And between his shoulders the Seal of Prophethood: a layer of flesh (forming the words) 'Muhammad is the Prophet of God.' Send blessings and peace upon the Prophet for the sake of the holiness of (surah) *al-Fatiha."*

---

[16]In preparing his manuscript, Hafiz Osman chose to place the colophon of **TSM EH 322**, f. 61, Cat. #9 **(figure 9. 2)** immediately after the Qur'anic text and before the calligraphic images that follow. In the previous chapter, I suggested that Hafiz Osman's reluctance to relate the subsequent text with the Qur'anic verses may have been as a result of the image-like nature of the material.

[17]This interesting interpretation was suggested by Dr. Jere Bacharach.

[18]21:107.

The bottom *unvans* read: "Oh God, send peace and blessings upon the Prophet of Mercy," and "(He is) the intercessor for the nation of Muhammad and his pure family."

Hasan Üsküdarı (d. 1145/1732), the calligrapher of the Süleymaniye Library's **Yazma Bagislar 265** (Cat. #10), was one of Hafiz Osman's foremost pupils. In contrast with the *En'am-ı şerif* of his teacher, Hasan Üsküdarı has included non-Qur'anic material prior to his *ketebehu,* [19] or signature. In addition to the *asma' al-husna* and the *hilye* of the Prophet Muhammad, the calligrapher has included several pages of *du'a,* or supplications, as well as an *evrad-ı şerif,* or litany of prayers recited daily by members of a Sufi order, suggesting a possible source of patronage for the manuscript. Hasan Üsküdarı's *hilye şerif,* ff. 49v-51, **(figures 10. 3** and **10. 4)** is not placed in a circle, but consists of a simple text. It is the last *hilye* I have found that was written this way. The *unvan* at the bottom of f. 49v reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text itself is in Arabic and reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures.*[20] And this is his ['Ali's] description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. He had a large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless. He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people. He was the noblest of human company. Whoever saw him from afar stood awed by him. Whoever shared familiarity with him loved him. Whoever tries to describe him says: 'such as he was never seen

---

[19] Meaning: so-and-so "wrote this."
[20] *21:107.*

> before or after. Transmitted by Tirmidhi (*rawa'hu al-Tirmidhi)* in *Mishkat al-Masabih."*[21]

The *unvan* at the bottom of f. 50v reads: "There is no power and no strength except with God Almighty." The text at the top of f. 51 is written in Turkish. It reads: "Whoever writes this *hilye* and looks at it, God will protect them from evil. Amen."

The ritual use of these images was an important feature of the *En'am-ı şerif.* The Prophet's *hilye* was not simply a decorative element, nor was it merely a devotional object, meant to inspire reverence. That these images were created to serve as a vital conduit of Divine grace is evident from the text surrounding a *hilye* found in **IUL 5756**, ff. 161-161v, Cat. #21. Here, in a hadith narrated from 'Ali, the Prophet says:

> "Whoever looks at my *hilye* it is as if they see my beautiful face. God will protect them from Hell-fire, and grant them the Paradise of Firdaus. He will protect them from the torment of the grave, and on the Day of Judgment they will be clothed in the raiment of Paradise."

Perhaps the most visually stunning *hilye şerif* in our study is found in an *En'am-ı şerif* produced by the calligrapher Mehmed Rasim (d. 1169/1756), in the year 1146/1733-34. **TSM EH 395** , ff. 77v-78, Cat. #13, **(figure 13. 2** and **13.3)** The manuscript was illuminated by an artist known only as Ahmed. The *hilye's* opening presents us with two golden orbs each containing five lines of text. The golden *beyne's setur* and verse marks have been pricked to catch the light, while

---

[21] *Mishkat al-Masabih* is a compendium of cannonical and other hadith written by Abu Muhammad al-Husain b. Mas'ud b. Muhammad al-Farra al-Baghawi (d. 516 or 510 A.H.) and revised by Wali al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Khatib al-Tibrizi in 737 A.H. The text of this *hilye şerif,* taken from Tirmidhi's account of 'Ali's narration, as found in the *Mishkat al-Masabih,* appears to have been popular. It is repeated almost verbatim in many of the manuscripts in our study. See the **TSM EH 365** (Cat. #11, ff. 75v-77.) **(figures 11. 7** and **11. 8); Halet Efendi 5** (Cat. #15, ff. 43v-45) **(figures 15. 4, 15. 5,** and **15. 6); TSM EH 371** (Cat. #17, ff. 105v-106); **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509** (Cat. #22) **(figure 22. 3); IUL 5573** (Cat. #24, ff74v-75).

tiny floral arabesques glitter in the background. The circles themselves are surrounded by a base of royal blue, upon which floats a dainty net of tiny pink, yellow, white and blue flowers, red buds and golden *rumis.* Above and below the *unvan,* golden rectangles provide sumptuous relief for rows of crimson, mauve and pink blossoms.

The text itself is in Arabic. The *unvans* read:*"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful..." "We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures,.*[22] The main text differs from the previous descriptions and reads:

> "The Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, was the most magnificent of those considered magnificent. His face shone pearl-like and similar to the full-moon. (f. 78) Of luminous, lily-white complexion. He was large of head, and possessing a thick, dense beard. Taller than average, and shorter than a tall person. With expanded, not elevated cheeks. Gap-toothed."

TSM EH 365 (Cat. #11) was illuminated by Salih in the year 1144/1731-32, although the manuscript was originally produced by the calligrapher Mehmed Hocazade (d. 1106/1695) in 1094/1682-83. For the first time, in addition to the *hilye şerif* of the Prophet Muhammad, **TSM EH 365** incorporates *hilyes* of the prophets Adam, Noah, Abraham, Issac, Isma'il, Lot, David, Moses, Aaron, Jacob, Joseph, and Jesus, as well as the *hilyes* of the four rightly-guided caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali. **(figures 11. 1** through **11. 11** except **11.7** and **11.8)** All of these prophets and their genealogies are mentioned in *Surah al-An'am,* and it is probable that this inclusion of their physical and moral descriptions had significance in terms of the mystical interpretation of this surah discussed in the previous chapter. According to this esoteric interpretation, in addition to the names of the prophets, *Surah al-An'am* contains hidden within it the names of all souls who will be born up until the Day of Judgment.[23] These *hilyes* of the prophets will become an important feature of the *En'am-ı şerif,* appearing in

---

[22]21:107.
[23]Personal communication with Shaykh Hisham Kabbani.

numerous manuscripts throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[24] Unlike the *hilye şerif* of the Prophet Muhammad which are written most often in Arabic, the language of the hadith, the texts of the prophets' *hilyes* are typically written in Ottoman Turkish. As there are many similarities among the various descriptions contained within the texts, it is possible that the source of these descriptions may be an Ottoman version of the lives of the prophets. However, the increased use of Ottoman Turkish in these late eighteenth and nineteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* should also be seen as further evidence of the role these manuscripts played in supporting the Ottoman claim to the Caliphate.

II. The *muhr.*

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, an artist known to us only as Salih, illuminated **TSM EH 365** (Cat. #11), a fifty year old *En'am* from the hand of calligrapher Mehmet Hocazade (d. 1106/1695). The latter was a colleague of the more famous Hafiz Osman; in fact, they shared the same calligraphy teacher, Suyolcuzade Mustafa Eyyubi (d. 1097/1686). It is probable that Mehmed Hocazade's original *En'am,* dated 1094/1682-83, consisted of Qur'anic surahs, *du'a,* and perhaps the *asma al-husna.* Salih's illuminated *En'am-ı şerif* of 1144/1731-32, included the Prophet Muhammad's *hilye şerif,* the *hilyes* of the prophets and the *rashidun* caliphs, as well as a remarkable series of calligraphic and representational images, including a miniature painting of the Ka'ba.

These images, appearing here for the first time, become ubiquitous in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif:* the *muhr khatim al-nubuwat,* or Seal of Prophethood, f. 77v, **(figure 11. 9)**; a miniature painting of the Ka'ba at

---

[24]University of Victoria **95-014** (Cat. #16, pp. 316-333.) **(figures 16. 71** through **16. 88)**; **IUL 5197** (Cat. #19, ff. 125v-134.); **IUL 5573** (Cat. #24, ff. 68-69) (Miniature roundels bearing the prophets' names); **Dugulmu Baba 491** (Cat. #25, ff. 63v-69, and 74v-76.) **(figures 25. 3** through **25. 14** and **25. 19** through **25. 22)**; **Spencer Turk 9** (Cat. #26, ff. 40v-44v) (including Hasan and Hussain) **(figures 26. 5** through **26. 9)**; **M&A Arab 22** (Cat. #27, ff. 160v-162.) **(figures 27. 5** and **27. 6)**; and **IUL 5619** (Cat. #28, ff. 55v-60.)

Mecca, f. 80, **(figure 11. 11)**; and the *muhr al-ashab al-kahf,* or the Seal of the Companions of the Cave, also known as the Seal of the Seven Sleepers, f. 80v, **(figure 11.12)**. The rest of this chapter will discuss the calligraphic images known as *muhr,* or seals, beginning with the related practice of *ta'viz* (in Arabic, *ta'widh)* which uses these images as protective talismans or amulets. The miniature paintings of the *En'am-ı şerif* will be discussed in Chapter Four.

II. The practice of *ta'viz.*

The inclusion of a variety of seals, or *muhr,* in the *En'am-ı şerif* begins with Salih's illumination of **TSM EH 365** (Cat. #11) in 1144/1731-32, and continues steadily until the last of the manuscripts in our study, the University of Istanbul's **IUL 5619** (Cat. #28), dated 1292/1875-76. Even the most cursory examination of the seals makes it obvious that these objects were meant to be used in ritual ways, as part of the Islamic practice of *ta'viz* which offers the believer healing and protection through the vehicle of *baraka,* or Divine Grace. Throughout the Islamic world the act of writing sacred verse is commonly believed to strengthen and prolong the action of the spoken prayer.[25] This phenomenon is perhaps best understood through the study of *ta'viz,* the writing and preparation of prescriptive amulets worn throughout the Islamic world. Before any further discussion of the various types of seals that appear in the *En'am-ı şerif,* it is important to examine the practice underlying their use.

Islamic spirituality and the practice of traditional medicine have been inseparably linked from the earliest period. In the *Mishkat al-Masabih* ,[26] the Prophet is reported as saying: "There is a medicine for every disease, and when the medicine is applied to the disease it is cured by God's permission."[27]

---

[25] T. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," *Berytus* vol. 5, 1938, p. 73.
[26] The *Mishkat al-masabih* is quoted as the source of the *hilye şerif* found on ff. 75v-77 of **TSM EH 365** (Cat. # 11), and this text is repeated in *hilyes* throughout this study (see note 22 above). As it was obviously considered a reliable reference for our eighteenth-century author, I have chosen it as a source of *hadith* for understanding the practice of *ta'viz.*
[27] Muslim quoted in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 945.

In the pre-Islamic period the Arabs used beads, shells or coins as amulets and talismans to ward off evil and sickness and to assure prosperity. The Prophet forbade this practice as *shirk*, because it attributed power to something other than God. It was said, for example, that when the Prophet was asked about the use of a charm for one who was possessed, he replied: "It pertains to the work of the devil."[28] When the Companion 'Isa b. Hamza went to visit 'Abdallah b. 'Ukaim who was suffering from a disease, he asked the latter why he did not attach an amulet. "We seek refuge in God from that. God's messenger said that if anyone hangs anything on himself he will be left to it," came the reply.[29] However, numerous traditions attest to the Prophet Muhammad's recitation of Qur'anic verses and prayers as *ruqya*, or protective words intended to heal the sick or avert malevolent spirits. For example according to the Prophet's wife 'A'isha: "During the Prophet's final illness he used to recite *al-Mu'awwidhatan* [the final two verses of Qur'an, *Surahs Falaq* and *Nas*] and then blow his breath over his body."[30]

These *ruqya*, or prayers of protection, could include extra-Qur'anic material as well. According to the narration of 'Auf b. Malik al-Ashja'i: "In the pre-Islamic period we used to apply spells, and we asked God's Messenger how he looked upon that. The Prophet replied: 'Submit your spells to me. There is no harm in spells so long as they involve no polytheism'."[31] Another narrator told how after the Prophet had prohibited spells some members of the family of 'Amr b. Hazm came and said, "Messenger of God, we had a spell proved efficacious which we applied for scorpion bite, but you have prohibited spells." They recited the *ruqya* to him and the Prophet said: "I see no harm in it. If any of you is able to benefit his brother, let him do so."[32] In fact, at least one hadith appears to argue in favour of an obligation, in certain cases, for the use of these protective verses.

---

[28]Abu Dawud quoted in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 950.
[29]Abu Dawud in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 950.
[30] *Sahih Bukhari*, vol. 7, p. 423.
[31]Muslim in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 947.
[32]Muslim in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 947.

According to 'Aisha: 'The Prophet gave **command** that we should use a spell against the evil eye."[33]

Believing in the protective powers of sacred writing was another matter. Evidence suggests that the use of written *ta'viz* incorporating Qur'anic passages and prayers may have begun during the lifetime of the Prophet. A hadith narrated in the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud relates how the Prophet once visited his wife Hafsa and found a woman, Ash-Shifa' daughter of Abdallah, teaching her to write. The Prophet commented that as Ash-Shifa was teaching his wife to write she might as well teach her a special *ruqya,* or prayer of protection. "Why do you not teach this one the spell *(ruqya)* for skin irruptions as you taught her writing?"[34]

Although this story does not necessarily indicate that the Prophet himself used the written sacred text as a *ta'viz,* it does illustrate a positive connection between the spoken prayer and the written word. Additional evidence for the permissibility of writing *ta'viz* is found in a hadith narrated by 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb, who heard from his father, Abdallah ibn 'Amr, who heard it from his grandfather,'Amr ibn al-As, that when they were fearful the Prophet used to teach them the words: "I seek refuge in Allah's perfect words from His wrath, from the evil of His servants, from the whispered insinuations of devils lest they come to me." According to the narrator, "Abdallah ibn 'Amr used to teach these words to those of his sons who had reached the age of reason, and used to write them and hang them upon those who had not."[35]

The Islamic *ta'viz* is constructed using Qur'anic verses as well as prayers and the Names, or Attributes of God.[36] An amulet may be said to be protective, while a talisman seeks some benefit. The Islamic concept of *ta'viz* incorporates both. *Ta'viz* differ from pre-Islamic amulets and talismans in that the objects

---

[33]Emphasis added. Bukhari and Muslim in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 946.
[34]Abu Dawud in *Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 2. p. 951.
[35]*Mishkat al-Masabih* , vol. 1, p. 527, transmitted both by Tirmidhi and Abu Dawud (book of Tibb #3893).
[36]The traditionally recited ninety-nine Names, the *asma' al-husna,* as well as other Names not usually included in this number.

themselves are understood to be powerless; all power emanates from God. Ibn Hajar Haytami, the renowned sixteenth-century Shafi'i Imam, approved of the use of *ta'viz*, and explained that those who rejected this Islamic practice were doing so out of ignorance. According to Haytami, those who rejected the practice of *ta'viz* did so because they had misunderstood the Prophet's injunctions against the pre-Islamic practice of hanging beads, coins or other objects for protection. Haytami cited a hadith in which the covenant of a man was unacceptable to the Prophet until he had removed the bead-type amulet he was wearing. The Prophet said, "Whoever hangs one has ascribed associates (*shirk)* to Allah." Haytami explained: "It is obligatory to interpret the above as referring to what they used to do of hanging a bead on themselves and calling it an "amulet" (*tamima*), and the like, believing it would protect them from calamities."[37] **Plate 5** is from a 1996 Turkish exhibition of objects intended to ward off the evil eye, and cure ills. The various beads, bones and similar items surrounding the silver *pence,* or Prophet's handprint,[38] are examples of Islamically unacceptable amulets.

In the seventh/thirteenth century, the Shafi'i Imam Nawawi (d. 676/1277) argued in favour of the permissibility of Islamic *ta'viz* by citing the above-mentioned story of 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr hanging written verses upon his children.[39] In his book *Tibb al-Nabi,* or the Medicine of the Prophet, the ninth/fifteenth-century scholar al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505) cited a hadith narrated by Tirmidhi in which Abu Kharama asked the Prophet if he knew of a *ta'viz,* or drug, or act of piety to be performed which was supererogatory to that which is ordained by God. The Prophet answered, "There exists only what is ordained by God."[40] Therefore, the general consensus of opinion among orthodox scholars

---

[37] *Ibn Hajar Haytami, al-Zawajir 'an iqtiraf al-kaba'ir, cited* in *The Reliance of the Traveller,* translation, commentary and appendices by Noah Ha Mim Keller, Evanston: Sunna Books. 1991. p. 880.

[38] For a discussion of this image see the following chapter.

[39] Imam Nawawi, *al-Majmu': sharh al-Muhadhdhab,* cited in *The Reliance of the Traveller,* p. 880.

[40] al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi,* translated by Cyril Elgood in *Osiris,* 1962, p. 123.

concerning the practice of using verses from the Qur'an as either an amulet or talisman is that it is lawful.[41]

The practice of *ta'viz* is a very specialized one, requiring extensive training and discipline on the part of the practitioner. Islamic medicine views mind, body and soul as one. Illnesses are states, neither good nor bad, that human beings pass through on their life's journey. According to the medieval scholar and Sufi, al-Ghazali (d. 1111), "Illness is one of the forms of experience by which humans arrive at a knowledge of God; as He says, 'Illnesses are my servants which I attach to my chosen friends."[42] Diagnosing an individual's state, therefore, requires not only medical knowledge but what is described in Sufi terms as "knowledge of the heart." Prescribing a course of treatment requires knowledge of diet, the use of herbal medicines, and the ability to encourage behavioural modification as well as the use of prescriptive prayers and *ta'viz*. It is the Sufi order, or *tarikat*, with its lengthy apprenticeship in a master/disciple relationship that offers both the necessary exoteric and esoteric training in the necessary and inter-related arts of Qur'anic interpretation, traditional medicine, psychology and calligraphy.[43]

While individual choices of the particular Qur'anic passages or prayers used in the creation of *ta'viz* vary from order to order and from shaykh to shaykh, the principles behind the practice have remained basically the same as a result of the *tarikats*' traditional system of transmission of knowledge. The Sufi *tarikat* is based upon the *silsila*, or chain of transmission, from shaykh to disciple. In this way, the orders' teachings and practices are handed down from one

---

[41]J. Robson, "The Magical Use of the Koran," *Transactions. University of Glasgow. Oriental Society.* vol. 6, 1929-33, p. 52.

[42]al-Ghazali quoted in Chishti, p. 11. This concept of illness as offering the potential for spiritual growth is currently receiving some attention in West, specifically in the field of psychology. See: Kristin W. Watson, "Spiritual Emergency: concepts and implications for psychotherapy," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 34, no. 2, Spring 1994, pp. 22-45.

[43]According to Annemarie Schimmel, the fabrication of ta'viz has been a major preoccupation of Sufi shaykhs in later times. See *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1986, p. 238.

generation to the next. The existence of this system permits us to access, with at least some degree of authenticity, the knowledge of the past, by studying those who carry these transmissions in our own day.

Therefore, in order to better understand the use of *ta'viz* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it may be useful to examine the work of a contemporary Sufi shaykh. To that end I have undertaken a study of Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, the leader of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani order in North America. Shaykh Hisham was chosen in part because the Naqshbandi order is represented by a number of manuscripts in this study,[44] but primarily because, as a member of the Naqshbandi order, I have been able to observe the shaykh at work among his students, and to interview him at length concerning the nature of this practice.

When he was first approached regarding the possibility of learning about the use of *ta'viz*, Shaykh Hisham described the subject as one which required a certain amount of sensitivity and discretion. This aspect is evident from some of the various words used to describe the *ta'viz*. For example, *hijab* is a word that is sometimes used interchangeably with *ta'viz*. Although *hijab* may be translated as veil, and has become synonymous with the head covering worn by some Muslim women, its underlying meaning includes the notion of covering, or hiding something from view.[45] *Ta'viz* or *hijab* are written on paper and either worn around the neck or pinned to the underclothing. A common Ottoman Turkish term for these amulets was *muska*. **Plate 6** is an example of a nineteen-century silver *muska* case, taken from the same Turkish exhibition. Inside their cases and tucked away under a shirt, or undergarment, these *ta'viz* were meant to remain

---

[44]The Istanbul University Library's **IUL 6386**, Cat. #20, dated 1257/1841-42, by calligrapher Abd al-Samad Naqshband, contains the silsila of the calligrapher's branch of the order. The Süleymaniye Library's **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509**, Cat. #22, and the Topkapı Sarayı's **TSM YY 874**, Cat. #23, were both written by Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi, the student of Mustafa Izzet who was one of the foremost calligraphers of the 19th century, and a member of the Naqshbandi order. The Süleymaniye Library's **Düğümlü Baba 491**, Cat. #25, by an unknown calligrapher, was originally part of a collection of a *tekke* built to honour a Naqshbandi saint.

[45]See the article by J. Chelod, on "hidjab" in *E.I.* 2nd ed. especially p. 361.

hidden, unlike the pre-Islamic amulets and talismans that were purposely worn in visible places. **Plate 7** (and the detail in **7a**)[46] is an example of an undergarment that was covered with inscriptions that were intended to protect the wearer, in this case possibly Sultan Bayazid I (d. 1389). This hidden aspect has two meanings, according to the Shaykh, "One meaning is that it protects or veils you from harm. At the same time it is also veiling the hidden power that the shaykh will try to work on you," he said.[47]

The word *ta'viz* itself comes from the root word *'adha*, meaning to take shelter, or protection. Shaykh Hisham also used the words *himaya* and *hirz* to further explain the meaning of the word *ta'viz*. Lane describes *himaya* as stemming from a pre-Islamic meaning of forbidden and protected pasturage,[48] *hirz* is described as an area or place of refuge or protection.[49] According to Shaykh Hisham's definition: "The *ta'viz* is a protection and a barricade put between the human being and whatever harm is going to come against them." He defined *ruqya* as the actual words that one recites over a person, the prayers used to save them from illness, fear, or mental stress. These *ruqya* are an integral part of the practice of *ta'viz*." *Ta'viz*," said the Shaykh, "are what you write and what you read [recite]."

An understanding of the concept of blurred distinction between the spoken and written word is central to the study of Islamic calligraphy in general and the use of *ta'viz* in particular. One has only to remember that the first word revealed in the Qur'an was "*iqra'*" which can mean either read or recite.[50] The spoken word carries great weight in Islamic culture. For example, the authenticity of a hadith rests, in part, upon acceptance of its *isnad*, or chain of verbal transmitters. In order to receive a teacher's permission to transmit a

---

[46]Talismanic undershirt from the Tomb of Bayezid I, TIEM 539, Istanbul.
[47]Unless stated otherwise, this and all further passages marked with quotation marks are taken from a November 1995 interview with Shaykh Hisham Kabbani.
[48]E. W. Lane, *Arabic - English Lexicon*, vol. 1, p. 651.
[49]Lane, vol. 1, p. 545.
[50]96:1

particular area of knowledge to others, a Muslim scholar had to provide evidence of his or her ability to recite the relevant text, whether it was the Qur'an, a collection of hadith, or a particular author's work. Writing, while seen as the most important of the Islamic arts, is merely the physical manifestation of the spoken word.

Shaykh Hisham chose to begin our interview with a long and detailed explanation of the the Qur'anic roots of the practice of *ta'viz* and its evolution from a purely spoken art to one which included writing. He began with the recitation of an *ayat*, or verse from Qur'an: "*We sent down in the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe.*"[51] He went on to explain that these words form the basis of the belief that various verses from the Qur'an contain prescriptions for both physical and spiritual sickness: "For example, for protection from *jinn* one may recite *Surah al-Nas* ; against the evil eye one uses *Surah al-Falaq*,; for *rizq* , or sustenance, you use *Surah al-Waqi'a* ; and for both *rizq* and protection you use *Surah al-Kahf*, containing the names of the Seven Sleepers."[52] Examples of *ta'viz* incorporating these verses abound in our manuscripts, and will be examined later in this chapter. The Shaykh also cited as important the earlier mentioned hadith in which the Prophet said: "There is no disease that Allah has created except that He also has created its treatment."[53] The Shaykh explained that this hadith expresses the underlying principle of Islamic medicine, which combines changes in diet and lifestyle with the use of medicinal plants as well as both spoken and written words of protection.

Shaykh Hisham described how the use of *ruqya*, or the recitation of verses and prayers in order to affect a cure for an illness or to ward off evil, was a common practice among the pre-Islamic Arabs. During his lifetime the Prophet Muhammad continued to permit this practice as long as the prayers were Qur'anic or did not in any way violate Islamic precepts. The prayers taught by

---

[51] 17: 82

[52] Other well-known *ayat al-shif'a*, Qur'anic verses of healing are: 9:14, 10:57, 16:69, 17:82, 26:80, 49:44.

[53] *Sahih Bukhari*, vol. 7, p. 395.

the Prophet were collected first in the books of hadith and later in works specifically devoted to healing.

According to Shaykh Hisham, the practice of writing and carrying the prayers used by the Prophet to cure people began in the first century Hijra. The Shaykh explained how, "Initially the *sahaba* and their followers began to write down the prayers used by the Prophet to cure people and give it to those who needed it so they might read it." When non-Arabs began to embrace Islam the writing itself was perceived as containing *baraka,* or spiritual blessings and power emanating from God through pious individuals or sacred objects. The Shaykh described how during his lifetime the Prophet used to put his hands over those wishing to be healed. After his death, his wife 'Umm Salamah used to take one of his hairs that she had kept and pass water over it, giving the water to the sick. His wife 'A'isha also used to allow people to wear the Prophet's cloak, and they would be cured. Citing these examples, and others from the Qur'an, the Shaykh explained how the concept evolved:

> "People observed the example of the *jubba* [cloak] of the Prophet, or the hair of the Prophet. They began to write verses of Qur'an on paper, or at that time skin, leather or palm leaves, and carry it with them because they were not able to read or recite it," he said. "They knew that *baraka* comes from the hair and the clothes of the Prophet. They remembered how in *Surah Yusuf* when the prophet Yusuf's father became blind from crying, Yusuf sent him his shirt and it cured him. That shirt carried *baraka,* or blessings by miraculous power. A shirt acted as a *ta'viz,* because it made a person to see. People also took the example of the coffin of Moses when Talut was fighting Jalut in the time of David. Talut asked for support and Allah sent him the relics of Moses in a box which was moving in front of the armies. In Islam these things are accepted. The idea that you take blessings or *baraka* from the things that prophets or pious people leave behind has many roots in Islam. From these early examples, people developed the idea that you can obtain blessings from carrying written verses of the Qur'an, or placing them on the walls of mosques or houses."

The *'ilm al-huruf*, or the science of letters, is based upon the spiritual properties of the Arabic letters. It was developed in the third and fourth centuries Hijra/ninth and tenth centuries C. E. with the writings of such scholars as Muhammad Sahl ibn Harun ibn Rahbun (c. 215/830), and al-Kindi (d. 866/252).[54] It reached its zenith with the works of al-Ghazali in the 5th/11th century. In his discussion of this practice, Shaykh Hisham explained the reason behind the development of system of *abjad*, the replacement of letters by numbers.[55] He said:

> "When people began to carry *ta'viz* on a large scale, written verses of Qur'an, there was the danger that they might drop the sacred words on the ground. Scholars such as al-Ghazali and many others in his time and before, began to use this technology, the knowledge of using numbers for letters. They began to put these *ta'viz* in squares, in various ways, in order to give it a shape and protect it from the evil eye."[56]

At age twenty-six, following his first seclusion, Shaykh Hisham began his training in the use of *ta'viz*. Seclusion, or *khalwa*, is a common practice in many Sufi orders, and one which plays a role in the preparation of the student for advanced pratices such as *ta'viz*. During this period the student is secluded from contact with anyone but his or her shaykh, spending the time in prayer and meditation. In the Naqshbandi order the purpose of the first seclusion is to gain control over the ego. Training in esoteric arts such as use of the *ta'viz* is witheld until after this seclusion in order to be sure that the student will not use the knowledge either to do evil or for personal gain. According to the Shaykh:

---

[54]Abdelhamid Saleh Hamdan, "Ghazali and the science of huruf." *Oriente Moderno* n.s. 4/65. 1985, p. 191.

[55]In this system, each letter is given its own numerical value. Each verse from the Qur'an then has a corresponding number, for example, the number 786 corresponds to the *bismillah*, the phrase, "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful."

[56]See, for example the *ta'viz* found in **TSM EH 394**, ff. 55v-58, Cat. #12. These six pages of protective amulets each containing sixteen squares with numerals written on the diagonal.

> "Knowledge of the use of *ta'viz* has to be given directly by the shaykh through training, because without this training you can cause great harm. If you are not well trained enough to control yourself, you can harm people. Many people without training try to use some of the books that have been written on these matters.[57] This is very dangerous, and that is why some practitioners become mentally ill themselves, or cause harm to other people. Some people use the information in books in a professional way, to get money, which is not permitted."[58]

Working with *ta'viz* can put the practitioner's own health or safety in jeopardy. Shaykh Hisham described the patient's illness or trouble as a burden which the practitioner must take upon him or herself in order to affect a cure.

> "When you write the *ta'viz* you must carry the person's sickness like a burden. The sickness will be then be reflected upon you. If you are not able to carry the burden of the sickness and reflect it back, either outside in the air or in the ocean or the sea, then that sickness will harm you," he explained.

When Shaykh Hisham gives someone a *ta'viz* he first prays over it, then carefully folds it into a triangular shape, instructing the recipient not to open it. He tells them to cover it in seven folds of plastic wrap and sew it in a leather pouch. To open the *ta'viz* is to negate its power. The Shaykh explained: "The *ta'viz* is closed in a way that is hidden, you cannot see what it is. If you open the *ta'viz*, the effect will go. After the shaykh reads [prays] on it, folds it and gives it to you, if you open it it is finished, there is no value for you."

Shaykh Hisham described the practice of *ta'viz* as a meeting point between medicine and psychology, religion and metaphysics.

---

[57] For an interesting discussion of the contents of several of these books, see: J. Robson, "The magical use of the Koran," pp. 51-60.

[58] Not all writers of *ta'viz* follow the practice of refusing payment for service. See, for example, the *marabout* in Geert Mommersteeg's article, "He has smitten her to the heart with love: the fabrication of an Islamic love-amulet in West Africa," *Anthropos* 83, 1988, pp. 501-510.

> "All *ta'viz* are based upon the existence of God," he said. "Secondly, they are based upon the existence of a spiritual structure, the soul. And thirdly, that these souls can move from one place to another through the usage of the different Attributes of God. Under these Attributes will be serving angels and serving *jinns* who will serve those people who know how to use these Attributes."

The Shaykh believes that all sickness is psychologically based. When questioned further he stated that the terms psychological and spiritual were interchangeable.

> "When a person is psychologically sick," he said, "the body secretes hormones in the glands which affect the whole balance of his system. When you have an unbalanced system you have problems. If you can balance the secretion of these glands by psychological or spiritual means then you have a balanced person with no more sickness. That is our aim in healing through energy and healing through recitations."

To the Western mind, much of the work that Shaykh Hisham does may be seen as psychological in nature. Most people come to him with concerns that are no different than those presented to the average psychologist, minister, or family counselor. To these people the Shaykh lends a sympathetic ear and practical advice concerning changes in diet or lifestyle. Then, like a psychiatrist or psychologist, the Sufi shaykh makes a diagnosis on the basis of his knowledge and experience of the human condition. As part of the therapy he then chooses a *wird*, or recitation that the person has to read in order to achieve a spiritual balance. Finally, the Shaykh chooses a specific prayer, recites it and breathes over a folded *ta'viz*, and concludes the visit. Occasionally, a more challenging case will present itself - one in which Western concepts of psychology prove to be of limited value, and a more traditional approach is called for.

In 1994, at a Naqshbandi centre in Montreal, the Shaykh was introduced to a middle-aged African woman whose family was concerned because she

insisted that she had been possessed by a *jinn*.[59] Although the woman spoke only her native African dialect, the *jinn* apparently spoke Arabic, declaring loudly that it was not Muslim and would not leave the woman's body. A purely psychological assessment of the elderly woman might take into account the feelings of alienation and powerlessness experienced by an immigrant elder: the loneliness of a new country and difficulty of speaking a new language, the loss of support of the family back home and the growing independence of her young, adult children as they make the adjustment to life in North America. Remedies offered by Western medicine might include family counseling or drug therapy, but would probably not address the woman's spiritual needs.[60] The Shaykh spent more than an hour alternately talking to the woman and addressing the *jinn*. He splashed the woman with water and passed his staff back and forth over her, finally ordering the *jinn* to leave. When he was finished, he called me over and asked me to assist the woman in drying herself. I observed that the woman, who moments before had been screaming and thrashing about, now calmly got up, thanked the Shaykh, who gave her a *ta'viz*, and went home with her family. When later asked if he had had to write a special *ta'viz* for such a seemingly spectacular case, the Shaykh replied no, that the general *ta'viz* offered sufficient protection against *jinn* and other malevolent spirits. What had been specific to this case were the spoken prayers he had said over the woman and on the *ta'viz* before giving it to her. He explained:

> "Allah mentioned in Holy Qur'an that there were two angels, Harut and Marut, and they were teaching magic. They were teaching

---

[59]*Jinn* are beings created by God from smokeless fire. Like humans they have the freedom to choose between submission to God (Islam) or rebellion (disbelief). They are traditionally known to be mischievous and sometimes may possess an individual.

[60]In "Spiritual emergency: concepts and implications for psychotherapy," in the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 22-45, author Kristin W. Watson discusses the transformative qualities of mystical/visionary experiences, or what she refers to as "psychospiritual events," and the implications of including these experience in Western psychotherapy.

> people the knowledge of how to separate husband and wife, children and parents, communities. Through the Prophet Muhammad (*s.a.w.s.*.), Allah has taught us to counteract that power. By using many verses of Qur'an, and many other prayers we may stop all this black magic. We may stop the bad actions of some people against others."

Difficult cases require the performance of *salat al-istikhara*, the prayer of guidance or inspiration. For this, the Shaykh performs a ritual ablution before sleeping, and makes a two *rakat*, or two cycle prayer, reciting a special *du'a* asking God's guidance in this specific case. He then goes to sleep on his right side. During the night he experiences a dream in which he receives information concerning the illness or psychological state of the patient. The Shaykh explained,

> "The Prophet (*s.a.w.s.*) said, if you want to have inspiration I am leaving behind me the good dream, and the good dream is considered one-fortieth a part of revelation. Through *istikhara* in the dream the shaykh can tell what kind of sickness the person is carrying."

The content of the *ta'viz* itself is dependent upon the diagnosis. Each illness or state requires the use of different names of God, different prayers. In order to make a diagnosis, the Shaykh relies first upon the earlier training he received as a medical student in Belgium. He said, "You have to have some medical knowledge at least, in order to know what kind of pain or sickness the person has." For special cases he relies upon the *salat al-istikhara*. Then, using the principles taught to him by his shaykh and grand shaykh, a collective knowledge reaching back through a chain of forty teachers ending with the Prophet Muhammad, Shaykh Hisham selects the proper combination of prayers, Qur'anic verses and Names of God. "What is important," he said, "is the combination, how to combine Names. The whole technology is based upon how to combine different Names, different Attributes in a way that they are effective."

Sometimes the Shaykh combines the use of both traditional and spiritual medicines.

> "For example," he said, "in a case of cancer, sometimes we use onion juice, but with it you have to write for the person the first *ayats* of some Qur'anic surahs. You have to write these surahs in saffron on a piece of paper and you put it in water overnight. The next day the saffron is dissolved in the water. The person drinks that water, and in many cases they are cured. In another case we might use different surahs, the first line of the surah, or the middle of the surah. I have saffron here at home, and I use it only for very severe cases. People drink that water and, *insha'Allah* [God-willing] they will be cured."

Plate 8 is an example of a nineteenth-century *shifa' tasi,* or healing bowl, that was similarly inscribed with verse from the Qur'an, and used with water in the treatment of various illnesses.[61]

According to the Shaykh, the effectiveness of the *ta'viz* is dependent upon God and the faith of the practitioner, not the belief of the patient.[62] Although he may view his previous medical training as an asset in diagnosing a patient's illness, Shaykh Hisham's faith rests with God and His Prophet. In his own words: "We believe that the cure is from Allah, from God. Doctors nowadays, they give you a pill and you will be cured. God is the Curer, but the pill is the means. So too, in Islam, the *ta'viz* is the means, but God is the Curer."

Given this understanding of the principles and methods behind the practice of *ta'viz,* we may now turn to the seals, or *muhr,* found in our manuscripts.

---

[61]Yildiz Palace Exhibition, May-June 1996.

[62]According to Abu 'Abdallah Mohammad b. Yusuf al-Sanusi, however, the patient must be convinced that they will be cured in order for a spiritual healing to be effective. See the discussion in J. Robson, p. 54.

III. The *muhr khatim al-nubuwwat,* or Seal of Prophethood.

One of the most frequently depicted images is the oval, or tear-shaped *khatim al-nubuwwat,* or "Seal of Prophethood," that tradition says was located between the shoulders of the Prophet Muhammad. This seal is so important that some of the manuscripts have multiple versions.[63] According to tradition, Abu Bakr said that anyone placing this seal in his shroud or grave "will never experience the pain of the grave, and God will forgive all his sins, great and small."[64] The manuscripts themselves sometimes indicate a specific ritual use for the seals. For example, Hasan al-Rashid's *En'am-ı şerif* of 1254/1838-39, **IUL 5197**, ff. 123-123v, Cat. #19, included this explanation with the Seal of Prophethood:

> "It is said that our Master Muhammad Mustafa, peace and blessings be upon him, said: 'Whoever looks at this seal and rubs it on his eyes, they receive the same reward as if they recited the entire Qur'an one thousand times, as if they prayed one thousand years, as if they fed one thousand poor people, as if they fought one thousand *jihad,* the reward of one thousand Arafats, as if they fasted one thousand years, as if they made one thousand *hajj* , as if they visited one thousand sick people, as if they prayed one thousand *janaza* prayers for the dead, as if they built one thousand bridges, as if they freed one thousand slaves, all these rewards Allah gives to whomever looks at this seal."[65]

---

[63]Cat. #21, **IUL 5756** of the Istanbul University Library has two versions: f. 159v, and f. 160. Cat. #18, **Pertevniyal 43** of the Süleymaniye Library also has two: f. 53v and 54 **(figure 18.5)**. Other *En'am-ı şerif* containing a single image of the Seal of Prophethood include: Cat. #17, **EH 371**, Topkapi Sarayı Library, f. 106v **(figure 17. 4)**; Cat. #16, **UVic 95-014**, University of Victoria, p. 336, **(figure 16. 91)**; Cat. #19, **IUL 5197**, Istanbul University Library, f. 135v; Cat. #22, **Ismirli I. Hakki 1509**, Suleymaniye Library, unpaginated; Cat. #24, **IUL 5573**, Istanbul University Library, ff. 70v-71; Cat. #26, **Spencer Turk 9**, New York Public Library, f. 59v, **(figure 26. 13)**; Cat. #27, **M&A Arab 22**, New York Public Library, f. 162v. **(figure 26. 13)**; and Cat. #28, **IUL 5619**, Istanbul University Library, f. 73v.

[64]Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger,* p. 91.

[65]**IUL 5197**, f. 123a, Cat. #19. Identical to the explanation found in Cat. #24, **IUL 5573**, ff. 70v-71.

The same calligrapher's *En'am-ı şerif* of 1263/1846-47, **IUL 5756**, f. 160, Cat. #21, includes with its Seal of the Prophet a hadith, narrated by 'Ali:

> "The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: 'Anyone who writes my names and keeps them in his house will not find difficulty, or sickness, the evil eye, or magic, and poverty will never touch him.'"

The earliest example I have found of the Seal of Prophethood, in an *En'am-ı şerif*, is by the hand of Salih in 1144/1761.[66] **TSM EH 365**, ff.77v, Cat. #11, **(figure 11. 9)** Here, an inscribed, tear-shaped seal rests upon a bower of pink roses. The text is simple, and very similar to those images that will follow: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. God is One, no partners has He. Anywhere you turn, you will be victorious."

The University of Victoria's Seal of Prophethood, **UVic 95-014**, p. 336, (Cat. #16) **(figure 16. 91),** is typical of those that will follow. The *unwan* is written in white ink on a gold background, surrounded by silver and peach/red borders. It reads: "This is the Seal of the Prophet Muhammad Mustafa, may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him." The central motif is an extended, oval-shaped seal with white writing on a gold background, surrounded by orange/red and gold borders. The inscription on the seal reads:

> "Allah is One. He has no associates. There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. Everywhere you turn, you are victorious. This is the seal of Prophecy, and he is the Seal of the Prophets, peace be upon him."

The seal itself forms the central portion of a three-panel device. The top half of the seal is placed against a background of crimson red with the words: "*Ya Manan!* (O Most Gracious), *Ya Hanan!* (O Most Tender!)"[67] written in white ink.

---

[66]Originally produced by Mehmed Hocazade in 1094/1682-3.

[67]These two Names of God are mentioned in hadith, and are not part of the *'asma al-husna.* (See Ghazali, *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God,* Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, 1992. p. 168.

Below this, the background colour changes to black with a golden arabesque. Appearing to pierce the seal from above is a golden triangle, framed in silver. Below the seal is a golden rectangle bordered in peach and red. The two outer panels each contain two cartouches of text written in black ink on a gold background, bordered with silver. They read: "Victory is from God, and the near ..." "He is the bringer of light, O Muhammad." "This is the Seal of Prophethood, and he is the Seal of the Prophets."

IV. The *muhr al-ashab al-kahf*, or the Seal of the Companions of the Cave, (The Seal of the Seven Sleepers).

In 1144/1731-32, the illuminator Salih included a Seal of the Seven Sleepers in his embellishment of Mehmet Hocazade's earlier *En'am-ı şerif.* **TSM EH 365**, f. 80v, Cat. #11, **(figure 11. 12)** Appearing here for the first time, this seal, which is used for gaining *rizq*, sustenance or even riches, will become an important feature in later versions of the manuscript. In this earliest version, the names of the seven youths and their dog: Yamlikha, Makshalina, Massalmina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadhinush, Kafashtatayutush, and Qutmir, are simply inscribed within a circle,[68] and illuminated in much the same way as the manuscript's many *hilye* have been decorated.

Known in Arabic as *al-ashab al-kahf*, or the companions of the cave, the seal refers to the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, a story familiar throughout Christendom in the Middle Ages. Seven youths and their dog fell asleep in a cave near Ephesus, on the west-coast of Asia Minor during the time of Christianity's persecution by the Roman Empire. The young men awoke several hundred years later to find a much-changed world, with Christianity the state religion. The Qur'anic version warns against arguments based upon the details of

---

[68]**IUL 5573**, f. 72v, Cat. #24, has a similar seal, but here the names are slightly different Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadnush, Kafashsatush, *kalbuhum* (their dog) Qutmir."

the story, saying that only God knows the truth of such things. Instead, the Qur'an treats the story as a parable, with the importance of trust in God being the main point. Prosperity and success, or *rizq* , the object or goal of the Seal of the Seven Sleepers, can only come through trust in God. The actual names of the Seven Sleepers are not mentioned in the Qur'an, but variations are given in a number of traditions. The name of their dog, Qutmir, is usually included in the *ta'viz.* In the case of one manuscript, that of an unknown calligrapher, dated 1291/1874-75, the dog's name actually plays the central role![69] **M&A Arab 22**, f. 163, (Cat. #27), **(figure 27. 7)**

Later versions of the Seal of the Seven Sleepers are more elaborate. For example, in **UVic 95-014**, p. 354, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 109)**, the Seal of the Seven Sleepers begins to include Qur'anic text along with the names of the sleepers. The text of the outer circle of the *ta'viz* reads:

> *"But if they turn away, Say: 'Allah sufficeth me: There is no god but He, on him is my (trust)* [70] *- He is the Lord of the Throne Supreme.* [71] Praise be to Allah, our Creator, and the Creator of Angels and Spirit.[72]

The inner circle of the *ta'viz* bears the names of the Seven Sleepers, given here as Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadnush, Kafashsatush, and their dog Qutmir.

The version of the seal found in the *En'am-ı şerif* written by Mustafa Nazif in 1208/1793-94, is the most elaborate. **Pertevniyal 43**, f. 59v, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 11)** It consists of seven circles of gold alternating with black and red script, above a background of blue and gold covered with an arabesque of multi-coloured flowers. The top *unwan* contains the names of the Seven Sleepers and

---

[69]This is remarkable because of the attitude of Muslims toward dogs. In a well-known hadith, Gabriel told the Prophet that angels do not enter a house in which there are dogs.

[70]The words "my trust," are missing from the text.

[71]9:129.

[72]This prayer is known as the *zikr* (Remembrance) of the Angels.

their dog: "Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadhanush, Kafashtatanush, Qutmir." The bottom *unwan* reads: "O You who are Kind, be kind with us. Be sparing and clement with us. You are the Mighty, save us from Your Overwhelming Might." The first circle reads:

> "There is no god but God, the King, the Truth. There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. There is no god but God, Adam is the Chosen of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the Protected of God. There is no god but God, Abraham is the Friend of God. There is no god but God, Isma'il is the Sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Moses is the One Who Spoke to God.[73] There is no god but God, Solomon is the Trusted of God. There is no god but God, Jesus is the Spirit of God."

The second circle (in red) contains verses from the Qur'an. The first verse, 3:18-19, is said to refer to the "evil-eye."[74] and is frequently used to avert the same in these manuscripts.

> *"In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed! ' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.* [75]*...There is no god but He, the Exalted in Power, the Wise. The religion before Allah is Islam."* [76]

The third circle (in black) contains the famous *ayat al-kursi*, a Qur'anic verse frequently read for protection. Al-Suyuti notes in his *Tibb al-Nabi*, "The Prophet...ordered us to protect oursleves against the evil *"of what He has created"* [77] by...reciting the verse of the Chair *[ayat al-kursi]*.."[78]

---

[73]Identical with **IUL 5619**, f. 75, Cat. #28.
[74]See al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi*, p. 153. The evil-eye will be discussed in the section that follows.
[75] 68:51-52.
[76] 3:18-19.
[77] 113:2.
[78] al-Suyuti, p. 148.

> *"Allah! There is no other god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).* [79]

The fourth circle (in red) consists of a series of repeated *tilsim*, or mystical words of power. The word *tilsim* is thought to be of foreign origin, either Greek, Persian or Ethiopic. It is the source of our own word "talisman."[80] The fifth circle (in black) repeats the *shahada:* "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God," five times. The sixth and centre circle (in black) repeats the phrase: "God is Most High," three times.

Later versions of the Seal of the Seven Sleepers are somewhat abbreviated. For example, in Mustafa Hilmi's *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1289/1872, calligraphic roundels for each of the Seven Sleepers are included along with those of the *al-ashara al-mubashara*, the "Ten Promised Paradise." **Spencer Turk 9**, ff. 45v-56, Cat. #26. Three years later, an *En'am-ı şerif* by an unknown calligrapher, copies this idea using the same roundels for the names of the Seven Sleepers, and combining them with the names of the "Ten Promised Paradise." **IUL 5619**, ff60v-71, Cat. #28. Finally, an undated *En'am-ı şerif* by an unknown artist, includes the names of the Sleepers along with a list of the *mukhallafat al-Rasul*, the relics of the Prophet. **Düğümlü Baba 491**, f. 76v, Cat. #25, **(figure 25. 23)**.

VI. The *muhr shifa'a al-Qur'an*, or the Seals of Qur'anic Healing.

These seals, which may also be called *ta'viz*, are intended to provide protection for those who look at them, or wear them, against whatever ill may

---

[79] 2:255.
[80] See Lane, vol. 2, p. 1867; and *EI*, first edition, vol. 8, p. 767

befall them, either through physical or mental illness, or accident, or through the intentional ill-will of those who practice the "secret arts." In addition to providing this protection, such images were meant to serve as prototypes that might be copied and distributed. See, for example, the very first *ta'viz* in our manuscripts, found in Mustafa Mir's *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1144/1731-32, **TSM EH 394**, ff. 56v-57, Cat. #12, **(figure 12. 1)** where the text around the outside reads:

> (In Ottoman Turkish) This (*ta'viz*) is for whatever you may ask for in this life and in the next...Anyone may write this *(ta'viz)* and carry it...No matter what your need or reason for making this request with Allah's permission it will happen."

The University of Victoria's manuscript contains three such Seals of Qur'anic Healing. Two of them, **UVic 95-014**, p. 338 and p. 355, Cat. #16, **(figures 16. 93** and **16. 110)**, are directed against the evil eye, while the third, p. 339 **(figure 16. 94)**, is against physical illness. The three *ta'viz* are identical in style, only the content differs slightly.

VI. 1. The *ta'viz* used against the Evil Eye.

Numerous hadith attest to the existence and power of the evil-eye. According to Muslim's *Sahih,* the Prophet said, "The influence of the evil-eye is a fact; if anything would precede the destiny *(qadar)*, it would be the influence of an evil-eye..."[81] The evil-eye is said to come from a spiteful or jealous human or *jinn.* The possessor of the evil-eye need not be aware of its existence, or even be in the same place as the one afflicted.[82] In the Muslim world any appreciative comment toward a person, their belongings, and especially their children may be seen as suspect, and, according to an order of the Prophet, must be immediately

---

[81] *Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-salam,* vol. 3, p. 1192.
[82] Muhammad Al-Akili, *Natural Healing with the Medicine of the Prophet from the Book of the Provisions of the Hereafter by Imam ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,* p. 122-123.

followed by the phrase: *"Masha' Allah,"* or, "it is by God's will."[83] In Ottoman times, the *nazar*, or evil-eye, was believed to be responsible for most illness.[84] Lady Blunt, a European woman who was the daughter of a British Consul and lived in Turkey at the end of the nineteenth century, noted that in the Ottoman Empire, nothing was more feared than the evil-eye.

> "The evil-eye is supposed to be cast by some envious or malicious person, and sickness, death, and loss of beauty, affection, and wealth are ascribed to it. Often when paying visits of condolence to Turkish harems, I have heard them attribute the loss they have sustained to the *Nazar* [look]. I knew a beautiful girl, who was entirely blinded and disfigured by small-pox, attribute her misfortune to one of her rivals, who, envying in her the charms which she did not herself possess, used to look at her with the particular *fena guz* (bad expression) so much dreaded by Turkish women.[85]

The *unwan* of the *ta'viz* on p. 338 of the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif*, **UVic 95-014**, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 93)** is written in white ink on a gold background, with silver and blue borders. It reads: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Glory be to Allah, all praise is for Allah, there is no god but Allah, Allah is Greatest." In each of the four corners, roundels of gold bear the names of the Prophet, written in black ink: "Guide, Muhallil (?), Prohibitor, Ruler." In the centre, three lines of text are written in black ink against a gold background. It reads:

> "Nothing exists without His Will. There is no power and no might except that of God, the Exalted, the All-Powerful. Oh Ever-Living, Oh God."[86]

---

[83] See al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi*, p. 153.
[84] Raphaela Lewis, *Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey,"* p. 107.
[85] Quoted in Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, Greenwood Press: New York, 1986, p. 268.
[86] The *ta'viz* on f. 136v of **IUL 5197** (Cat. #19), dated 1254/1838-39, uses the same verse and is almost identical in style and content.

These are encircled by yet another line of text, dealing specifically with the evil-eye. As mentioned earlier in the section on the Seal of the Seven Sleepers, we find this Qur'anic passage, 68:51-52, repeated frequently in these manuscripts as a protection against the evil-eye:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Generous, Most Merciful. And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."* [87]

A similar *ta'viz* from **UVic 95-014**, Cat. #16, found on p. 355 **(figure 16. 110)** repeats the same verse of protection (68:51-52), and adds another verse from the Qur'an:

> "There is no power and no might and no strength except with Allah the Almighty, *but Allah will suffice thee as against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."* [88]

A similar *ta'viz* against the evil-eye is to be found in the *En'am-ı şerif* written by Mustafa Hilmi in 1289/1872-73, **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 58v, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 12)**. The top *unwan* reads: "This is the seal of healing from the Qur'an." The bottom *unwan* reads: "O Healer, O Sufficient, O Ever-Living." The outer circle reads:

> *And Who, I hope will forgive me my faults on the Day of Judgement. O my Lord! Bestow wisdom on me, and join me with the righteous.* [89] *And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."*[90] *We send down (stage by stage) of the*

---

[87] 68: 51-52
[88] 2:137. See also **IUL 5619**, f. 73, Cat. #28.
[89] 26:82-83. (Abraham's prayer)
[90] 68:51-52.

> *Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unjust it causes (nothing but loss after loss).* [91]

The middle circle reads:

> "In the Name of God, the Healer. In the Name of God, the Sufficient. In the Name of God, the Giver of Health. In the Name of God, by this Name nothing can hurt you either on the earth, or in the heavens, and and He is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. O Ever-Living, O Self-Sufficient, Supporter of all, O Allah, O Beloved."

VI. 2. The *ta'viz* used against illness.

According to 'Ali, "the Qur'an is the best of all medicines."[92] The choice of Qur'anic passages on p. 339 of **UVic 95-014**, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 94)**, indicates that this *ta'viz* is to be used against physical illness.[93] The outer circle reads:

> *"We sent down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe: to the unjust it causes nothing but loss after loss."* [94]

According to al-Suyuti:

> "The word 'of' [in the first passage: 17:82] does not refer to certain parts only, but the meaning is that all that is revealed in the Qur'an is curative. The Qur'an cures from physical diseases if used for that purpose just as it cures from error, ignorance and doubt."[95]

---

[91] 17:82. (bracketed part is missing).
[92] Reported by Ibn Maja, and quoted in al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabbi*, p. 131.
[93] A number of *ta'viz* in the manuscripts that were studied use exactly the same verses: f. 137 of the Istanbul University Library's **IUL 5197**, dated 1254/1838-39, and f. 71v of **IUL 5573**, dated 1282/1865-66.
[94] 17:82.
[95] Al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi*, p. 155.

The outer circle of the *ta'viz* contains another Qur'anic passage that further underscores its purpose of curing physical illness:

> *"And when I am ill, it is He who cures me."*[96] *"Say: 'It is a guidance to those who believe.*[97]

And in the centre of the circle:

> *"A guidance and a healing for the diseases in your hearts."*[98] It is Allah who heals. O Healer, O Sufficient, O Giver of Health, O Ever Living, O God.

The phrase, *"diseases in your hearts"* has been taken generically to refer to the dark characteristics of our egos. Al-Suyuti notes: "[The Qur'an] cures the heart by removing ignorance from it."[99] It may well be, however, that in this case the *ta'viz* was prepared specifically for a patron with a weak heart. The endpages of the manuscript **(figures 16. 159** to **16. 162)** contain a "recipe" made of ginger, honey and various spices for a medicine to cure problems of the chest.

There are two seals of Qur'anic healing devoted to the curing of physical illness found in **Spencer Turk 9**, Cat. #26, Mustafa Hilmi's *En'am-ı şerif*, dated 1289/1872-73. The first of these *ta'viz*, f. 57v, **(figure 26. 11)** consists of three concentric circles containing Qur'anic inscriptions. The outer circle contains a slight variation from the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif* in its choice of Qur'anic passage. Specifically, Qur'an 26:78-79 is substituted for Qur'an 26:80:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe.* [100] *"[It is He] Who created me and it is He Who guides me;*

---

[96] 26:80
[97] 41:44.
[98] 10:57.
[99] Al-Suyyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi*, p. 155
[100] 17:82.

> *Who gives me food and drink.* [101] *Say: 'It is a guide and a healing to those who believe.*[102]

This Qur'anic passage concerning the beneficial properties of food comes from the prayer of Abraham, a more complete version of which is quoted in a *ta'viz* by an unknown calligrapher in his *En'am-ı şerif* of 1292/1875-76, **IUL 5619**, Cat. #28, f. 72v:

> *Who gives me food and drink, and when I am ill, it is He who cures me. Who will cause me to die, and then to live (again). And Who, I hope, will forgive me my faults on the Day of Judgement. O my Lord! bestow wisdom on me, and join me with the righteous.* [103]

Traditional Islamic medicine emphasises the importance of the medicinal properties of foods. Both the Prophet and his physician, al-Harith bin Khaladah are credited with the pronouncement: "The stomach is the abode of every disease."[104] Imam ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350 C. E.) argued that physical illness is usually caused by any one or combination of the following: an excess of eating; the consumption of nutrient deficient foods; the mixing of food opposites with too many elaborate dishes at one sitting, or eating again before the complete digestion of the previous meal.[105] "Hence, the proper diet (*himyah*), moderating excess and abstinence prove to be the best cure..."[106] The Prophet himself said: "He (God) who created the illness, also has created the cure."[107] As a result, the various books written over the centuries on the subject of Islamic medicine have frequently included an extensive list of herbs and foodstuffs as well as their medicinal properties.

---

[101] 26:78-79. This passage is also found in **IUL 5619**, f. 72, Cat. #28.
[102] 41:44.
[103] 26:79-83.
[104] Al-Suyuti, p. 169 and al-Akili, p. 84.
[105] Al-Akili, p. 15.
[106] Al-Akili, p. 7.
[107] Al-Akili, p. 96.

The second *ta'viz* of healing in **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 58, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 12)**, adds the following verse:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...and heal the breasts of believers.*[108] and repeats, slightly differently: *"O mankind! there hath come to you an admonition from your Lord and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts, - and for those who believe, a Guidance and a Mercy.*[109]

This *ta'viz* also adds for the first time:

> *"..there issues from within their bodies a drink of varying colours, wherein is a healing for men.*[110]

This passage refers to bees and their honey, a substance classified as a medicine in the Islamic world. Al-Suyuti's book, *Tibb al-Nabi*, contains a fairly lengthy section on the healing properties of honey, based upon narrations attributed to the Prophet and his companions.

> "Said the Prophet: 'For you treatment is two-fold - honey and the Qur'an'...All physicians agree that honey is the best treatment for mankind because it contains detergent and tonic properties and is the best of foods. It also strengthens the stomach and creates an appetite."[111]

Two *ta'viz* of Qur'anic healing found in an *En'am-ı şerif* by an unknown calligrapher dated 1291/1874-75, **M&A Arab 22**, ff. 171v-172, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 16)** contain these traditional verses of healing, but place at their centre the Name of God, "O Opener!" It is possible that these *ta'viz* may have served as amulets for a woman in labour.

---

[108] 9:14.
[109] 10:57.
[110] 16:69.
[111] Al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi*, p. 98.

VII. The Seal of the *ayat al-kursi*, or Throne Verse.

The *ayat al-kursi*, or Throne Verse, has been inscribed upon buildings and objects throughout the Islamic world because it is believed to offer those who read it protection against the evil *"of what He has created."* [112] It is one of the most often recited verses of protection, taught to children at a very early age.

> *"Allah! There is no other god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).*[113]

Mustafa Hilmi's *En'am-ı şerif* of 1289/1872-73, contains a *ta'viz* based upon this passage. **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 59, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 12)**. The outer circle and part of the middle circle contains the *ayat al-kursi.* The rest of the middle circle reads: "There is no power and no strength except with God. The Messenger of God spoke the Truth." The centre reads: " In the Name of God, the Healer. In the Name of God, the Sufficient. In the Name of God, the Giver of Health. O Healer, O Sufficient, O Bringer of Health, O He!"

Two circular *ta'viz* found in **Düğümlü Baba 491** (Cat. #25), an unattributed and undated *En'am-ı şerif*, contain the *ayat al-kursi* as well as mystical *tilsim*, or words of power. These mystical words are exactly the type of knowledge of the unknown that is referred to in the Throne Verse. The *ta'viz* consist of five golden concentric circles, with radiating red lines segmenting black words and letters. The outer circles of both *ta'viz* contain the *ayat al-kursi.* The segments of the second circle of the first *ta'viz* on f. 149v, **(figure 25. 24)** contain a mixture of what appear to be proper names and numbers. The segments of the third circle contain individual letters; read together they form

---

[112] 113:2. See Al-Suyuti, *Tibb al-Nabi*, p. 148.
[113] 2:255.

the *bismillah.* The fourth circle is written in the same manner, the letters forming Names of God. In the fifth and last circle each letter of the *ayat* has again been written separately: *"(To) him who was dead...We gave life."*[114]

The second circle of the second *ta'viz*, f. 150, **(figure 25. 25)** repeats the *shahada* five times, and begins the repetition of the *tilsim* letters *sad* and *ha* (perhaps meaning "correct?"). The repetition of these letters continues for the first half of the third circle, followed by the words *la* and *hum* (perhaps meaning "for them"?). The fourth circle repeats the letters *sad* and *ha* . The centre of the circle reads: *"There is no god but Allah, He,"* the letters *sad* and *ha* , and the numbers 5, 5, 2 and 7 in a triangular design.

Another seal of the *ayat al-kursi* is to be found in **M&A Arab 22**, f. 172v, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 17)**, by the hand of an unknown calligrapher and dated 1291/1874-75. The *unwans* read: "This is the image of the seal of the *ayat al-kursi.*" Four corner roundels contain the Names of God. The outer and second of three circles contain the *ayat al-kursi.* The centre reads:

> *"And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.'"*[115]

VIII. The *muhr kabir*, or the Great Seal.

The University of Victoria's manuscript contains a calligraphic device known as the "Great Seal." **UVic 95-014**, p. 313, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 68)**. This seal consists of a central medallion containing God's name (*ya Allah*) repeated sixteen times in a central square, which is itself surrounded by a circle. According to one mystical interpretation, the square represents the earth, while the circle

---

[114] 6:122.
[115] 68:51-52.

represents heaven.[116] The phrase *ya Allah* is repeated four times in squares located in each of four surrounding half circles. The circle and half circles are gold, encircled in gold on a silver background. On the silver interstices are written the names Imam Hasan Zain al-'Abidin, Imam Hussain Musa Katim, Ja'far al-Sadiq, and Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi. These men are all descendents of the Prophet Muhammad, the last of whom, al-Mahdi, is expected to appear at the end of time.[117] Calligraphic roundels in the four corners contain the Names of God, written in red ink on a blue background.

The *En'am-ı şerif* of Hasan al-Rashid dated 1254/1838-39, contains a similar seal, with accompanying instructions for its use written in Ottoman Turkish. **IUL 5197**, f. 123-124, Cat. #19. The seal's *baraka* is to be transmitted physically by wiping the page itself over the reader's face:

> "This is the explanation of the Great Seal [of Muhammad], may peace and blessings be upon him. It is said that our Master Muhammad Mustafa, peace and blessings be upon him, said: 'Whoever looks at this seal and rubs it on his eyes, they receive the same reward as if they recited the entire Qur'an one thousand times, as if they prayed one thousand years, as if they fed one thousand poor people, as if they fought one thousand *jihad*, the reward of one thousand Arafats, as if they fasted one thousand years, as if they made one thousand *hajj* , as if they visited one thousand sick people, as if they prayed one thousand *janaza* prayers for the dead, as if they built one thousand bridges, as if they freed one thousand slaves, all these rewards Allah gives to whomever looks at this seal."

This text emphasises the role of these seals as conduits of *baraka*. According to the Prophet, the very act of looking at and touching the image

---

[116]See the discussion of circles and squares in Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar's *The Sense of Unity*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1973, p. 29.
[117]These men are Shi'ite Imams, but they are also considered to be shaykhs in the Qadiri *silsila*, which is Sunni.

brings rewards and blessings. Reading the text, it would appear, becomes secondary.

'Abd al-Samad Naqshband's version of the *muhar kabir*, or "Great Seal," dated 1257/1841-42, also carries instructions for its use in Ottoman Turkish. **IUL 6386**, ff. 43v-44, Cat. #20:

> "Anyone who looks at this Great Seal, morning or night, and rubs it over their face and eyes, God will forgive their sins for the past seventy years. Anyone who looks at this seal at the beginning of the month, God will protect them from difficulties for that month. God will protect them from their enemies. This is a very great seal, with many deep secrets."

Written in 1289/1872, thirty-two years after 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband's manuscript, the "Great Seal" from Mustafa Hilmi's **Spencer Turk 9**, ff. 38v-39, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 3)**, is accompanied by a virtually identical version of the former's Ottoman Turkish explanatory text, as is that of an *En'am-ı şerif* produced in 1292/1875-76 by an unknown calligrapher: **IUL 5619**, ff. 53v-54, Cat. #28.

From our examination of these seals it is apparent that not only were they meant to be ritually used in order to obtain *baraka*, but also that these seals served as patterns for each other, with important images such as the "Great Seal" being reproduced from the earliest *En'am-ı şerif* to the last.

VIII. The Seal of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq.

Another Great Seal found in the University of Victoria's manuscript is preceded by a page of explanation, **UVic 95-014**, pp. 352-353, Cat. #16, **(figures 16. 107** and **16. 108)**. The *unwan* of p. 352 is written in white ink on a golden background with a peach-coloured border. It reads: "This is the explanation of the Great Seal." Written in Ottoman Turkish, the text describes the protective purpose of the Great Seal found on p. 353, and once again expresses the

importance of the ritual act of gazing as opposed to the intellectual act of reading:

> "Ja'far al-Sadiq said that for anyone who looks at this blessed seal, Hell will be forbidden. Anyone who looks at it in the morning, Allah will protect them from evil until night. Anyone who looks at it at night, Allah will protect them from evil until morning. Whoever looks at it from the beginning of the month, Allah will protect and keep them safe until the end of the month. Allah created seventy thousand angels to protect this seal and those who gaze upon it."

Ja'far al-Sadiq is one of the Prophet's descendents named in the previous seal. He was a man renowned for his piety, and for his esoteric knowledge. Although he is one of the twelve Imams revered by the Shi'a, he is also a frequent link in the *silsila* of many Sufi orders, both Shi'a and Sunni. For example, the Naqshbandi order is closely identified with orthodox Sunnism and the only Sufi order to have Abu Bakr instead of 'Ali as the subsequent link in the chain after the Prophet, yet Ja'far al-Sadiq is considered to be the fifth Sufi master in the Naqshbandi *silsila.* Thus the appearance of his name in an *En'am-ı şerif* does not necessarily indicate any Shi'a connection.

The Great Seal's central motif consists of six concentric circles, ringed with gold on a silver background. The Names of God and *Surah al-Ikhlas* are featured in a cluster of surrounding medallions:

> "*Say: He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him.*[118]

Medallions, top and bottom bear the testament of belief: "I believe in Allah and His Angels, and His Books, and His Messengers, the Day of Judgement, the Will

---

[118] 112:1-4

of Allah, both good and bad." The text of the outer circle of the central motif reads:

> "There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. There is no god but Allah, Adam is the 'Sincere Friend of Allah'. There is no god but Allah, Noah is the 'One Protected by Allah'. There is no god but Allah, David is the 'Deputy of Allah'. There is no god but Allah, Abraham is the 'Friend of Allah'. There is no god but Allah, Moses is the 'One who Spoke to Allah'. There is no god but Allah."

The appearance here of the names of the prophets once again re-inforces the mystical interpretation of *Surah al-An'am* discussed in Chapter Two, and in the section of the *hilyes* of the prophets earlier in this chapter.

The second circle and part of third circle contains the *ayat al-kursi.*[119] The rest of the third circle contains a by now familiar *ayat* against the evil-eye:

> "*And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message.*"[120]

The fourth circle contains *tilsim*, or words of power: "*il ha ha, il ha ha, il ha ha, ha ha mim, ha ha mim, ha ha mim.*" This pattern of letters is repeated five times. According to Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, *tilsim* are words of power that may represent the names of angels or *jinn*, and originate in ancient languages such as Syriac. It is through the use of such words that one achieves control over these angels and *jinn*.

A very similar seal, but without the attribution to Ja'far al-Sadiq, is to be found in an *En'am-ı şerif* by an unknown calligrapher dated 1282/1865-66. **IUL 5573**, f. 93, Cat. #24. Once again, we have evidence of the frequent repetition of such images in the manuscripts over time.

---

[119] 2:255
[120] 68:51

The *En'am-ı şerif* of 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband, dated 1257/1841-42, also contains a Great Seal of Imam Ja'far al-Sidiq. **IUL 6386**, ff. 47v-48, Cat. #20. The explanations for its use begin on f. 47:

> "The explanation of the Great Seal...Imam Jafar (may Allah be pleased with him), reported from the Messenger of God (peace be upon him): 'Anyone who looks at this Great Seal, Allah will protect them from Hellfire, and they will surely see Allah's Beauty. They will be protected from seventy thousand difficulties in this life, will never be destitute, and will have a long life. Allah will forgive them their sins. All this is due to the blessings of this seal.'[121] Ameen."

The seal itself consists of three concentric circles, centred around the words: "O God." Here too, the seal invokes the names of the prophets. The outer circle reads:

> "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. There is no god but God, Adam is the chosen one of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the one God protected. There is no god but God, Abraham is the friend of God."

The second circle reads:

> "There is no god but God, He is Alone, no partners has He. Isma'il is the sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Moses is the one who conversed with God."[122]

The inner circle reads:

> "There is no god but God, His is the dominion, and to Him belongs all praise, and He has power over all things."

---

[121]The Ottoman Turkish explanatory text is almost identical with that of **IUL 5619**, f. 53v-54. Cat. #28.

[122]Note the similarity with **Pertevniyal 43** f. 59v. Cat. #18.

The last of the *En'am-ı şerif* to contain Imam Ja'far's Great Seal with an explanatory text in Ottoman Turkish is that of Mustafa Hilmi, dated 1289/1872-73. **Spencer Turk 9**, ff. 60v-61, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 14)**. The similarity with earlier seals is striking. The text itself (f. 60v) is almost identical to that of 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband's *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1257/1841-42, described above.[123] The seal (f. 61) has five circles with text. The outer circle and the second circle contain the names of the prophets, and the third circle consists of *tilsim: "ha hum, ha hum, ha hum, alhajj, alhajj, alhajj, kafa, kafa."* The fourth circle consists of the Names of God.

X. The Seal of Solomon.

The "Seal of Solomon" was a ring with which the prophet Solomon was able to control the animals and the *jinn*. The *jinn* were forced to bow to his will, dig for treasure and complete work on the Great Temple at Jerusalem. The ring itself is usually presented as a six-pointed star. However, in the *En'am-ı şerif* we find five, six, and even seven pointed stars. In the first of the seals the central motif is a five-pointed star. **UVic 95-014**, p. 337, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 92)** In the middle of the star the words: "*Tajaj* [124] O Muhammad, verily you are a lion," are written in black ink on a gold background. The five points of the star are painted silver, with the words: *"It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): 'In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful',"*[125] written in white ink. These were the words uttered by Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba, as she began to read a letter from the Prophet Solomon inviting her to embrace Islam. The star floats on a gold background, encircled by a gold and orange/red border. The Names of God are inscribed between each of the points: "the Self-Sustaining, the Wise, the Holy,

---

[123] **IUL 6386**, ff. 47v-48, Cat. #20.
[124] A word of *tilsim*, probably from Syriac, and possibly naming a *jinn*. (From a conversation with Shaykh Hisham Kabbani). Solomon was given control over the *jinn*.
[125] 27:30.

the Praised, Our Lord, and Lord of Angels and Spirits, Alone and Ever-Living."[126] Four golden roundels, one in each corner, bear the names of the Prophet Muhammad. Eighty-eight years later, calligrapher Mustafa Hilmi would produce a seven-pointed Seal of Solomon that was almost identically inscribed. **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 60, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 13)**.

An *En'am-ı şerif* by an unknown calligrapher dated 1291/1874-75, contains an inscribed, golden six-pointed "Seal of Solomon" floating against a background of midnight blue and floral arabesques. **M&A Arab 22**, f. 171, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 15)** The star is inscribed with a more complete version of the previous Qur'anic passage: "*It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be ye not arrogant against me, but come to me in submission (to the True Religion).*"[127]

The Seal of Solomon has often been used as a symbol of temporal authority and power in the Islamic world. Solomon was, after all, not only a prophet but a very great king. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the most elaborate "Seal of Solomon," is in the manuscript belonging to the wife of one sultan and the mother of another, **Pertevniyal 43**, f. 56, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 7)**. Two inscribed golden triangles are interwoven to form a six-pointed "Star of Solomon." The centre of the star is inscribed with the same passage from the Qur'an: "*It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.*"[128] The interwoven triangles also contain Qur'anic passages: a repetition and continuation of the same verse, followed by the verse of *taslim:*

> "*...and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful: Be ye not arrogant against me.*" [129] "*In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...Oh ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him* [the Prophet Muhammad], *and salute him with all respect.*"

---

[126] The *zikr* of the angels.
[127] 27:30-31.
[128] 27:30.
[129] 27:30-31.

> [130]..most highly, most highly..." *"It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be ye not arrogant against me, but come to me in true submission (to the true religion)."*[131]

Three Qur'anic passages are repeated twice around the inside of the outer circle:

> *"Allah! There is no god but He - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all."*[132] *"A,L,M, Allah! There is no god but He - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all."*[133] *"All faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-Subsisting, the Sustainer."*[134]

X. 1. The Seal of Solomon/Seal of the Names of God

Those manuscripts that include the Seal of Solomon also have a second seal that consists of the Names of God inscribed in such a way that the uprights of the letters join to form a six-pointed star in the centre of the seal. The *unwan* of the University of Victoria's seal, **UVic 95-014**, p. 334, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 89)** reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but (he is) the Messenger of Allah, and the Seal of the Prophets: and Allah has full knowledge of all things."*[135]

The centre of the star is silver, on each of the six points are written in black ink one of God's Names. In the centre of the star, also in black ink, are the words: *"Tajaj*[136] O Muhammad, verily you are a lion."[137] Very similar in appearance,

---

[130] 33:56.
[131] 27:30-31
[132] 2:255. *(ayat al-kursi)*
[133] 3:2.
[134] 20:111.
[135] 33:40
[136] See note #124.
[137] See also **IUL 5197**, f. 134v, Cat. #19.

although somewhat simpler textually, is the seal of Mustafa Hilmi's *En'am-ı şerif* of 1289/1872-73, **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 56v, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 11)**.

Once again, the seal of Pertevniyal Sultan's manuscript, **Pertevniyal 43**, f. 58, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 9)** is the most elaborate. A golden six-pointed star bears the inscription "The Seal of Solomon." Each of the star's points extends into one of the names of God: "O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Glorious, O Sultan, O Just, O Clear Proof." The outer circle contains a Qur'anic verse:

> *"With Him are the keys of the Unseen, the treasures that none knoweth but He. He knoweth whatever there is on earth and in the sea. Not a leaf doth fall but with His knowledge: there is not a grain in the darkness (or depths) of the earth, nor anything fresh or dry (green or withered) but is (inscribed) in a Record Clear (to those who can read).* [138] These are the true words of Almighty God."

XI. The Seal of *"Inna Allah'ala kulli shay'in qadir,"* or *"Verily, Allah hath power over all things."*

The phrase, "Verily, Allah hath power over all things," forms the basis of this calligraphic device. It is taken from the Qur'an 3:189 *"To Allah belongs the dominions of the heavens and the earth, and Allah hath power over all things."* The University of Victoria's manuscript is the first to bear this seal. **UVic 95-014**, p. 335, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 90)**.[139] Here the words of the verse whirl outwards from a central point, and the golden *'ayn* of the word *'ala*, or "over," forms a clover-like motif at the centre. The *unwan* reads:

> *"In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Verily Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye who believe send blessings on him, and salute him with all respect.* "[140]

---

[138] 6:59.

[139] Manuscripts bearing the same image: **IUL 5197**, f. 135, Cat. #19; **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 57, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 10)**; **IUL 5619**, f. 72, Cat. #28.

[140] 33:56.

Several manuscripts bear the same seal: **IUL 5197**, f. 135, Cat. #19; **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 57, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 10)**; **IUL 5619**, f. 72, Cat. #28. Here again, we have evidence of a particular image being selected and repeated by the calligraphers of the *En'am-ı şerif* over an extended period of time.

XII. The *'Ayn 'ala Allah,* or "An eye upon God."

The *'Ayn 'ala Allah* is by far the most interesting of the calligraphic "images;" a sort of calligraphic pun that contains within it a visual metaphor for the Divine. Once again, the University of Victoria's manuscript is the first that I know of to contain this image. **UVic 95-014**, p. 362, Cat. #16,[141] **(figure 16. 117)**. Written in gold, the letter *'ayn* surrounds the words "*'ala Allah.*" By translating the *'ayn* as "eye" instead of simply giving it the value of its letter name (like T42 instead of "tea for two"), one arrives at the astonishing sentence: "This is an eye upon (looking toward) God." The letters are shaped to resemble an eye with the word "Allah" reflected in the pupil. This may be read as a visual metaphor for the Divine, a focus, or conduit into the Divine Presence, and the closest one may come in Islamic art to an image of God.[142] To the right of the image is the Qur'anic phrase:

> *but Allah will suffice thee as against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing.*"[143]

---

[141] A similar image is found in **IUL 5573**, f. 90, Cat. #24; and in **IUL 5619**, f. 77v, Cat. #28.

[142] Light is used as a metaphor for the Divine in the *Mi'raj-nama* of 1436 (see **Plate 10,,** and the discussion of this manuscript in the following chapter), as well as in the 1570's *Haft Awrang* of Jami in the Topkapı Sarayı.

[143] 2:137

The words, O God, are repeated frequently. The Names of God surround the image: "O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Ever-Living, O Self-Sufficient," as do the names of Muhammad and the four archangels: Gabriel, Michael, 'Azra'il and Isra'fil.

The simplest of these images is to be found in the *En'am-ı şerif* of Mustafa Hilmi, dated 1279/1872. **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 62v, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 16)** Here, two golden *'ayn* circle around the word *Allah.* The *unwan* reads: "This is an image of an eye/*'ayn* upon God. I put my trust in God."

Another version of this image is the *"'Ayn 'ala 'Ali* most elaborately represented in the manuscript **Pertevniyal 43**, f. 57v, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 9)**. That this "eye" specifically belongs to 'Ali is apparent in the *unwan* which reads: "This is the image of the *'ayn* of 'Ali, may Allah enoble his face." To the left and to the right, two golden letter *'ayns*, begin the word "'Ali," and curve around the word "Allah." Between the letters the calligrapher has inscribed verses of the Qur'an and the Names of God:

> *"After (the excitement) of the distress, He sent down calm on a band of you overcome with slumber, while another band was stirred to anxiety by their own feelings, moved by wrong suspicions of Allah - suspicions due to ignorance. They said: 'Have we any hand in the affair?' Say thou: 'Indeed this affair is wholly Allah's.' They hide in their minds what they dare not reveal to thee. They say (to themselves); 'If we had anything to do with this affair, we should not have been in the slaughter here.' Say: 'Even if you had remained in your homes, those for whom death was decreed would certainly have gone forth to the place of their death': but (all this was) that Allah might test what is in your breasts and purge what is in your hearts. For Allah knoweth well the secrets of your hearts."*[144]
> *"...for Allah forgives all sins: for He is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."*[145]
> *Ya Mujeeb, Ya Haseeb, al-Ghafur, al-Raqib .*

---

[144] 3:154.
[145] 39:53.

The *unwan* of the *'Ayn 'Ali* by the hand of Hasan al-Rashid, **IUL 5197**, f. 149v, Cat. #19, dated 1254/1838-39, reads: "This is the likeness of 'Ali's *'ayn,* may God ennoble his face." *(hadha shaklu 'ayn 'Ali karrama Allahu wajahu.)* To the right and slightly above the calligraphic "eye," the Qur'anic verse: *"but Allah will suffice thee against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."* [146] To the left of the image is the phrase, "my trust is in God." The centre of the *'ayn* in the word "'Ali" contains the phrase, "O Muhammad." The centre of the surrounding *'ayn* contains the phrase, "O God;" beneath its sweeping tail, the same phrase is repeated nine times. The phrase, "God is sufficient," is inscribed under the word "Allah." In the lower right and left hand corners, the names of the four archangels appear: Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, and 'Azra'il, between them is inscribed the phrase, "peace be upon them." The bottom *unwan* reads: "Glory be to God Almighty, and praise be to Him."

A second *'Ayn 'Ali* by the same calligrapher, from a manuscript dated 1263/1820-21,[147] includes the names of Muhammad's "four beloved companions: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali." A small roundel above the image is inscribed: "Anas ibn Malik, may god be pleased with him."[148] The panel below the image contains a hadith:

> "The *amir al-mumineen,* (prince of believers), the champion lion of God said: 'Do not run after someone who is retreating, and do not run away from someone who needs your help.' He is 'Ali ibn Talib, may God enoble his face and may God be pleased with him. There is no victor except 'Ali, and no sword except *Zülfiqar.* "[149] [The

---

[146] 2:137. This verse refers to those who have turned back after having accepted Islam, those who are in schism.

[147] **IUL 5756**, f. 164, Cat. #21.

[148] The appearance here of the name of Anas ibn Malik, one of the Prophet's companions, and a prolific transmitter of hadith, probably indicates that it was he who transmitted the following hadith found in the bottom panel.

[149] *Zülfiqar* was the sword 'Ali inherited from Muhammad. The image of this sword was an important feature of the *En'am-ı şerif* and will be discussed in the next chapter.

> Prophet, peace be upon him, said:] "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Ali is the gate."

The juxtaposition of the names of the four rightly-guided caliphs and a hadith narrated by Anas ibn Malik, together with the "eye" of 'Ali and the comment about his being the gate of the city of knowledge, underscore the argument that these were undoubtedly Sunni texts.

The most unusual of these images is perhaps that by the hand of an unknown calligrapher, dated1291/1874. **M&A Arab 22**, f. 173, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 17)**. Here the "eye" image is surrounded as usual by the phrase, "O God," and "may God enoble his face." Instead of referring to the image as the *'Ayn 'ala 'Ali*, or the "eye" of 'Ali, the *unwan* actually reads, "This is the likeness of 'Ali, may God Almighty be pleased with him!"

The Prophet taught his followers to use Qur'anic verses and other prayers as a protection against evil and illness. Generations of Muslims cherished and passed down these words, writing them on pieces of paper, and carrying them for protection. As explained in Chapter One, many of the calligraphers of the *En'am-ı şerif* were also members of the various Sufi orders. Using their combined knowledge of the practice of *ta'viz* and the ability to produce *khatt*, or beautiful writing, these calligraphers created textual "images" that served as sources of connection with the Divine. While the words themselves were understood to contain power, the writing itself was believed to be a physical manifestation of that power.

Some of these images, such as the Seal of Prophethood, or the "Eye upon God," actually began to take on representational qualities, for example, the oval or tear-shaped Seal of Prophethood was designed to resemble the birth-mark found between the Prophet's shoulders, and the letters of the "Eye upon God," took on the appearance of an eye, with the word "Allah" as its pupil. By becoming image-like, these *muhr*, or seals, blurred the distinction between text and image, making the necessity, or even the ability to actually read the text secondary to its visual impact.

The calligraphic images of the *En'am-ı şerif* were meant to be used, and not simply read. Before picking up the text, the user of the *En'am-ı şerif* made a ritual ablution and stated the intention to perform supererogatory worship for the pleasure of Allah.[150] After reading the selected surahs and prayers of the *En'am-ı şerif,* one might gaze upon the *hilyes,* summoning visions of the Prophet and his companions. This meditation was intended to encourage dreams of the Prophet, thereby obtaining his *baraka.* The actual gaze itself was believed to transmit *baraka,* as according to Prophet, "Whoever looks at my *hilye*...God will protect them from Hell-fire, and grant them the Paradise of Firdaus." Finally, the *muhrs* were used according to the principles of the practice of *ta'viz,* as a source of *baraka* for protection and healing. *Ta'viz* were often copied, with the many books written on the subject used as patterns. It is probable that the *muhr* of the *En'am-ı şerif* were used in the same way. Images, either copied or from the manuscript itself, were gazed upon and touched for the sake of the *baraka* they transmitted.

The combination of calligraphic imagery and Qur'anic text is rare in the study of Islamic art. Exceptions to this rule do exist, but are frequently explained away as the product of foreign, or heterodox influence. However, it is obvious that the sacred images of the *En'am-ı şerif* were created by Sunni Muslims and placed in the Ottoman empire's most popular prayer book to serve as conduits of Divine grace and power. This fact calls into question our current understanding of Islam's use of representational imagery in a sacred context. It may be argued, however, that as one is free to "read" calligraphic imagery as text, rather than image, these seals do not necessarily fall within the boundaries of representational imagery. However, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, reaching a peak with the University of Victoria's manuscript dated 1201/1786-87, and ending in the late nineteenth century, the artists of the *En'am-ı şerif* painted sacred images that, if not actually figural, can only be described as

---

[150]Ritual ablution is required anytime one touches the Qur'an, and by extension any text containing passages from the Qur'an.

representational in nature, and embellished these images with Qur'anic text. These images are the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Miniature Paintings in the *En'am-ı şerif.*

I. *Religious imagery in Islam:*

It has often been said that: "The most distinctive feature of Islamic art is the ban of figures in the sacred sphere."[1] This widely accepted statement is to be found in various forms throughout the literature on religious imagery in Islam.[2] Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Orientalists still believed that an absolute prohibition against images was to be found in the Qur'an. In 1859, H. Lavoix published "Les Peintures musulmans," in which he pointed out that the hadith, and not the Qur'an, were the source of the Islamic ban on figural imagery.[3] T. W. Arnold was the first to argue that the prohibition was not total during Muhammad's lifetime. In his book *Painting in Islam*, published in 1928, Arnold cited Azraki's (d. 858 C.E.) story of the Prophet's protection of an image of Mary and Jesus found inside the Ka'ba during the destruction of the idols in 10/630. Azraki quotes the Prophet as saying, "Rub out all the pictures except these under my hands," and notes that the image remained until the destruction of the Ka'ba in 63/683.[4]

---

[1]Emel Esin, "The Qur'anic verses and the Hadith as sources of inspiration in Islamic art," *Islamic Art: Common principles, forms and themes*, Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul in April 1983, ed. Ahmed M. Issa and Tahsin O. Tahaoğlu, Dar al-Fikr: Damascus, p. 73.

[2]See the bibliography in K. A. C. Creswell's "The lawfulness of painting in early Islam," in *Ars Islamica* vol. 11-12, p. 159.

[3]H. Lavoix, "Les Peintures musulmans," *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algerie, et des colonies*, vol. 9, 1859, pp. 353-69.

[4]T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 7. The Ka'ba was destroyed in what is known as the second *fitna*, or civil war, and rebuilt by Ibn al-Zubayr. Dr. Welch has pointed out that Arnold's argument may be debated on the basis that Azraki was not transmitting hadith via an unbroken chain of transmitters. He is not quoting the Prophet directly, but rather writing a chronicle of history some 228 years later. Azraki's story of the Prophet's protection of these images certainly goes against the great weight of hadith literature in which such images were forbidden.

In "Islam and Iconoclasm," Oleg Grabar suggested a pattern for the Islamic attitude to images that was a "specific inner growth of the Muslim world and not necessarily influenced by other cultures and developments." Grabar rejected the term iconoclasm as it represents a view whereby images are perceived as being evil, and in its place he suggested aniconism whereby images are perceived as being irrelevant because they are unable to capture reality - what Grabar refers to as "the ultimate impossibility of representations of living beings." Grabar cites the fifth/eleventh-century theologian al-Ghazali's *Alchemy of Happiness* as stating that the truth or reality does not lie in a living thing's shape or physical character, but in its inner worthiness.[5] Aniconism is not defined as an absence of symbols or a negative rejection of representations, but rather as an elevation of other visual forms, such as calligraphy and geometry. This is an interesting point. If the Muslim rejection of figural images is based not upon their intrinsic evil, but upon their inability to measure up to reality, then images that accept and address this inability, such as images that are symbolic or those that use a kind of visual shorthand, might be considered acceptable.

In order to test this theory, we must return to the source of the prohibition, the hadith literature. Although fewer than those that disparage images, positive hadith do exist, for example: "'Aisha told that Gabriel brought a picture of her on a piece of silk to God's messenger and said, 'This is your wife in this world and the next.'"[6] More frequently cited are hadith such as one from Bukhari's chapter on *tasawir*[7] in which Abu Talha narrates that "the Prophet

---

[5]Grabar's reference is to Richard Ettinghausen's article "Al-Ghazzali on Beauty," in *Art and Thought*, Luzac & Company Ltd.: London, 1947, pp. 160-165. See Oleg Grabar, "Islam and Iconoclasm," in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin, Birmingham, England, 1977, p. 51. Al-Ghazzali's ideas are further elaborated in his *Mishakat al-anwar*, (The Niches for the Lights) in which he discusses the nature of symbolism.

[6]Al-Tabrizi, *Mishkat al-masabih*. trans. James Robson. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf: Lahore, 1991, vol. 2, p. 1361.

[7]*Tasawir* has been translated as "pictures." ...The following hadith are taken from *Sahih Bukhari*, vol. 7, from the chapters entitled: "Pictures," "The punishment for picture-makers on the Day of Resurrection," "The obliteration of pictures," "What about pictures made on things that are to be trodden on, i.e., carpets, mats, etc." "Whoever disliked to sit on pictures," "It is disliked to pray wearing clothes with pictures," "Angels do not enter a house in which there are pictures," "Whoever does not enter a house which has a picture in it," "Whoever

(s.a.w. s.) said, 'Angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or there are pictures.'" Or how upon seeing a "picture" on someone's terrace, Musruq recalled that he had heard the Prophet say: "The people who will receive the severest punishment from Allah will be the picture-makers." Yet the Prophet appears to have allowed "pictures" in his own home, albeit in a proscribed manner. He himself wore a shirt that bore images, only removing it when it distracted him from prayer, and he also permitted his wife 'Aisha to recycle some image-bearing fabric that she had inadvertently used as a curtain. "When Allah's Apostle (s.a.w.s.) saw it [the offending curtain], he tore it and said, 'The people who will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Resurrection will be those who try to make the likeness of Allah's creations.' So we turned it (i.e., the curtain) into one or two cushions." What is apparent here is that what may be forbidden is not so much the images themselves, as the intention behind their production and use.

The pre-Islamic Arabs worshipped idols, figures made of clay or stone. The worship of these idols is considered to be the one sin that God will not forgive, that of *shirk*, or the association of anyone or anything with the Divine. Because of the possibility of *shirk*, the existence of certain images, and the making of these images is not acceptable in Islam. The words used in these hadith are *surat, tasawir,* and *musawir,* which have been rendered as "pictures" and "picture-makers" by the translator. In the Qur'an the verb to shape, form or fashion *(sawwara)* is used only in reference to God Himself, who is called *Al-Musawwir,* "The Bestower of Forms:"

> "He is Allah, the Creator, the Bestower of Forms (or colours).
> To Him belong the Most Beautiful Names.[8]
> Whatever is in the heavens and on earth,
> Doth declare His Praises and Glory:
> and He is the Exalted in Might, the Wise.[9]

---

cursed a picture-maker," and "Whoever makes a picture will be asked to put life into it on the Day of Resurrection, but he will not be able to do so." pp. 540-547.

[8]The *asma' al-husna.*

[9]59: 24.

Citing the grammarian, al-Fairuzabadi (d. 816/1413-14), Lane defines the term *surat* more precisely as, "an effigy; an image, or a statue; a picture; anything that is formed, fashioned, figured, or shaped, after the likeness of any of God's creatures, animate or inanimate."[10] Its synonyms are *shakl*, meaning likeness, or resemblance,[11] and *mithal*, or likeness. *Tasawir* is defined as "Effigies, images, or statues; pictures and the like."[12] The word *musawwir* refers to "a sculptor; and a painter, or limner, or the like."[13] With the addition of the definite article, it is the same word that is used to refer to God. Thus it has been argued that those who make figural images risk confusing their own power with that of God's by attempting to create that which only God may create. According to a hadith narrated by Abdullah ibn 'Umar, the Prophet said that "those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them, 'Make alive what you have created.'"

If the creation of figural images could tempt the artist into thinking he or she possessed creative powers equal to those of God, the existence of such images might actually serve as an idol to those who lacked understanding. This is the second major objection to the use of figural images. In Bukhari's chapter on "Building a place of worship at a grave," 'Aisha explained how during the Prophet's final illness, two of his wives who had been to Ethiopia described the beauty of a church they had seen there, including the painted images within. The Prophet raised his head from his deathbed and said, "Those are the people who, whenever a pious man dies amongst them, make a place of worship at his grave and then they make those pictures in it. Those are the worst creatures in the Sight of Allah."[14] Islamic law forbids the making of tombs into *masajid*, or places of prostration, in order to avoid even the possibility of worshipping the

---

[10]E. W. Lane, *Arabic - English Lexicon*, vol. 2, p. 1745.
[11]Lane, vol. 2, p. 1586.
[12]Lane, vol. 2, p. 1745.
[13]Ibid.
[14]*Sahih Bukhari*, vol. 2, pp. 237-8.

occupant.[15] All worship is for God alone, anything else is *shirk.* The images seen in the Ethiopian church were probably icons of Jesus or Mary, understood by some Christians to be images of God, and the mother of God, concepts which are completely unacceptable in the Islamic context where the Divine is transcendent: *"He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him.*[16]

The justifications for the destruction of the tombs of the *sahaba* and saints, and the desecration of sacred texts by the Wahhabis during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were based upon that group's rigid interpretation of these and similar hadiths. Originally, the Prophet had forbidden even the visiting of graves, but this order was reversed during his lifetime. "Ibn Mas'ud reported God's messenger as saying, "I forbade you to visit graves, but you may now visit them for they produce abstinence in this world and act as a reminder of the next."[17] One reason for this reversal may well have been that once pagan beliefs had been replaced with monotheism, there was no longer any danger of confusing praying for the dead with praying to the dead. By the time of the Ottoman empire,[18] Muslims and especially Sufis, allowed the building of tomb structures and encouraged the visitation of the tombs of saintly people in order to obtain *baraka*, and ask for their intercession,[19] provided, of course, that it was understood that all power comes from God, and that all worship is for God alone. Al-Misri's *Reliance of the Traveller,* the fourteenth-century manual of Shafi'i jurisprudence, advises that while it is offensive to build over the grave itself, it is permitted to place an inscription, or other such marker at the head of the grave

---

[15]Although the Prophet 's burial place was later incorporated into his mosque in Medina, a surrounding wall was built in such a way as to make ritual prayer impossible while facing in its direction.

[16]112: 3-4. A secondary basis for objection may be at work here, the hesitancy to employ any images that are identifiable with another faith. "Narrated'Aisha: "The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) never used to leave in the house anything carrying images or crosses but he obliterated it."*Sahih Bukhari,* vol. 7, p. 541.

[17]*Mishkat al-masabih,* vol. 1, p. 370.

[18]In fact, the emergence of the purposely- built tomb structure occurred much earlier in the Islamic world. For a discussion of this subject see Oleg Grabar's, "Earliest commemorative structures," *Ars Orientalis* vol. 6, 1966, pp. 7-46.

[19]Al-Misri's *Reliance of the Traveller,* p. 241.

in the case of a saint or religious scholar, in order that the grave may be visited and honoured. The fact that Ibn Hajar Haytami (974/1567) felt it necessary to mention among his "List of Enormities," activities such as "taking graves as places of worship...taking them as idols; circumambulating around them; putting one's hands on them; or performing the prayer towards them;" indicates that this was not always the case.[20] Our examination of the *En'am-ı şerif* shows that by the time of the late Ottoman empire, the production and use of manuscripts containing images of objects intimately connected with the Prophet, and believed to transmit his *baraka* were similarly acceptable, and even encouraged. Many of the sacred objects that the artists of the *En'am-ı şerif* chose to depict were seen as important symbols of the Ottoman sultan's role as caliph, the true and rightful inheritor of the Islamic past. As we saw in chapter one, the destruction of this sacred art, both tomb and text, was seen as a threat to Ottoman sovereignty and Islam itself.

The earliest *En'am-ı şerif* I have found containing representational images is in the British Library. Produced by an unknown calligrapher in the year 1170/1757, the British Library's Oriental and India Office's manuscript **OR 4251**, Cat. #14, represents an important turning point in the history of the *En'am-ı şerif.* Here, for the first time, miniature paintings of architectural as well as representational subject matter are included with sacred text. Dated 1757, several years after Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab began his fundamentalist campaign, **OR 4251** contains only two images, the *Qadam şerif,* or Prophet's footprint, and *Zülfikar,* 'Ali's sword. By the year 1201/1787, the year Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi produced the University of Victoria's manuscript with its numerous images of the Prophet's belongings and other sacred relics, the Wahhabis had become a more serious threat to the Ottoman empire. The Wahhabi seizure of the Hijaz meant that the Ottomans were no longer the protectors of Mecca and Medina, and as a result suffered a significant loss of prestige in their own empire as well as the rest of the Islamic world at a time

---

[20]Cited in the appendix to *The Reliance of the Traveller,* p. 972.

when they were under constant pressure from Western and Eastern Europe. It is likely that the representational images found in the *En'am-ı şerif* were created as part of the ongoing polemic between fundamentalism and orthodoxy, if not as a direct response to the Wahhabi threat.[21] While these images fall within the bounds of what is legally permissible according to the most orthodox interpretation of Islam (none of them depict an actual human figure in its entirety), fundamentalist Islam declares all images to be *bida'*, or an unacceptable innovation. As the images of the *En'am-ı şerif* symbolized rather than depicted the Prophet and other saintly people, the artist who created them could not be accused of trying to imitate God. This symbolic use of imagery is in keeping with the spiritual origins of texts such as the *En'am-ı şerif.* According to 'Ibn 'Arabi, "Gnostics cannot explain their feelings *(ahwal)* to other men; they can only indicate them symbolically to those who have begun to experience the like."[22] If the calligraphers of the *En'am-ı şerif* were not to be accused of playing God, then the only argument that could be used against these images was that they, like the tombs, served as objects of worship.

In an article on the genesis of Safavid religious painting, J. M. Rogers argued that Arnold's earlier definition of religious painting had been limited by its restriction to those images whose iconography portrayed a prophet or saint, or depicted scenes from the Qur'an. Instead, Rogers argued, "whether a painting is religious or not depends not upon the subject chosen, nor the expression of religious feeling, nor even upon the feelings which inspire the painter at this work, but upon its function."[23] Rogers described the relevant functions of religious imagery as: explanatory (illuminating a particular text); didactic (of a

---

[21]For a bibliography on the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature concerning this debate see: Jamal Effendi al-'Iraqi al-Sidqi al-Zahawi, *The Doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna Versus the "Salafi" Movement*, tr. Shayhk Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, Kazi Publications: Chicago, 1996.

[22]Ibn al-'Arabi quoted in Trimingham, p. 139.

[23]For example, Solomon and Bilqis, 26: 16-44; or the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha from *Surah Yusuf*. See J. M. Rogers, "The genesis of Safawid religious painting," *Iran*, vol. 8, 1970, p. 126.

moral, spiritual or allegorical nature); and devotional (the inculcation of reverence in the beholder).[24]

The Herat *Mi'raj-nama* of 1436 is a case in point.[25] This narration of the Prophet's Night Journey to the Throne of God is bound together with Attar's *Tadhkirat al-awliya*, or Memoirs of the Saints. The manuscript contains a series of sixty-one exquisite miniature paintings in which the Prophet Muhammad is seen transversing the heavens, visiting Paradise and Hell, and entering the Divine Presence. **Plate 9**[26] depicts the moment when the Prophet Muhammad first sees the Angel Gabriel in his original form. This image is based upon Quranic verses 53:1-18, and 81: 23, which some commentators have understood as the Prophet's vision of Gabriel's spiritual reality, and the hadith which describe that vision. **Plate 10**[27] shows the Prophet Muhammad entering the Divine Presence. A previous image (f. 36v) showed the Prophet prostrating before the Throne of God. In that image, the Prophet's golden halo was seen against a blue sky. Here, the Prophet has entered the Divine Presence, and his halo is being outshone by a golden Light, a Light that may be interpreted as a metaphor for the Divine. In the text's preface, calligrapher Malik Bakhsi describes how reading about the lives of saints can itself be a short cut to sanctity. "Their sayings show the faithful which are the true dervishes (sc. the proper examples to imitate), they strengthen resolution, making men of women and lions of men, bringing them to the stage where they are the elite..."[28] Rogers cites the accompanying images of the *Mi'raj-nama* as the first Islamic miniature paintings whose purpose appears to be didactic and intended to inspire reverence.[29]

---

[24]Ibid.
[25]Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Suppl. Turc 190. See Marie Rose Séguy's *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: Miraj-Nameh*, Braziller: New York, 1977. This manuscript was brought to Tabriz from Herat in 1507 by the Safavid Shah Isma'il. It probably entered Istanbul with the sack of Tabriz by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I.
[26]f. 36.
[27]f. 44.
[28]Rogers, p. 134.
[29]Ibid.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century *En'am-ı şerif* was a devotional book used in daily worship. It was owned by members of the royal family as well as having been placed in endowed libraries for the use of Istanbul's less affluent citizens. The Qur'anic passages and prayers were recited, and the *hilye, ta'viz* and other *muhr* were carried or simply gazed upon for the sake of their *baraka,* offering the owner or those who read the book protection and comfort. It is the argument of this dissertation that the representational images of the *En'am-ı şerif* do not fit into Roger's previously described typology in which images of a religious nature are explanatory, didactic and/or inspirational. Instead, the images of the Prophet's relics: his handprint, footprint, belongings, etc. serve virtually the same purpose as the *En'am-ı şerif*'s calligraphic images and prayers. They are a conduit for *baraka,* the spiritual energy which emanates from the Divine and which passes through saintly persons or the objects (in this case, the images of these objects) associated with them, and thus becomes available to the ordinary believer.[30] Support for this argument is evident in the very term used by the calligraphers to describe these images: *rasm*[31] meaning either writing, as in the *rasm al-Mushaf* (the writing of the Qur'an) or "a mark, an impression, a sign, a trace, a vestige, or a relic or remain."[32] As a manuscript that combines sacred text with images which are sacred in function as well as being religious in content, the *En'am-ı şerif* is unique in the history of Islamic art.[33]

Aside from Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's denial of his destruction of similar texts,[34] we have yet to discover an eighteenth or nineteenth-century tract that discusses the use of such images. Perhaps the lack of such a text may be read as some indication that the images of this widely available text were not perceived

---

[30]The existence of saintly *baraka* is the same argument used in favour of visiting tombs.
[31]Infinitive noun of the verb *rasama* to mark, stamp or draw.
[32]Lane, vol. 1, p. 1085.
[33] Although the *Dala'il al-khayrat* contains images of the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, these images appear to serve an illustrative purpose, and do not in any way act as conduits of *baraka.*
[34]In any case, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's letter refers to the general nature of the texts (i.e., love of the Prophet) and does not specifically mention any images.

as requiring justification or even explanation. In the late twentieth century, however, that is not the case. The spread of modern fundamentalism has resulted in a widespread perception of Islamic art in which figural, representational and even in some cases calligraphic imagery is forbidden in a religious context. As a result, modern day Muslims must often be circumspect when they include photographs or even traditional miniature paintings in their work. In his 1996 book entitled, *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way,* Shaykh Hisham Kabbani used a large number of photographs, calligraphic images and Persian miniatures to illustrate the lives of the forty Naqshbandi Grand Shaykhs. Although he included the famous Safavid version of the Prophet's Night Journey by Sultan Muhammad,[35] Shaykh Hisham was careful to cover the image of the Prophet with a calligraphic sticker that reads "Muhammad." After having gone to press, Shaykh Hisham felt that despite this concern for remaining within the letter of the law, the inclusion of such images might still offend some readers. He therefore included an addendum with each copy of the book, explaining his use of these images. The passage reproduced below clearly indicates a continuing concern with the nature of Islamic imagery, that it be symbolic and not attempt to replicate God's work. It also suggests the underlying reasons for the continued use of such images.

> "The miniatures found in this book are presented to the reader solely as expressions of Islamic artistry. They in no way resemble, nor were they intended to resemble, any individual person. They contain no shadow and no third dimension. As two dimensional space, they follow the laws of natural perspective, of number and geometry. The scenes depicted are often symbolic representations of ideas related to the spiritual path. For example, the struggle with the ego may be portrayed in epic scenes of heroes engaged in the struggle with dragons and other beasts. The search for wisdom and the seeking of the disciple for the master are other common themes. Finally, in adherence to the prophetic Tradition that "God is Beautiful and He loves beauty," the art of the miniature was

---

[35]This miniature is found in the *Khamsa* of Nizami copied for Shah Tahmasp, dated 949/1543, BL, OR. 2265, f. 57b.

> developed in many places of the Islamic world to propagate the religion by enhancing and beautifying the source works of Islam."[36]

II – *Eighteenth-century Ottoman painting:*

Ottoman art has a rich tradition of miniature painting. Literary sources suggest that a school of court painters existed even prior to Mehmed II's conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453.[37] The Ottomans inherited the rich traditions of a number of eastern Islamic schools, including the Timurid, Herat, Tabriz and Shiraz court styles, evident in the great number of illustrated Iranian classics that made their way into the Topkapı palace library.

In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, historical works began to chronicle the various campaigns of the Ottoman sultans and their armies. These elaborate manuscripts contained images of the ruler's daring exploits as well as detailed topographical sketches. Historical events were portrayed as accurately as possible. Physical geography and buildings were presented using a schematic stylization intended to convey that particular setting's most salient features.[38]

During the classical period (generally considered to be from the mid to late sixteenth century) manuscript production was extensive, covering a wide range of subjects. In this period, great attention was paid to details such as gestures and facial expression.

> "It is primarily this realism displayed by Ottoman artists in their attempt to document the events observed in an authentic and realistic manner without getting caught up in the details, that

---

[36]Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain*, Kazi Publications: Chicago, 1995, See the addendum: "Note on the miniatures."

[37]Filiz Çağman, "Turkish miniature painting," in *The Art and architecture of Turkey,"* ed. E. Akurgal, New York, p. 223.

[38]Günsel Renda, "Turkish miniature painting: the Ottoman period," in *A History of Turkish Painting*, 2nd ed. University of Washington Press: Seattle and London, 1988, p. 47. For a detailed discussion of this subject, see Dr. Nurhan Atasoy, "The documentary value of the Ottoman miniatures," *IVème Congrès International d'Art Turc*, Aix-en-Provence, September 10-15, 1971, Éditions de l'Université de Provence, 1976, pp. 2-17.

distinguishes them from the miniature painters of other Islamic circles."[39]

Religious painting produced in Istanbul during this period reflected the influence of the historical narrative. The *Zübdetü't Tevarih* of 1583[40] narrates the history of the Prophets and the highlights of Islamic history along with a genealogy of the Ottoman sultans. The six-volume *Siyer-i Nebi* by Darir[41] was unfinished at the death of Murad III in 1595, and was completed under Mehmed III. This six-volume history of the life of the Prophet Muhammad was based upon the classic biography of ninth-century historian Ibn Hisham. In the same period, provincial schools at Konya and Baghdad produced a number of Shiite texts containing genealogies of the prophets and Shi'a martyrs.[42]

During the sixteenth century, very few illustrated manuscripts were produced. Genre paintings and portraiture,[43] were popular subjects, with a number of albums being devoted to the images of the Ottoman sultans. Scholars have attributed this lacuna to the decline of court patronage during this period of political and economic instability.[44] Although there may have been a court school at the palace of Edirne during the seventeenth century, any record of it has been lost in the war time destruction of that city's collections.[45] Up until this

---

[39] Renda, 1988, p. 33.
[40] TIEM 1973.
[41] Three volumes of this work remain in the Topkapı Sarayı: vol.1 (H. 1221) contains 139 miniatures, vol. 2 (H. 1222) contains 85 miniatures, and vol. 6 (H. 1223) contains 125 miniatures. Vol. 3 is in the New York Public Library (Spencer Turk 1), and contains 128 miniatures. Vol. 4 is in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (T. 419) and contains 137 miniatures. The fifth volume is missing. For further discussion of these volumes, see: Carol Garret Fisher, "A reconstruction of the pictorial cycle of the *Siyar-i Nabi* of Murad III," in *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 14, 1984, pp. 75-93; Z. Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi*, Istanbul 1984; E. Grube, "The Siyar-ı Nabi of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library," *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca, Venezia 26-29 Settembre*, Napoli, 1965, pp. 149-176.
[42] See N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1974, pp. 55-63.
[43] See Nurhan Atasoy, "Introduction to genre scenes in Turkish miniatures," in *The Islamic World: From classical to modern times*, Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis, The Darwin Press, Inc. Princeton, New Jersey, 1989, pp. 391-411.
[44] See, for example, Esin Atıl, *Surname-i Vehbi: an eighteenth century Ottoman Book of Festivals*, vol. 1, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969, p. 3.
[45] Atıl, 1969, pp. 3-4.

point, manuscript production had largely been under the control of the sultan and the other members of his court. Calligraphers, illuminators, artists, and bookbinders worked at the palace and were themselves court officials.[46] With the break-down of the court atelier system we see shifts in patronage and subject matter as artists began producing manuscripts to meet the interests of the people of Istanbul and, by the eighteenth century, a growing number of Europeans.[47]

In the "brief and brilliant period"[48] of the Tulip Period, as the early eighteenth century is known, miniature painting was revived with the works of court painters such as Levni (d. 1732), and Abdullah Bukhari. This period is characterized by an interest in costuming and everyday activity. Male as well as female figures begin to have more volume, weight and definition.[49] Under Ahmed III (1703-1730) and his grand vezir Ibrahim Paşa, the Ottomans consciously chose to engage in cultural exchange with the European powers. In 1721, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi was sent as an ambassador to France, inaugurating what has been called, "the period of Westernization." Contemporary western architectural styles were all the rage in Istanbul; especially favoured were Baroque and Roccoco elements. **Plate 11** is an engraving of the palace at Versailles, a building much emulated by well to do Ottomans in the palaces and gardens they built on the banks of the Bosphorus. This image was found in the Topkapı Sarayı, most likely among the engravings brought back to Istanbul by Mehmed Efendi.[50] The stylistic influence of such images was felt in Istanbul almost immediately, as we shall see in the later section on images of the Ka'ba and Medina. European painters are known to have worked in Istanbul, and portrait painters were even invited to the Ottoman court. One result of this introduction of new ideas from the West was a decline in the production of illustrated manuscripts as the traditional art of miniature

---

[46]Renda, 1988, p. 18.
[47]Renda, 1988, p. 65.
[48]Atıl, 1969, p. 4.
[49]Renda, 1988, p. 65.
[50]Fatma Müğe Göcek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford University Press: New York and Oxford, 1987, p. 76.

painting gave way to more Westernized art forms, such as mural painting.[51] In fact, Ottoman art of the second half of the eighteenth century has been characterized as being "almost totally devoid of miniatures."[52] According to Filiz Çağman, during this period the palace workshops produced only royal portrait albums, one or two illustrated works on the subject of astrology, and literary anthologies decorated with non-figural imagery.[53] Until now, these images were believed to be the last examples of a traditional Ottoman style of miniature painting that would be replaced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by a Western concept of pictorial art.[54]

The first illustrated *En'am-ı şerif* appeared in the middle of the eighteenth century, at precisely the moment that most authors agree marks the end of the traditional art form of miniature painting. The latest *En'am-ı şerif* found to date was produced in 1292/1875-76,[55] some one hundred and twenty years later. During that period, it seems likely that hundreds of these manuscripts were produced in Istanbul.[56] It follows then, that our understanding of the tradition of miniature painting as it was practiced in the final years of the Ottoman empire needs to be reassessed. In addition to being characterized by an increased experimentation in Western techniques and subject matter, the final chapter on Ottoman miniature painting breaks new ground while remaining firmly rooted to a traditional past. At the precise time when the art of miniature painting was declining in favour of such new practices as mural painting, the calligraphers and illuminators of the *En'am-ı şerif* chose to employ one of Islam's most traditional art forms as the medium for their message.

---

[51]Günsel Renda, "Turkish painting during the period of Westernization (1700-1850)," *Batılılasma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı 1700-1850)*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayinlari C-17, Istanbul, p. 262.
[52]Filiz Çağman, "Turkish miniature painting," p. 247.
[53]Çağman, p. 247.
[54]Turan Erol, "Painting in Turkey in nineteenth and early twentieth century," in *A History of Turkish Painting*, 2nd ed. University of Washington Press: Seattle and London, 1988, p. 90.
[55]**IUL 5619**, Cat. #28.
[56]Given the preliminary nature of this study, it has not been possible for me to investigate collections in other important Ottoman cities such as Damascus and Cairo, a factor which might increase the number of these manuscripts greatly.

Aside from the perspectival views of the Ka'ba and Medina, and some very late experimentation with the use of flesh-tones and modelling in the penultimate manuscript,[57] the images of the *En'am-ı şerif* appear two-dimensional and disembodied, in keeping with a traditional approach to Islamic art, as described above by Shaykh Hisham. What is unique and innovative about these images is their function. Here, apparently for the first time, representational or pictorial images of religious objects have been combined with Qur'anic text to serve the same sacred purpose, as conduits of Divine *baraka.*

III. *The images of the En'am-ı şerif.*

This section discusses the subject matter of the images of the *En'am-ı şerif.* Each group of images has been given a separate section, and these entries are organized in the chronological order in which they begin to appear in the manuscripts.

III. 1. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina:

III. 1a) An early image of the Ka'ba from a twelfth-century pilgrimage certificate.

Some of the earliest extant images of the Ka'ba were used to decorate pilgrimage certificates produced in the medieval period and given to individuals who performed the *hajj* on behalf of another. The text of these scrolls lists the various places to be visited and the particular obligations to be carried out. Witnesses would sign and date the scroll upon fulfilment of each obligation, and the completed scroll would be carried home triumphantly to the would-be pilgrim, or in the case of a posthumous *hajj*, their family. Although some later certificates featured images of the Ka'ba and other holy places, it was very

---

[57]See, for example the Prophet's foot, depicted in **M&A Arab 22**, f. 70, Cat. #27, **(figure 26. 23)**.

unusual for the earliest of these scrolls to be illustrated. One such illustrated pilgrimage certificate, **Plate 12a** and **12b**,[58] was prepared for the lady 'Umm Said, signed by witnesses, dated the 9th of *Dhu'l Hijja*, 584/January 29, 1189, and includes one of the earliest images of the Ka'ba.

The text of the certificate is in Arabic, using a partially vocalized *naskhi* script. The dark yellow paper is unsized, and the calligrapher has used black ink for the text, and rusty red and mustard yellow ink for headings and the two illustrations of the Ka'ba and its environs. The text begins with the first verses of *Surah al-Fath:*

> *"Verily We have granted thee a manifest victory: that Allah may forgive thee thy faults of the past and those to follow; fullfil His favour to thee; and guide thee on the Straight Way; and that Allah may help thee with a powerful help..."*

The images are also accompanied by decorated cartouches describing the obligations of the pilgrimage as outlined in *Surah al-Hajj*.[59]

The images themselves are rudimentary line drawings, featuring topographical views of the Ka'ba and its surrounding area. The first image has the Ka'ba itself as the centre of focus, clearly identifiable by its cube shape and *kiswa* covering. The artist has paid some attention to detail. For example, the *hataym*[60] is visible, as is the calligraphic band surrounding the *kiswa*, the door of the Ka'ba and the Black Stone. The second image places the Ka'ba to one side, and hanging mosque lamps on the right side of the image suggest an interior view.

III. 1b) Sixteenth-century pilgrimage guides featured images of the Ka'ba as well as the Prophet's Mosque in Medina.

---

[58] TIEM 4104, The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.
[59] A catalogue entry describing this scroll is to be found in Ahmet Ertug, *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 9-10. Plate 7.
[60] The semi-circular wall adjacent to the Ka'ba.

Illustrated pilgrimage guides and descriptive books such as the *Futuh al-haramayn* by Muhyi al-din ibn Lari (d. 933/1526-27) began to be produced in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-sixteenth century, possibly encouraged by the extensive restorations of the Holy Places undertaken by Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. (r. 926-974/1519-1566). A copy of the *Futuh al-haramayn* dated 1540, contains an image of the Ka'ba and the surrounding *Masjid al-haram.*[61] **Plate 13.** Here, the view is still a topographical one, but many more details have been included. In addition to the *hataym*, the *kiswa*, the door of the Ka'ba, and the *hajar al-aswad*, or Black Stone, the painter has included double-storied arcades, six minarets, the *maqams* of the four *imams*, the *maqam Ibrahim*, the *minbar*, and the well of *Zemzem*. A pilgrimage guide written in 990/1582, **Plate 14**[62] illustrates the same features, but with the addition of domed roofs, the result of an ambitious restoration undertaken in the year 979/1571 by Selim II (r. 1566-1574).[63]

The illustration of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina began somewhat later than images of the Ka'ba. One of the earliest representations of the Prophet's Mosque is found in a pilgrimage guide entitled, *Dala'il Makka wa Medina*, dated *Jumada II* 990/June 1582.[64] The author, Ghulam 'Ali, included a detailed account of his *hajj*, as well as a history of the city of Mecca. As in the contemporary images of the Ka'ba, both plan and elevation are shown simultaneously, allowing viewers to concentrate their attention on the most important elements of the structure.[65]

---

[61]R 917, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul.
[62]Harvard MA 1985.265A, Harvard University Museum (previously in the Binney collection).
[63]Ülkü Bates, "Ottoman documents concerning building activities in Mecca and Medina," *Islamic Art: Common principles, forms and themes*, Damascus, 1989, p. 271.
[64]See Hassan El-Basha, "Ottoman pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madina as historical and documentary sources," *Islamic Art* III, 1988-89, p. 237, Fig. 1.
[65]This focus on the most salient and characteristic features of buildings, landscapes, animals or even people has been referred to by Nurhan Atasoy as a sort of "visual shorthand" used by Ottoman painters. See her article, "The documentary value of the Ottoman miniatures," in *IVéme Congres international d'art Turc* , Provence, 1976, p. 17.

III. 1c) The *Dala'il al-khayrat*, the earliest prayer book to contain representational images.

Up to this point, all of the images of the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina have been associated in some way with the *hajj*, either as part of pilgrimage certificates, or guide books. The earliest illustrated prayer book appears to be a copy of Imam Jazuli's *Dala'il al-khayrat*, produced in the Maghrib in 1025/1616. **Plate 4**[66] Written by a Sufi master of the Shadhili order, the *Dala'il al-khayrat* is a litany of blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad. It also includes a description of the *rawdah*, or tomb of the Prophet, based upon the hadith of 'Aisha and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubair. According to the latter, in the tomb at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina:

> "The Messenger of Allah, Allah's blessings and peace be upon him, is buried in an alcove, and Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, is behind the Messenger of Allah, Allah's blessings and peace be upon him. 'Umar ibn Khattab, may Allah be pleased with him, is buried at the feet of Abu Bakr and the eastern side of the alcove is left empty. There is a place for another tomb. They say, and Allah knows best, that 'Isa ibn Mariam, peace be upon him, will be buried there, and this is part of the good news brought by the Messenger of Allah, Allah's blessings and peace be upon him."[67]

---

[66] M&A Arab ms. 5, fol. 9, New York Public Library. (The *Dala'il al-khayrat* was discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.)

[67] Imam Jazuli, *Dala'il al-khayrat*, tr. Khayr-ud-Din Osmani, Sheffield, 1992, p. 19. The third caliph, 'Uthman, is buried in the cemetery of Al-Bakia outside Medina. The dome over his grave was demolished by the Wahhabis in the early twentieth century. In his *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, written a few weeks after the destruction, Eldon Rutter described his visit to 'Uthman's grave, where he found an old Indian gentleman with tear pouring from his eyes.

> "We had come upon a slight rise in the ground, and now I saw the cause of the old man's grief. There on the ground before us was a long thin erection, scarcely more than six inches high. It was apparently made of a wooden framework, with rough pieces of tin nailed upon it. This was the tomb of Othman, the Third Khalifa. A mound of earth would have been a better monument." (p. 258)

It is this passage from the *Dala'il al-khayrat* that has been illustrated in the figure above. A crescent-shaped finial bearing the word "Allah," sits atop a blue dome bearing the message, "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God." Below the dome a *mihrab*-shaped alcove contains three golden cenotaphs, illuminated by a hanging mosque lamp. The inscription below the image relates a part of 'Urwa's hadith.

A copy of the *Dala'il al-khayrat* written in 1155/1742 by the calligrapher Yesarizade Ismail Efendi featured what would become a standard depiction of the holy cities. **Plate 15.**[68] On the right is a bird's eye image of the Ka'ba surrounded by the *haram*, and the city of Mecca. On the left, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina is given a similar treatment. In the background of both scenes the hills rise up to meet a cloud-filled sky (somewhat unusual for the desert climate of the Hijaz, where it rarely rains). In the foreground of both images, *madrasas* are seen. The use of perspective is evident in these images, differing from the earlier, more symbolic treatment, and suggesting a certain Western influence. A possible source of this influence becomes apparent when we compare this image with that of the palace at Versailles, **(Plate 11)** brought to Istanbul some twenty years earlier with the return of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi's embassy from France in 1721.[69] Here we see the prototype of a block-like, regularly-featured building complex with hills in the background and the clouds on the horizon that will become typical of images of the Ka'ba and Medina.

III - 1d) The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque as they are illustrated in the *En'am-ı şerif.*

The first *En'am-ı şerif* in our study to illustrate the Ka'ba is the Topkapı Sarayı's **TSM EH 365** (Cat. # 11), originally produced in 1094/1682-83 by Mehmet Hocazade. This manuscript was illuminated by Salih some fifty years

---

[68] *The Sabancı Collection*, Akbank Culture and Art Publication: 63, Istanbul, 1995, p. 40.
[69] Göçek, p. 76. (Cited previously).

later, in the year 1144/1731-32. Although Salih's image of the Ka'ba, f. 80, **(figure 11. 11)** makes an attempt at perspective, the surrounding structures have been illustrated using a simple elevation. Six minarets and a single arcade surround the Ka'ba, the *maqams*, the *minbar*, and the well of *Zemzem*. The buildings seem to float against a pink background, and the arcade fills the entire space alloted to the image. The artist has left no room to place the *haram* in either its architectural or landscape context.

Both the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina appear together for the first time in the *En'am-ı şerif* produced by an unknown calligrapher in the year 1170/1757. **OR 4251**, f. 74, Cat. #14, **(figure 14. 3)**. Here again, the artist has restricted himself to simple images of the structures in which certain features have been enlarged in order to show details. For example, the Prophet's tomb with its window grills through which we may glimpse the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and 'Umar, virtually dwarfs the surrounding houses, seen here for the first time.

A completely different approach was taken by Mustafa, son of the vezir Mehmet Paşa in an *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1173/1759-60. **Halet Efendi 5**, ff. 45v-46, Cat. #15, **(figure 15. 7)**. This manuscript includes incredibly detailed views of the cities of Mecca and Medina, set in oval cartouches with depictions of the latter's city walls and surrounding places of spiritual importance, such as *al-Baqih* cemetery where many of the Prophet's family and his companions are buried.

The images of the Ka'ba and Medina found in the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif*, dated 1201/1786-87, also make use of perspective, but they lack a certain accuracy. **UVic 95-014**, pp. 366-367, Cat. #16, **(figures 16. 121** and **16. 122)**. For example, the *khazinat al-nabi*, or treasury of the Prophet, was originally erected in 576/1180. It was rebuilt in 974/1566 by Süleyman the Magnificent. While the treasury was clearly visible in the image from **Halet Efendi 5**, it is missing from the courtyard of the University of Victoria's image. The *riwaqs* of both buildings are depicted as being only one aisle deep, whereas in reality they were much wider. By the year 1201/1786-87, the sanctuary of the Mosque at Medina had ten aisles, there were three aisles each on the eastern and northern

sides, and four on the west.[70] The artist has also mistakenly placed the fifth minaret on the north side instead of the west, and he has placed an arcade around the front of the tomb of the Prophet, resulting in an L-shaped plan instead of the traditional, rectangular hypostyle mosque.

In addition to the realistic image of the Ka'ba, the University of Victoria's manuscript also features a second, schematic rendering of the sacred building. **UVic 95-014**, p. 371, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 126)**. The door of the Ka'ba, the Black Stone and the *kiswa* are all indicated, but appear out of context. The words, "*maqam Ibrahim*," inscribed on top of the image, form part of the Qur'anic verse described below, but may also be read as a visual depiction of the site known as the "Station of Abraham," where the patriarch is traditionally believed to have stood when he replaced the Black Stone upon completion of the rebuilding of the Ka'ba. The *unwan* reads: "This is the House of Allah at Mecca." The Ka'ba itself is inscribed, "House of Allah," in white ink. A Qur'anic inscription on and around the image reads: *"...The Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey."*[71] The inscription continues: "These are the True Words of Allah, repeated by the Noble Prophet."

The *En'am-i şerif* of Mustafa Nazif, dated 1208/1793-94, offers us bird's-eye views of the holy cities, framed with red ovals and golden arabesques. **Pertevniyal 43**, ff. 58v-59, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 10)**. Although the images are very detailed, there is some factual error. For example, while the domes of the minarets are typically Ottoman, with their conical tips covered in blue, the artist has mistakenly placed the fifth minaret at Medina on the north side instead of the west. The Ka'ba's covering, or *kiswa*, is shown half-pulled up to reveal the underlying stone courses, a ritual that takes place yearly when the cover is exchanged for another. The Black Stone is clearly visible at the left-hand corner of the building. The *maqam*s surrounding the Ka'ba are depicted, as are the orchard of Fatima and the treasury of the Prophet in the courtyard at Medina.

---

[70]Hassan El-Basha, pp. 228-229.
[71]3:96-97.

To the left of the mosque is the cemetery of Al-Baqih. The ground surrounding both buildings is covered with gold pricking.

Pertevniyal 43 also contains a second image of the Ka'ba: f. 56v, **(figure 18. 8)**. In this second image the *kiswa* has been pulled halfway up to expose the underlying grey stones. The building appears out of its architectural context and seems almost to hover in the midst of a golden arabesque. Around the image, verses from the Qur'an are inscribed in red:

> *"...he was not of the pagans. The first House (of worship) appointed for men was that at Bakka: full of blessing and of guidance for all the worlds. In it are Signs Manifest; the Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage therto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey; but if any deny faith, Allah stands not in need of any of His creatures."* [72]

Underneath the Ka'ba, in Ottoman Turkish, is inscribed the following:

> "If the servant of the Servant [Prophet Muhammad] goes to visit Your [Allah's] House, and asks for Your forgiveness and blessings, will they not receive them? Yes, anyone showing their face in Your House must receive blessings and forgiveness."

Oval-framed views of the holy cities with very regular rows of surrounding houses continue to be featured in the latest manuscripts in our study, the two manuscripts found in the New York Public Library. In the manuscript dated 1289/1872, by the hand of Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, the *rawda* at Medina has flames extending skyward from its roof. **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 68v, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 22)**. The surrounding landscape in both the image of the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque consists of indeterminate brown hills. A manuscript by an unknown hand, dated 1291/1874, also has flames reaching from the roof of the Prophet's tomb, and the images of both the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque are embellished with gold. **M&A Arab 22**, ff. 173v-174, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 18)**.

---

[72] 3:95-97.

III. 2. The *Qadam şerif* (the Prophet's Footprint).

The *Qadam Rasul Allah* (the footprint of the Messenger of God) or the *qadam şerif* (the noble footprint) are stones believed to carry an impression left by the Prophet's foot. The most famous of these is to be found at the shrine of the Dome of the Rock, built in 72/691-92 to commemorate the Prophet's mystical night journey to the Throne of God.[73] Several other such stones exist in various locations throughout the Islamic world.[74] There are two *Qadam şerif* in Istanbul, one at the *Hırka-i sa'adet* (Mantle of the Prophet Room) in the Topkapı Sarayı, **Plate 16**, the other at the tomb of Eyyüb Sultan.[75] Visitors to these stones touch them, then pass their hands over their faces and bodies. Some pour water over the stones, keeping the water for its *baraka*. As early as 1304 C.E., Ibn Taymiyya, a theologian with a somewhat fundamentalist bent, was driven from Damascus and accused of impiety by devout Muslims for trying to stop this practice.[76]

As was discussed in earlier chapters, the practice of *tabarruk*, or deriving blessings from the *athar*, or relics, either owned or touched by a holy person, has a long history in the Islamic world. The Qur'an itself contains the story of how the Prophet Joseph's shirt restored his father Jacob's vision,[77] and second Qur'anic narration refers to the Ark of the Covenant, containing the Ten Commandments

---

[73]There has been much scholarly debate concerning the original meaning of the Dome of the Rock (see for example: Oleg Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock, *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 3, 1959, pp. 33-62.) The Muslim world, however, has been unanimous in its acceptance of this site as the location of the Prophet's ascension.

[74]These stones are also found in Damascus, Cairo and Tanta, as well as Delhi and a number of other locations on the Subcontinent. For further reading see: Perween Hasan, "The footprint of the Prophet," *Muqarnas*, vol. 10, 1993, pp. 335-343; and Anthony Welch, "The Shrine of the Holy Footprint in Delhi," *Muqarnas*, vol. 14, 1997, pp. 166-178.

[75]Eyyüb Sultan (Abu Ayyub al-Ansari) was a *sahaba* (companion of the Prophet) who died during the Muslims' first attempt to take the city of Istanbul in 672 C.E. Eyyüb Sultan's place of burial outside the walls of Constantinople is the most venerated site in the city, the place where during their enthronement ceremony Ottoman sultans were girded with the sword of Osman.

[76]Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*. The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill and London, 1985. p. 42.

[77]12:93-96

as well as the relics of the family of Moses and Aaron.[78] During and after the Prophet's lifetime his companions sought *tabarruk* with his hair, nails, sweat, saliva, ablution water, mantle, and even his grave.

The earliest image of the *Qadam şerif* appears in the British Museum Library's manuscript, **OR 4251** (Cat. #14), dated 1170/1757. **(figure 14. 3)**[79] The miniature depicts a golden print from the Prophet's right foot. In the Islamic world, the right is considered to be more sanctified than the left. The Qur'an says that on the Day of Judgment all souls will receive their book of recorded actions either in their right hand, or their left. The Companions of the Right will attain Paradise, the Companions of the Left will be banished to Hell.[80]

The *unwan* of the *Qadam* found in the University of Victoria manuscript, **UVic 95-014**, p. 357, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 112)**, reads: "This is an image of the Prophet's noble footprint, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The footprint is inscribed with the following words:

> "Love of the Prophet is a blessing for all humanity.
> The earth says it is proud because he is sleeping in it.
> All of creation must visit his grave.
> Gabriel said that the Paradise called "Adan" told the Prophet
> Muhammad that those who visit (his grave) would enter and live
> there (Paradise) forever."

The word *qadam* can mean either a human foot, or footprint. In what may be read as an attempt to avoid any possible misinterpretation between what is presented in the image and the Prophet's actual foot, Hasan al-Rashid, the calligrapher of a manuscript dated 1254/1838-39, has chosen to use a broken outline to indicate the shape of the footprint. **IUL 5197**, f. 146v, Cat. #19. The footprint is inscribed with the words: "If God wills, it will be, and if not, it will never be. There is no power except with God..." However, in the *En'am-ı şerif* by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi dated 1289/1872-73, we see a first attempt at depicting a

---

[78] 2:248.
[79] f. 72v.
[80] See, for example, 56:7-12.

less stylized and more naturalistic foot.[81] **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 165v, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 23)**. Although the foot has been painted in gold, toe-nails have been added, making its identification as a footprint impossible. The foot is inscribed with the words of the Prophet: "He said, upon him be peace.....'[illegible].' These are true words spoken by the Messenger of God. These are true words spoken by the Beloved of God."

The final miniature of the *Qadam şerif* is found in a second manuscript located in the New York Public Library, dated 1291/1874-75. **M & A Arab 22**, f. 165v, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 10)**. Here, the unknown artist has used flesh tones and modelling, even providing his image with toe-tails, to indicate that what is meant is the actual foot of the Prophet himself. The letter of the law is maintained by depicting the foot as disembodied, floating on a golden background.

III. 3. The images of *Zülfikar.*

The British Library's *En'am-ı şerif* is also the first of its kind to include an image of *Zülfikar*, the famous sword won by the Prophet Muhammad at the battle of Badr and carried in all of his further battles. *Zülfikar*, or *Dhu al-faqar* in Arabic, was inherited by the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Ali, and eventually by his grandsons Hasan and Hussain. The sword was said to have have been handed down to the Abbasids, and it eventually disappeared. The earliest images of *Zülfikar* are said to date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the Ottoman period, the sword served as an image of power on weapons as well as flags and miniature paintings.[82] Although the double-bladed sword became a particularly important symbol for the Shi'a, its image was believed to have talismanic properties throughout the Islamic world.[83]

---

[81] f. 70.
[82] Zdzislaw Zygulski, Jr., *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire*, New York University Press: New York and London, 1992, p. 46.
[83] *"Dhu'l faqar,"* EI, 2nd ed. vol. 2, p. 233.

The *unwan* of the image of *Zülfikar* from the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif* is inscribed in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. **UVic 95-014**, p. 359, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 114)**. It reads: "'Ali does not fight except with his sword *Zülfikar*." The sword is displayed against an orange background that has been highlighted with a red arabesque. Five surrounding golden roundels bear the names of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Isra'fil, Azra'il, and the phrase *Masha'Allah*, "by Allah's Will." Resting across the seal is an oval cartouche bearing the words: "Oh Ever-Living; Oh Allah." The text written in white ink on the sword itself reads:

> In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
> There is no god but Allah.
> The King, the Truth.[84]
> Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.
> The Evident, the Truth, the Promise, the Trustworthy.[85]

The miniature uses a three-panel layout similar to that used for the same manuscript's Seal of Prophecy.[86] *Zülfikar* and the roundels are found in the central panel. The side panels feature cartouches with black script on a gold background.

The *En'am-ı şerif* written by Hasan al-Rashid in 1254/1838-39 and found in the Istanbul University library contains a similarly inscribed sword. **IUL 5197**, f. 147, Cat. #19. The *unwan* reads: "This is the image of the Honourable 'Ali's *Zülfikar*. The names of the four archangels surround the double-bladed sword: "Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, and 'Azra'il." The handle of the sword is inscribed with the words: "In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful." The blades are inscribed: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God...The King, the Truth, the Establisher. In Truth, a trustworthy promise."

---

[84]Names of God.
[85]Names of the Prophet Muhammad.
[86]p. 336.

A second manuscript in the Istanbul University library also contains an image of the sword. **IUL 5573**, f. 90v, Cat. #24. The *unwan* reads: "This is the image of *Zülfikar*, no victor except 'Ali, no sword except *Zülfikar*." Between the blades of the double-headed sword is inscribed: *"help from Allah and a speedy victory."*[87] Cartouches on either side of the image read: "O You who are Kind, be kind with us. Be sparing and clement with us. You are the Mighty, save us from Your Overwhelming Might."

The image of *Zülfikar* in the *En'am-ı şerif* of Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, in the New York Public Library dated 1289/1872-73, shows 'Ali's double-bladed sword displayed against a backround of green leaves and red flowers. **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 69v, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 23)**.

The penultimate image of *Zülfikar* is to be found in the *En'am-ı şerif* by an unknown artist dated 1291/1874-75, also found in the New York Public Library. **M&A Arab 22**, f. 166v, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 11)**. Here, again, the double-bladed sword is uninscribed, the *unwan* reads: "This is 'Ali's *Zülfikar*, may Allah be pleased with them all."

III. 4. The *Pence şerif*, or the Prophet's handprint.

Pence is an Ottoman Turkish word[88] that means the whole hand, but also can mean a set of five things or persons. Traditionally the image of the hand, or *pence*, has been understood to refer to either the Five Pillars of Islam,[89] or the Prophet and his family: his daughter Fatima, son-in-law 'Ali, and grandsons Hasan and Hussain. The image is perceived to be particularly efficatious against the evil-eye. Otherwise referred to as "the hand of Fatima," its image is

---

[87]61:13. This verse is frequently inscribed on weaponry throughout the Islamic world.
[88]The Persian word *panj*, or five, is the source of the Ottoman word.
[89]The five pillars are: 1) the *shahada*, or testament of faith "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah;" 2) *salat*, or ritual prayer five times a day; 3)*zakat*, or almsgiving; 4)*sawm*, or annual thirty day fast during the month of Ramadan; and 5)*hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca.

ubiquitous in the Islamic world.[90] **Plate 5** is a nineteenth-century version of the hand engraved in silver.[91]

The University of Victoria's manuscript contains the earliest known image of the *pence* to be used in an *En'am-ı şerif.* **UVic 95-014**, p. 356, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 111).** The *unwan* is written in white gold on a gold background with mustard yellow and silver borders. It reads: "This is the image of the *pence* of the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." A golden handprint, inscribed in white ink, rests on a blue background interlaced with a red, foliated arabesque. The text across the *pence* is written in white ink. Although the text has been damaged, it is possible to read: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.* There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah....Glory be to God the Almighty...No victory except 'Ali's, no sword except *Zülfikar."*

Two manuscripts in the library of Istanbul University also contain images of the *pence.* As with the *qadam şerif* discussed above, the artist Hasan al-Rashid has again chosen to use a broken outline to indicate the print of a right hand in his *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1254/1838-39. **IUL 5197**, f. 146v, Cat. #19. The thumb and four fingers are each inscribed in white ink:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful*...There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God...Glory be to God and to Him is the praise, Glory be to God the Almighty...No victory except 'Ali's, no sword except *Zülfikar*... God is Sufficient, I put my trust in God."

---

[90]Images of hands have appeared since pre-historic times, and are believed to have been used for their protective powers. The sign of the hand was used in ancient Babylon and Egypt. To the Semites, the hand meant the power of God. The pre-Islamic Turks used a red handprint as a seal. The Mamlukes placed a symbol of a hand atop their flagpoles, and handprints were used to decorate Ottoman flags. See Zygulski, pp. 50-54, especially illustration 11, for an example of an Ottoman flag that combines an image of *Züfikar* with that of a handprint.

[91]Yildiz Palace Museum exhibition, *Nazar ve Şifa, May 22 - June 22, 1996.*

Occasionally, it is 'Ali's handprint, instead of the Prophet's that is depicted. In a second manuscript from the Istanbul University library, dated 1282/1865-66, **IUL 5573**, f. 91, Cat. #24, the *unwan* reads: "This is the image of the hand of the Honourable 'Ali, may God ennoble his face." On the handprint itself are inscribed verses from Qur'an: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Verily We have granted thee a manifest victory."*[92] And, *"help from Allah and a speedy victory."*[93]

Two of the most unusual examples of the *pence* are found in the New York Public Library. In the first of these images, **Spencer Turk 9** (Cat. #26),[94] dated 1289/1872, **(figure 26. 15)** a golden right hand inscribed with text rests against a background of green leaves with red and blue flowers. As with the earlier image of the Prophet's foot, here the nails are clearly visible, and indicate that this is meant to be an image of the Prophet's right hand, and not just his handprint. The *unwan* reads: "This is an image of the hand of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him." Although the text on the hand is somewhat illegible, it appears to read: "(There is no god but) God, the King, the Truth, the Evident. Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the Truthful, the Honest, the Trustworthy."

The second manuscript, dated 1291/1874-75, depicts a somewhat clumsily modelled, flesh coloured hand, complete with nail beds. **M&A Arab 22**, f. 165, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 9)**. The *unwan* reads: "This is an image of the noble hand (of Muhammad) may peace and blessings be upon him."

III. 5. The *Na'l şerif*, or the Prophet's sandal.

The University of Victoria's manuscript is also the first *En'am-ı şerif* to carry an image of the *na'l*, or sandal of the Prophet. Tirmidhi's famous *Shama'il al-Mustafa*, devotes an entire chapter to the sandals that were said to have been

---

[92] 48:1.
[93] 61:13.
[94] f. 61v.

made of fine leather from Ta'if, with two strings drawn between the toes.[95] Poets such as Jami, Nizami and the Ottoman poet Khaqani made reference to the sandals' proximity to the Divine Throne during the Prophet's heavenly journey: "The Divine Throne gained honour from kissing his sandals."[96] These *na'l* were known to be amulets "full of *baraka*, particularly strong against the evil eye."[97] Even images of the sandals were believed to contain *baraka*. Al-Qastallani narrates that according to al-Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr al-Siddiq (d.108 or 109/726-728):

> "Of the proven blessings of the likeness of the Prophet's sandal is that whoever has it in his possession for *tabarruk*, it will safeguard him from the sedition of rebels and the mastery of enemies, and will be a barrier against every recreant devil and the evil eye of the envious. If the pregnant woman holds it in her right hand at the time of labour, her delivery will be easier by Allah's change and his might."[98]

The *unwan* of the University of Victoria's image is written in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. **UVic 95-014**, p. 358, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 113)**. It reads: "This is an image of the Messenger's noble sandal, May Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The Prophet's golden sandal resembles a contemporary Turkish bath slipper with a black strap across the top. The text on the sandal itself reads: "In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. By Allah's Name, no one is able to do any evil to you - on earth or in the heavens - and He is the Hearing and Knowing."

Two of the *En'am-ı şerif* found in the collection of the University of Istanbul also contain inscribed images of the Prophet's sandal. Unfortunately, the

---

[95]Tirmidhi, *al-Shama'il al-muhammadiyya*, tr. Maulana Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhalwi, Ghaziabad, India: New Era Publishers, 1994.
[96]Khaqani quoted in Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, p. 272. ff. 66. See also Schimmel's discussion, p. 40.
[97]Schimmel, p. 40.
[98]al-Qastallani, *al-Mawahib al-laduniyya*, Beirut, 1996, 2:174. Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was the grandson of the caliph Abu Bakr, and the fourth link in the Naqshbandi *silsila*. His successor was his grandson, Jaf'ar ibn al-Sadiq, whose seals featured prominently in the last chapter.

text of the later manuscript, dated 1282/1872-73, is largely unreadable, but it appears to be asking God's protection. **IUL 5573**, f. 92, Cat. #24. The *unwan* of the earlier manuscript, by Hasan al-Rashid, dated 1254/1838-49, reads: "This is an image of the noble sandal." **IUL 5197**, f. 148, Cat. #19. The sandal is inscribed with the words: "I seek refuge with God (Glory be to God and praise be to God) from Satan the Accursed. In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful, I seek refuge in the words of God, from the evil of that which is created."

Both of the manuscripts in the New York Public Library contain images of the *n'al şerif*. The image from the earlier manuscript by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, dated 1289/1872-73, is inscribed. **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 62, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 15)**. The *unwan* reads: "This is an image of the sandal of the Messenger of God." The golden sandal appears upon the same floral background as that of the hand on the opposite page. Inscribed in white ink the text reads: "O our Lord, open for us the clear evidence. Protect us, O Truth. And You are the Opener of goodness." The sandal found in the later manuscript by an unknown artist, dated 1291/1875-76, is uninscribed. **M&A Arab 22**, f. 166, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 11)**.

III. 6. The Prophet's *Mukhallafat*, or relics.

The Arabic word *mukhallafat* refers to that which has been left behind, an estate, or legacy. At the Prophet's death, his belongings of value were few.

> "Narrated 'Amr bin al-Harith, the brother of the wife of Allah's Apostle *(as)* Juwaira bint al-Harith: 'When Allah's Apostle *(as)* died, he did not leave any Dirham or Dinar (i.e. money), a slave or slave woman or anything else except his white mule, his arms and a piece of land which he had given in charity.'"[99]

In 1517, three years after his artillery had routed the Safavids at the battle of Chaldiran, Selim I took control of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Mamluks. In this way, the Ottomans inherited the role of the defender of

---

[99] *Sahih Bukhari*, vol. 4, p. 2-3.

Islam's holiest places; as the "Servant and Protector of the Holy Places," the Ottoman Sultan could claim to be the supreme Islamic ruler.[100] Soon after Selim I's triumphant return to Istanbul, the Mamluk caliph al-Mutawwakil was believed to have transferred the caliphate from the Mamluks to the Ottomans.[101] As "Servant and Protector of the Holy Places," Selim I took possession of the Prophet's relics including: his footprint; cloak, or *hırka;* battle standard; some hairs of his beard; and two of his teeth, and placed them for safekeeping in the Topkapı Sarayı's *Hırka-i sa'adet.*

The Prophet was said to have given a number of *hırka* to different individuals during his lifetime, and at least one, to Uwais, after his death.[102] Several sites in the Islamic world are said to have preserved these mantles, including the shrine of Khuldabad, India, another in Qandahar, Afghanistan, and the one in the Topkapı Sarayı.[103] The mantles were believed to convey *baraka* and healing to those who touched them. According to 'Abd Allah, the freed slave of Asma' bint Abu Bakr, the latter brought out a mantle made of Persian cloth with a hem of brocade, and said: "This was Allah's Messenger's cloak with 'Aisha until she died, and when she died, I got possession of it. The Apostle of Allah (may peace be upon him) used to wear that, and we washed it for the sick and sought cure thereby."[104] In his commentary on Imam Muslim's monumental collection of

---

[100]Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition,* Alfred A. Knopf: New York. 1972, p.33. While the Ottomans certainly made the assertion that they were the supreme Islamic rulers, it should be noted that their contemporaries -- the Safavids, and the Mughals in particular -- did not necessarily agree with this claim. This will be discussed in detail below.

[101]Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey,* vol. 1, p. 85. As noted earlier, Shaw says, "Real Ottoman claims to the caliphate were made only in the era of weakness, the eighteenth century..."

[102] Prior to his death, the Prophet gave instructions for his cloak to be taken to 'Uwais al-Qarani, a pious man who was much devoted to the Prophet, but had never been able to see him in person because of his ailing and elderly mother. 'Uwais' life is taken as a prototype for those saints who receive spiritual guidance directly from the Prophet, without having met a living master.

[103]Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger,* p. 39.

[104]*Sahih Muslim,* vol. 3, pp. 1142-1143. The translator 'Abdul Hamid Siddiqi echoes Nawawi's approval: "This fact proves beyond a doubt that it is not only permissible, but advisable to seek blessings from the pious persons and their belongings and their pious associates."

hadith, Nawawi comments that: "In this *hadith* is proof that it is recommended to seek blessings through the relics of the righteous and their clothes (*wa fi hadha al-hadith dalil 'ala istihbab al-tabarruk bi athar al-salihin wa thiyabihim.)*[105]

In the Ottoman world, the Prophet's *mukhallafat* continued to be sought as conduits of *baraka.* Once a year, on the occasion of the fifteenth of the Holy month of Ramadan, the Sultan and other dignitaries paid homage to the relics of the Prophet.

> "The ceremony of uncovering and displaying these relics, and their veneration, occurred after the mid-day prayer; it was an occasion of great general religious significance even though it was conducted in respectful privacy. During the second half of Ramadan, other relics in the care of various custodians were publically displayed...."[106]

Not suprisingly then, the *En'am-ı şerif* owned by Pertevniyal Sultan, the wife of Mahmud II, and mother of Abdul Aziz, contains a sumptuously appointed image of these relics. **Pertevniyal 43,** f. 57, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 8).** The *unwan* reads: "The estate (that which was left behind) of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him." Here we see the Prophet's *hırka,* or mantle of green with a pink lining and golden trim elaborated with pricking; his copy of the Qur'an, outlined in gold; his golden *miswak,* or toothbrush; his *tasbih,* or prayer beads consisting of one hundred golden beads; his comb, and his basin and ewer for making ablutions, all made of gold.

The University of Victoria's manuscript contains an image of the Prophet's belongings: the *hırka-i şerif,* or noble mantle; a richly bound copy of the Qur'an; a *tasbih,* or prayer beads; and a golden ewer and basin. **UVic 95-014,** p. 369, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 124).** As the Qur'an was not written in codex form until the caliphate of 'Uthman, it was obviously not possible for the Prophet to have owned a copy of the Qur'an, particularly one which is covered with what closely

---

[105]Imam Nawawi, *Sharh Sahih Muslim* (Book 37, Chaper 2, no. 10):
[106]Raphaela Lewis, *Everyday life in Ottoman Turkey,* London and New York, 1971, p. 123.

resembles a contemporary Ottoman-style binding.[107] In the same way, using beads to count one's prayers did not come into practice until a later period. In fact, the use of prayer beads was another act considered to be *bida'*, or innovation, and prohibited by the Wahhabis.[108] The golden ewer and basin are also typical of those found in the eighteenth-century Ottoman empire. See, for example, a gilded, copper ewer in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic art, **Plate 17**.[109] The Ottoman-like appearance of these objects may simply be an artist's rendering of what he is familiar with, or it may indicate a conscious attempt at drawing a connection between the Prophet and the Ottomans as his legitimate successors.

Images of the Prophet's *muhallafat* are found in the majority of *En'am-ı şerif*. The manuscript of Hasan al-Rashid dated 1254/1838-39, **IUL 5197**, f. 153, Cat. #19, contains an image of the Prophet's mantle, prayer rug, prayer beads, ewer and basin, although a later manuscript dated 1263/1820-21, by the same calligrapher does not.[110] In the Naqshbandi version dated 1257/1841-42, **IUL 6386**, Cat. #20, the illuminator al-Hajj Rasm Mehmed has included a number of similar images depicting the Prophet's handprint, his comb, prayer beads, and *Zülfikar* (all on f. 48v), the Tree of Tuba, an incense burner, a rose-water sprinkler, and a Qur'an case (all on f. 49), his footprint, ablution ewer, and the double-headed staff of Moses, (all on f. 50v), and finally, his sandal, *miswak*, and ablution basin (all on f. 51). An unknown calligrapher included in a manuscript not dated later than 1282/1865-66, **IUL 5573**, Cat. #24, an image of the Prophet's Flag of Praise (to be discussed at length in a following section), his *tasbih*, and his *miswak* (f. 86v).

---

[107]Note the use of a *mıkleb*, or flap. One may compare this image with those of the bindings in this study.

[108]See J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, vol. 2, p. 115.

[109]TIEM 4219, Istanbul. (height 36 cm.)

[110]The following *En'am-ı şerif* do not contain images of the Prophet's *mukhallafat:* **Düğümlü Baba** 491 - f. 76v, Cat. #25, (anonymous and undated) contains only a textual list of the Prophet's belongings; **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509**, Cat. #22, (1265/1848-49); and **TSM YY 874**, Cat. #23, (1265/1848-49) both by Sayyid Mehmet Hilmi.

The latest manuscripts in our study all contain images of the Prophet's *mukhallifat.* In **Spencer Turk 9** (Cat. #26) the *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1289/1872-73, the calligrapher Mustafa Hilmi has followed the earlier royal example of **Pertevniyal 43** (Cat. #18), and depicted the *hırka* as being green in colour. **(figure 26. 21)**[111] Hilmi Efendi has also included images of the Prophet's *tasbih* (although somewhat abbreviated), his *miswak,* comb and ablution ewer and basin. The unknown calligrapher of the *En'am-ı şerif* dated 1291/1874-75, has included two images of the Prophet's belongings. The first image is of the Prophet's prayer rug, which is decorated in blue and gold complete with columns, a prayer niche and lamp, his simple reed mat, prayer beads, *miswak,* and comb. **M&A Arab 22,** f. 170, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 14)** The second image is that of his mantle, depicted here as black with a golden lining. **M&A Arab 22,** f. 170v, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 15)**[112]

III. 7. The *Liwa al-hamd,* or Flag of Praise.

On the Day of Judgment, the Prophet Muhammad will gather those who believe together under the Flag of Praise in order to protect them from tribulation.[113] This *liwa al-hamd,* or flag of praise, may be seen as the tangible expression of the Prophet's *shafa'a,* or intercession for his community on the Day of Judgment. According to a narration of Anas found in the *Sahih* of Bukhari, the Prophet said:

> "Allah will gather all the people on the Day of Resurrection and they will say, 'Let us request someone to intercede for us with our Lord so that he may relieve us from this place of ours.' Then they will go to Adam and say, 'You are the one whom Allah created

---

[111] f. 68.

[112] **IUL 5619,** f. 80, Cat. #28, dated 1292/1875-76, also contains an image of the Prophet's *hırka, tasbih,* ewer and basin.

[113] In addition to his own *'umma,* the Prophet Muhammad will also intercede for those who came before him: "There is no prophet among the children of Adam up to Muhammad who is not under Muhammad's banner." See Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger,* p. 282, ff. 20.

> with his own hands and breathed in you of His soul...so please intercede for us with our Lord.' Adam will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, and will remember his sin, and will say, 'Go to Noah, the first Apostle sent by Allah.' They will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Abraham whom Allah took as [Friend]. They will go to him (and request similarly). He will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Moses to whom Allah spoke directly.' They will go to Moses and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Jesus.' They will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, go to Muhammad, peace be upon him, as Allah has forgiven him his past and future sins.' They will come to me [Muhammad], and I will ask my Lord's permission, and when I see Him, I will fall down in prostration to Him, and He will leave me in that state as long as (He) Allah will, and then I will be addressed. 'Raise up your head (O Muhammad)! Ask, and your request will be granted, say, and your saying will be listened to; intercede, and your intercession will be accepted.' Then I will raise my head and glorify and praise my Lord with a saying (i.e. invocation) He will teach me, and then I will intercede. Allah will fix a limit for me (i.e. a certain type of people for whom I may intercede), and I will take them out of the (Hell) fire and let them enter Paradise. Then I will come back (to Allah) and fall in prostration, and will do the same for the third and forth times till no one remains in the (Hell) fire except those whom the Qur'an has imprisoned therein."

According to both Tirmidhi and Ibn Maja, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri narrated that the Prophet said:

> "I am the leader of human beings and I say this without pride. I am the first whom the earth will give up when it cleaves, and the first intercessor, and the first whose intercession is accepted. I hold the flag of praise in my hand, and under it comes Adam and everyone else."[114]

---

[114]Shaykh Hisham Kabbani. *Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine*, vol. 4, "Intercession," Mountain View, C.A., 1998. See also Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, p. 62.

The Prophet's *shafa'a*, or right of intercession, and the gathering together under the Flag of Praise was a favorite subject of writers, especially poets. The fourteenth century Turkish poet Yunus Emre[115] wrote:

> Doomsday
> Muhammad arrives with his green banner.
> The pious tell each other the good tidings:
> Muhammad arrives with his green banner.[116]

The *unwan* of the image of the *liwa al-hamd* from the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif*, **UVic 95-014**, p. 363, Cat. #16, **(figure 16. 118)**, reads: "This is an image of the noble Flag of Praise." A golden banner bears a finial and three, triangular-shaped panels have been inscribed in white ink on a gold. The background is covered with arabesques. The text of the panels reads: "*In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.* There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God. The Truth.*Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds.*[117]"

Seven of the eight images of the Flag of Praise in this study consist of a similar, three-panelled flag inscribed with the *shahada*, the *bismillah*, and the first verse of *Surah Fatiha: "Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."*[118] The only two-panelled flag appears quite late, dated 1291/1874-75, in the New York Public Library's **M&A Arab 22**, f. 205v, Cat. #27, **(figure 27. 42)**. In this manuscript the Flag of Praise, is seen soaring above the heavenly pool of *Kauthar* that was promised by God to the Prophet Muhammad as refreshment for his faithful followers on the Day of Judgment. Inscribed in golden circles under the banner are the names of the prophets, the rightly guided caliphs, those who have been promised heaven, their wives and children. The text describes the banner's

---

[115]Emre is frequently compared with the mystical poet Jalal al-din Rumi. While Rumi, who died in the late thirteenth century, wrote in Persian, Emre is particularly loved by Turks for writing in the vernacular.
[116]Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, p. 90.
[117]1:2.
[118]see: **Pertevniyal 43**, f. 53; **IUL 5197**, f. 150v; **IUL 5756** f. 166v; **IUL 5573**, f. 86v; and **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 64v.

panels as "wings" of white material from Paradise, and describes the top as consisting of a ruby finial. It relates a hadith in which the *sahaba* asked the Prophet Muhammad how high and wide the *liwa' al-hamd* would be. He answered that from left to right the flag would stretch five thousand years, and from the earth to the sky, one thousand years.

The Flag of Praise is frequently accompanied by Qur'anic inscriptions. In the version of the flag found in Mustafa Nazif's *En'am-ı şerif*, dated 1208/1793-94, a golden, three-panelled banner with a bent crescent finial is surrounded by a green border. **Pertevniyal 43**, f. 53, Cat. #18, **(figure 18. 4)**. In addition to the ubiquitous *shahada, bismillah* and second verse of *Surah al-Baqara*, oval cartouches on either side of the banner read: *"Our Lord give us good in this world and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire."*[119] Istanbul University Library's manuscript, dated 1254/1838-39, **IUL 5197**, f. 150v, Cat. #19, surrounds its flag with the names of the archangels and rightly-guided caliphs. To the right, and underneath the flag is found the same Qur'anic prayer: *"Our Lord! Give us good in this world, and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire!"*[120] To the left, the Qur'anic prayer of those "of understanding" has been added: *"Our Lord! Let not our hearts deviate now after Thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own Presence, for Thou art the Grantor of bounties without measure."*[121] The implications of this image is that the archangels will surround Muhammad's "Flag of Praise" on the Day of Judgment, while below it will shelter those who recited these and similar prayers.

Two of the later manuscripts: the Istanbul University Library's **IUL 5756**,[122] dated 1263/1846-47; and **IUL 5573**,[123] dated 1282/1865-66, depict the Flag of Praise with objects otherwise categorized as relics, specifically the Prophet's *tasbih*, or prayer beads, and his *miswak*, or toothbrush.

---

[119] 2:201.
[120] 2:201.
[121] 3:8.
[122] f. 166v.
[123] f. 86v.

III. 8. The *Sancak-ı şerif*, or Prophet's sacred banner.

According to tradition, the *Sancak-ı şerif*, or Prophet's sacred banner, had been preserved by the Ottoman sultans since the conquest of the Mamluks in 1517, and was "a visible symbol of their superior position in the world of militant Islam."[124] Images of the *Sancak-ı şerif* appear as early as the late eighteenth century in the University of Victoria's *En'am-ı şerif*, **UVic 95-014**, pp. 374-384, Cat. #16, **(figures 16. 129** to **16. 144)**, and as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in **Spencer Turk 9**, f, 71, Cat. #26, **(figure 26. 24)**, and **M&A Arab 22**, f. 164v, Cat. #27, **(figure 27.9)**. In 1595 C.E., the Prophet's banner was brought from the treasury in Damascus to the Topkapı Sarayı where it was kept with the other sacred relics, including the Prophet's mantle, his footprint, and his swords. The remaining fragments were sewn into three separate flags,[125] one of which remained in the Treasury, the second accompanying the sultan, while the third went with the grand vezir on campaigns in which the sultan did not participate. The flag was seen as "a visible sign of Muhammad's intercession and protection over the army of fighting Islam."[126]

We have seen how the subject matter of the miniature paintings of the *En'am-ı şerif* focussed upon the person and belongings of the Prophet Muhammad. Just as the calligraphic images, the *hilye* and *muhr*, served as a source of prophetic *baraka*, so too did the representational images of the *En'am-ı şerif*. These relics, and the images of them, were key components in an important polemic taking place between the traditional Ottoman view of Islam and one that was fundamentalist in nature. To those who produced and used the *En'am-ı şerif*, the images of the Holy Cities and the Prophet's sacred relics that were held in the Topkapı were a physical manifestation of the Ottoman's claim to the caliphate, a

---

[124]Zygulski, p. 17.
[125]The original flag is said to have been made of black wool, and was covered for protection with a green cloth. See Zygulski, p. 19.
[126]Ibid., p. 22.

claim that came under attack at precisely the same moment as these images began to appear.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

In the late eighteenth century, with the world as he knew it under attack from without and within, a calligrapher named Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi, the student of Musa Efendi, son of Hasan Efendi, who was himself a pupil of Ibrahim Rodosi, made his ritual ablution, performed a two-cycle prayer, and began to copy his teacher's *En'am-ı şerif*. Two hundred years later, Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi's manuscript entered the library of the University of Victoria, to be examined and analysed by someone living in a very different world from that of its author. Much of what remains from the late Ottoman world of Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi must be filtered through texts: historical chronicles, biographies and diaries containing the frozen-in-time thoughts and aspirations of his contemporaries. Thankfully, Islam has a strong oral tradition that we may draw upon, especially the overlapping worlds of the Sufi *tarikat* and the traditional practice of *hatt*, and related arts. It is here that we find the knowledge of the practices and rituals associated with the creation and use of sacred objects such as the *En'am-ı şerif* that is a necessary ingredient in any attempt at understanding their meaning.

In the final years of the eighteenth century, Sufi calligraphers transformed a simple book of prayers into an elaborate manuscript combining sacred text with images of sacred places and objects. Although the contents of the *En'am-ı şerif* varied according to the wishes of the individual calligrapher or their patron, the entire manuscript, the text as well as the images, was created to serve as conductor of *baraka*, or Divine grace.

As early as the thirteenth century, *Surah al-An'am* was a popular choice to reproduce in manuscript form. By the sixteenth century, the biographies of great calligraphers such as Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi listed the numbers of *En'am* that they had produced immediately after the Qur'ans. In the seventeenth century,

calligraphers and their patrons began the process of change by selecting an increased variety of extra-Qur'anic text. These additions eventually included typically Sufi prayers such as *dhikr, du'a,* and *salawat,* and sometimes entire litanies, or *evrad.* These extra-Qur'anic prayers sought God's blessing and protection through the intercession of the Prophet. Even more significant changes were initiated in the seventeenth century. It is at this point, when the calligraphers began to include magnificent calligraphic images that were intended to served the same purpose as the sacred text that the *En'am-ı şerif* was born. Based upon the practice of *ta'viz,* the use of sacred text for protection against illness and evil, the calligraphers of the *En'am-ı şerif* created works of art that blurred the distinction between text and image. While contemporary theories of vision emphasize the viewer's separation from the object, the use of religious images emphasizes the connection.

> "...the use of religious images presumes an ancient theory of vision in which a quasi-physical visual ray streams from the eye of the viewer to touch its object. The form of the object then moves back along the visual ray to imprint itself in the memory of the viewer. This theory of vision emphasizes the viewer's initiative and active engagement, an intentional appropriation of the object that permanently connects viewer and object (in memory). Lacking such concentrated attention, a religious painting is simply a painting with a religious topic.[1]

Images such as the "Eye upon God," in which letters are creatively distorted to produce the likeness of a body part, call into question the necessity of actually reading the text. The act of reading takes on a secondary role as the image's visual impact and even narrative become more important.

---

[1]Margaret R. Miles, "Image," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies,* ed. Mark C. Taylor, University of Chicago Press: Chicago & London, 1998, p. 169.

While the existence of calligraphic imagery has been noted earlier,[2] and even the existence of religious figural imagery,[3] the miniature paintings introduced into the *En'am-ı şerif* in the eighteenth century are unique in two ways: first, they are a collection of images created with the intention of serving as a conduit for *baraka;* and second, these images have been combined with Qur'anic text.[4] This combination of calligraphic imagery and Qur'anic text is rare, if not unique, in the world of Islamic art. To my knowledge, this dissertation represents the first scholarly examination of a popular Islamic manuscript that uses representational imagery in a sacred context. Our analysis of the *En'am-ı şerif* makes it clear that such images cannot be explained away as the product of foreign influence, nor do they come from a heterodox, or Shi'a tradition. The calligraphic images of the *En'am-ı şerif,* the Prophet's relics, his hand and footprints, were created by Sunni Muslims and placed in the Ottoman empire's most popular prayer book to serve as conduits of Divine grace, or power.

The very existence of the *En'am-ı şerif* calls into question our current understanding of Islam's use of representational imagery in a sacred context. Why were these seemingly unique images created? Our study of the *En'am-ı şerif* has illustrated the strong connections that existed between orthodox Sufism and the ruling elite during the period of rising European nationalism and declining Ottoman power. In the late eighteenth century, Islamic orthodoxy and Ottoman sovereignty was under attack at the hands of Wahhabi fundamentalists. By creating images of power, intrinsically connected with the person of the Prophet through his role as conduit of Divine *baraka,* the calligraphers and artist of the *En'am-ı şerif* were strengthening the very spiritual aspects of Islam that were being attacked by the fundamentalist movement. To the calligraphers and artists of the *En'am-ı şerif,* the Ottoman empire was synonymous with Islam. By

---

[2] Such as zoomorphic representations of birds and lions made from the *bismillah,* or Shi'a prayers.
[3] Miniature paintings of the prophets and saints.
[4] The *En'am-ı şerif* inscribes these images with verses of the Qur'an as well as presents them as part of a text that includes entire surahs.

including images of the sacred places and relics held in the Sultan's care, and by including explanations of these images in the Ottoman Turkish language, they highlighted the Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the caliphate and protectors of the faith.

We now know why the *En'am-ı şerif* was created, but why did it disappear in the last quarter of the nineteenth century? The answers to this question may open up further avenues for the study of this important manuscript. The last *En'am-ı şerif* I have found to date was produced in 1875-76 by an unknown calligrapher,[5] and it is not possible to say with any certainty whether or not further manuscripts were produced. My study of the biographies of the calligraphers seems to indicate that production of the *En'am-ı şerif* may well have ceased at this time, as there is a concurrent decline in the mentioning of that text as a part of a calligrapher's works. One possible answer to the puzzle of the *En'am-ı şerif*'s disappearance might be sought in the library and museum collections of other Ottoman cities, such as Damascus and Cairo. How popular was the *En'am-ı şerif* in these cities, and did it disappear there at the same time as it did in Istanbul? Certainly, the existence of a large number of the manuscripts in these cities would offer substantial support for my argument regarding their role in the polemic between the traditionalist Sufis and the fundamentalist Wahhabis.

By the late nineteenth century, the printing press was having a marked effect on the production of religious manuscripts, however I have yet to find a printed version of the *En'am-ı şerif*. Although the first printing press to publish in Ottoman Turkish was set up as early as 1726, the publishers were specifically forbidden to print religious texts.[6] The use of the printing press grew in the early nineteenth century, but they were not widely used until the second half. According to Mehmet Kaplan, between 1870 and 1890 the Ottoman elite began to

---

[5]IUL 5619 (Cat. #28).

[6]Ibrahim Müteferrika and Mehmed Said Efendi, the son of the first Ottoman ambassador to France, were responsible for setting up the first press. See: Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, OxfordUniversity Press: Oxford and New York, 1987, p. 113.

be transformed by book knowledge,[7] and it is at this same moment that our manuscript disappears. Given the secularizing tendencies of the period, one is tempted to suppose a lack of interest on the part of the publishers, however, this is unlikely as the role of the Sufi orders in spreading the printing of religious books has already been noted.[8]

Abdülhamid II's promulgation of the Constitution of 1876 included a formal acknowledgement of the Ottoman Sultan's role as Caliph and Protector of Islam. The ensuing Pan-Islamic movement represented a shift in the Sultan's identity from ruler of the Ottoman state to spiritual leader of the Islamic world. In his attempt to export his Pan-Islamic ideas, Abdülhamid depended heavily upon the organizations of Sufi orders that were active in the Arab world, such as the Madaniyya, of which he himself was an initiate, the Sanusiyya, the Shadhiliyya and the Rifa'iyya. Abdülhamid drew his chief advisers from these orders, and not the traditional Turkish orders such as the Naqshbandiyya and the Mevlevi, from whose ranks came many of the calligraphers of the *En'am-ı şerif.*[9] Perhaps this favouring of one group over another had an impact on the production of these manuscripts. Certainly, the secularization of Ottoman society in the final years of the nineteenth century, and the subsequent lack of patronization of the Sufi orders by the Ottoman elite[10] could not have boded well for the *En'am-ı şerif.*

We may never know the reason behind the disappearance of the *En'am-ı şerif.* What is certain is that for a period of more than a century, this unique book combined sacred text and imagery in the service of Ottoman Islam - an Islam that

---

[7]Mehmet Kaplan, Tevik Fikret ve Siiri (Türkiye Yayinevi: Istanbul, 1946, p. 19. Cited in Francis Robinson, "Islam and the impact of print," Modern Asian Studies, vol. 27, no. 1, 1993, p. 232.

[8]Muhsin Mahdi, "From the manuscript age to the age of the printed book," in *The Book in the Islamic World,* ed. George Atiyeh, State University of New York Press: New York, 1995, p. 7.

[9]Jacob M. Landau, "Some comments on the organization of Pan-Islam in the late Ottoman Empire," *V Milletlerarasi Türkiye Sosyal ve Iktisat Tarihi Kongresi,* Ankara, 1990, pp. 278-280.

[10]David Dean Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria,* Oxford University Press: New York & Oxford, 1990, pp. 37-38.

was based upon love of the Prophet and a belief in his ability to serve as a conduit of *baraka* and a source of intercession. Most importantly, at a time when the Ottomans faced a severe challenge to their identity as Protectors of Islam, the *En'am-ı şerif* spoke eloquently of their Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the Prophet, Servants of the Holy Sanctuaries and Guardians of the Sacred Relics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Islamic Studies

'Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad ibn.
1980. *Mu'allafat al-shaykh al-imam Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab*, ed. 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Zayd al-Rumi, Muhammad Bultaji, and Sayyid Hijab, 8 vols. in 12. Riyadh.

Abu Dawud, Imam.
1988. *Sunan Abu Dawud.* Lahore.

Abu Manneh, Butrus.
1982-84. "The Naqshbandiyya - Mujaddidiyyah in the Ottoman lands in the early 19th century," *Die Welt des Islams,* no. 22 (82-84). pp. 1-36.

Al-Akili, Muhammad.
1994. *Natural Healing with the Medicine of the Prophet: from The Book of the Provisions of the Hereafter by Imam ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350 C.E.).* Philadelphia.

Algar, Hamid.
1990. "A brief history of the Naqshbandi order," in *Naqshbandis: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order.* Proceedings of the Sèvres Round Table, 2-4 May, 1985. Ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone. Istanbul, Paris. pp.3-44.

1990. "Political apects of Naqshbandi history," in *Naqshbandis: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order.* Proceedings of the Sèvres Round Table, 2-4 May, 1985. Ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone. Editions Isis: Istanbul, Paris. pp. 123-151.

1976. "The Naqshbandi order: A preliminary survey of its history and significance." *Studia Islamica,* vol. 44. pp. 123-152.

al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid.
1992.*The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God.* Eds. David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher. Cambridge.

1952. *Al-Ghazzali's "Mishkat al-anwar": The Niche for lights.* ed. and trans. W. H. Temple Gairdner.Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 19. London. (reprint). Lahore.

'Ali, 'Abdallah Yusuf.
1934. *The Holy Qur'an.* Lahore.

al-Jazri, Muhammad ibn M.
1993. *A Comprehensive Collection of Nasnoon Duas Based on Al-Hisnul Hasin.* Karachi.

al-Jazuli, Muhammad ibn Sulaiman.
1992. *Dala'il al-khairat.* translated as "The index of good things." Sheffield.

al-Tabrizi, Wali al-din Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah al-Khatib.
1991. *Mishkat al-masabih.* 2 vols. Tr. James Robson. Lahore.

al-Zahawi, Jamal Efendi al-'Iraqi al-Sidqi.
1996.*The Doctrine of Ahl al-Sunna Versus the "Salafi" Movement.* Tr. Shayhk Muhammad Hisham Kabbani. Chicago.

Bayri, Mehmet Halit.
1947. *Istanbul Folkloru.* Istanbul.

Bayraktar, Nimet and Lugal, Mihin.
1995. *Bibliography on Manuscript Libraries in Turkey and the Publications on the Manuscripts Located in these Libraries.* Ed. Ekmeledden Ihsanoğlu. Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (Bibliographical Series, 4). Istanbul.

Bukhari, Imam.
1983. *Sahih Bukhari.* 9 vols. Tr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan. Lahore.

Cagatay, Neset.
1968. "The tradition of *maulid* recitations in Islam, particularly in Turkey." *Studia Islamica,* vol. 28. pp. 127-33.

Campo, Juan E.
1987. "Shrines and talismans: domestic Islam in the pilgrimage paintings of Egypt." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* vol. 55, no. 2. pp. 285-305.

Canaan, T.
1938. "The decipherment of Arabic talismans." *Berytus*, vol. 5. pp. 141-151.

Chishti, Shaykh Hakim Moinuddin.
1991. *The Book of Sufi Healing.* Rochester, Vermont.

Damrel, David W.
1990. "The spread of Naqshbandi political thought in the Islamic world," in *Naqshbandis: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order.* Proceedings of the Sèvres Round Table, 2-4 May, 1985. ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone. Istanbul, Paris. pp. 269-287.

Dener, Halit.
1957. *Süleymaniye Ümümi Kütüphanesi.* Istanbul.

Eickelman, Dale F.
1992. "The art of memory: Islamic education and its social reproduction," in *Comparing Muslim Societies.* Ed. J. Cole. pp. 97-132. Also in: *Comparative studies & history* vol. 20. pp. 485-515.

Elgood, Cyril.
1962. "*Tibb-ul-Nabbi* or Medicine of the Prophet." trans. of Al-Suyuti's *Tibb-ul-Nabbi.* In *Osiris: Commentationes de scientiarum et eruditionis historia rationeque.* Belgium.

El-Tom, A. Osman.
1987. "Berti Qur'anic amulets." *Journal of Religion in Africa,* vol. 17. pp. 224-244.

Farid, A.H.
1969. *Prayers of Muhammad.* (compiled and translated). Lahore.

Findley, Carter Vaughn.
1989. "A Muslim Pigrim's Progress: Asci Dede Ibrahim Halil on the Hajj, 1898," in *The Islamic World: from Classical to Modern Times.* Eds. C.E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory, and A. L. Udovitch. Princeton, New Jersey. pp. 479-512.

Fusfeld, Warren.
1988. "The boundaries of Islam and infidelity," in *Shariat and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam.* Ed. K. Ewing. Berkeley. pp. 205-219.

——1983. "Naqshbandi Sufism and Reformist Islam," in *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* vol. 18, no. 3-4. pp. 241-261.

Gokyay, Orhan.
1976. "Tilsimli Gömlekler." *Türk Folkloru Araştramalar Yilliği.* Istanbul. pp. 93-112.

Goldziher, Ignaz.
1966 and 1971. *Muslim Studies.* Tr. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern. Chicago.

Hakani, Mehmed.
1991. *Hilye-i Sa'adet.* Ed. Iskender Pala. Ankara.

Hamdan, Abdelhamid Saleh.
1985. "Ghazali and the science of *huruf." Oriente Moderno* n.s. 4/65. pp. 191-193.

Hebert, Raymond J.
1988. "The *ayat al-kursi* and the *asma al-husna* on a Salghurid amulet." *Hamdard Islamicus* vol. 11, no. 3. pp. 89-99.

Hidayat Hosain, Muhammad.
1933-34. "Translation of *ash-Shama'il* of Tirmizi." *Islamic Culture* 7 (1933): pp. 395-409, 561-72; 8 (1934): pp. 46-54, 273-89, 364-85, 531-49.

Hourani, A.
1972. "Shaikh Khalid and the Naqshbandi order," in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition.* (Series: Oriental Studies, 5). Columbia.

Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, Muhammad.
1980. *Mu'allafat al-shaykh al-imam Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab* , Eds. 'Abd al-Aziz ibn Zayd al-Rumi, Muhammad Bultaji, and Sayyid Hijab, 8 vols. in 12. Riyadh.

Kabbani, Shaykh Muhammad Hisham.
1998. *Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrine* 8 vols. Mountain View, C. A.

—— 1995. *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain.* Chicago.

Kafdar, Cemal.
1992. "The new visibility of Sufism in Turkish studies and cultural life," in

The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey. Ed. R. Lifchez. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford. pp. 307-322.

Kassis, Hanna E.
1983. *A Concordance of the Qur'an.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

Keller, Noah Ha Mim.
1991. *The Reliance of the Traveller: a Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law* (by Ahmad ibn Naqib, d. 769/1368) in Arabic with facing English text, commentary, and appendices. Evanston.

Khaqani, Mehmet Bey.
1264H/1874. *Hilya-i sharif.* Istanbul.

Lane, E. W.
1984. *An Arabic - English Lexicon.* Cambridge. Lithographic reproduction of the 1863 original..

Lifchez, Raymond. (Ed.)
1992. *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford.

Makdisi, George.
1981. *The Rise of the Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West.* Edinburgh.

Martin, Richard C. (ed.)
1985. "Islam and religious studies: an introductory essay." in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies.* Tucson. pp. 1-18.

Miles, Margaret R.
1998. "Image." in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. Ed. Mark C. Taylor. Chicago and London.

Maududi, S. Abul A'la.
1989. *The Meaning of the Qur'an.* 16 vols. Lahore.

Mommersteeg, Geert.
1988. "'He has smitten her to the heart with love.' The fabrication of an Islamic love-amulet in West Africa." *Anthropos* 83. pp. 501-510.

Monnot, Guy.
1989. "Prières privée en Islam traditionnel." *Revue de l'histoire des religions,* vol. 206 (Jan-Mar). pp. 41-54.

Muslim, Imam.
1980. *Sahih Muslim.* 4 vols. Tr. Abdul Hamid Siddiqi. Lahore.

Nasr, Seyyid Hossein.
1978. "The interior life in Islam." *Religious Traditions* 1 (Oct.). pp. 48-55.

Nawawi, Imam.
1993. *Riyad us-saliheen.* Tr. M. Matraji. 2 vols. Lebanon.

Nizami, Khaliq Ahmad.
1991. "The Naqshbandiyyah order," in *Islamic Spirituality* II. Ed. S. H. Nasr. New York. pp. 162-193.

Padwick, Constance E.
1960. *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer Manuals in Common Use.* Oxford. Reprinted.

Pickthall, Mohammad Marmaduke.
n.d. *The Glorious Qur'an.* Chicago.

Rahman, Fazlur.
1979. *Islam.* 2nd ed. Chicago and London.

Redhouse, Sir James W.
1987. *A Turkish and English Lexicon.* Beirut.

Robson, James.
1936. "Blessings on the Prophet." *Muslim World,* vol. 26. pp. 365-71.

———
1929-33. "The magical use of the Koran." *Transactions. University of Glasgow. Oriental society* 6. pp. 51-60.

Royster, James.
1972. "The Study of Muhammad: A survey of approaches from the perspective of the history and phenomenology of religion." *Muslim World,* vol. 62. pp. 49-70.

Sibai, M. Makki.
1984. *An Historical Investigation of Mosque Libraries in Islamic Life and Culture.* Ph.D. dissertation. Indiana University.

Schimmel, Annemarie.
1994. *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam.* Edinburgh.

——1992. "Calligraphy and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey." in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey.* Ed. R. Lifchez. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford.

——1991. "Sufism and spiritual life in Turkey." in *Islamic Spirituality* 2nd ed. Ed. S. H. Nasr. New York.

——1985. *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety.* Chapel Hill and London.

——1983. "The Sufis and the *Shahada."* In *Islam's Understanding of Itself.* Ed. Richard Hovanassian and Speros Vryonis, Jr. Malibu. pp.103-125.

——1979. "The Golden Chain of 'Sincere Muhammadans'." In *The Rose and the Rock.* Ed. Bruce Lawrence. Durham, N. C. pp. 104-134.

——1975. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam.* Chapel Hill.

Silverman, Raymond.
1991. "Arabic writing and the occult," In *Brocade of the Pen: The Art of Islamic Writing.* Ed. C. Fisher. East Lansing. pp. 19-30.

Staples, W.E.
1940. "Muhammad, a talismanic force." *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* vol. 57 (Jan. to Oct.). pp. 63-70.

Trimingham, J. Spencer.
1971. *The Sufi Orders in Islam.* Oxford.

Watson, Kristin W.
1994. "Spiritual emergency: concepts and implications for psychotherapy," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 34, no. 2, Spring. pp. 22-45.

History

Arnold. Thomas W.
1924. *The Caliphate.* Oxford.

Baer, Gabriel.
1970. "The administrative, economic and social functions of Turkish guilds." *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* vol. 1. pp. 28-50.

Burckhardt, John Lewis.
1831. *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys Collected During his Travels in the East.* 2 vols. London.

Carr, Edward Hallet.
1961. *What is History?* New York.

Commins, David Dean.
1990. *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria.* New York and Oxford.

Cook, Michael.
1992. "On the origins of Wahhabism." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* series 3, vol. 2, no. 2. pp. 191-202.

----1989. "The expansion of the first Saudi state: the case of Washm." In *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times. Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis.* Ed. C. Bosworth. Princeton, N. J. pp. 661-699.

Davidson, Roderic.
1990. *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774 to 1923: The Impact of the West.* Austin.

Davis, Fanny.
1986. *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918.* Contributions in Women's Studies, number 70. New York, Westport, Connecticut, London.

Gibb, H. A. R. and Harold Bowen.
1950-57. *Islamic Society and the West,* vol. 1. *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century,* 2 parts. London and New York.

Göçek, Fatma Müğe.
1987. "Turkish painting during the period of Westernization (1700-1850)." in *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century.* New York and Oxford.

Heyd, Uriel.
1961. "The Ottoman 'ulema and westernization," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization,* vol. 9, The Hebrew University: Jerusalem. pp. 63-96.

Hodgson, Marshall G. S.
1977. *The Venture of Islam.* 3 vols. Chicago and London.

Ibn Khaldun.
1967. *Ibn Khaldun: The Muqaddimah.* 3 vols. Bollingen Series 43. 2nd ed. Princeton.

Inalcik, Halil and Donald Quataert.
1996. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914.* Cambridge.

Itzkowitz, Norman.
1972. *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition.* New York.

——1962. "Eighteenth century Ottoman realities," *Studia Islamica* 16, 1962, pp.73-94.

Khan, M. A.
1968. "A diplomat's report on Wahhabism of Arabia." *Islamic Studies* 7. pp. 33-46.

Landau, Jacob M.
1990. "Some comments on the organization of Pan-Islam in the late Ottoman empire," *V Milletlerarasi Türkiye Sosyal ve Iktisat Tarihi Kongresi.* Ankara. pp. 275-280.

Lewis, Bernard.
1966. *The Middle East and the West.* New York.

——1963. *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire.* Norman.

Lewis, Raphaela.
1971. *Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey.* London and New York.

Naffs, Thomas and Roger Owens. (Eds.)
1977. *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History.* Carbondale, Ill.

Niebuhr, C.
1792. *Travels Through Arabia and Other Countries in the East.* 2 vols. trans. Edinburgh.

Penzer, N. M.
1936. *The Harem: An Account of the Institution as it Existed in the Palace of theTurkish Sultans with a History of the Grand Seraglio from Its Foundation to the Present Time.* Philadelphia and London.

Rentz, George.
1948. *Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703/4-1792) and the Beginnings of the Unitarian Empire in Arabia.* unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. University of California.

Rutter, Eldon.
1928. *The Holy Cities of Arabia.* 2 vols. London & New York.

Shaw, Stanford J.
1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* 2 vols. Cambridge.

Shaw, Stanford J.
1971. *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III. 1789-1807.* Cambridge.

Süreyya, Mehmed.
1308/15/1890-97. *Sicill-i Osmani.* 4 vols. Istanbul.

Voll, John.
1982. *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World.* Colorado.

——1975. "Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab: an analysis of an intellectual group in eighteenth-century Medina." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* vol. 38. pp. 32-39.

——1972. "The non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of eighteenth century Syria." *Der Islam* vol. 49. pp. 277-291.

Wehr, Hans.
1976. *Arabic-English Dictionary: The Hans Wehr dictionary of modern written Arabic.* Ed. J. M. Cowan. Ithaca.

Zilfi, Madeline.
1988. *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman 'Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600-1800).* Minneapolis.

Islamic Art

Ahmad b. Mir Munshi al-Husaini, Qadi.
1959. *Calligraphers and Painters.* Tr. V. Minorsky. Washington, D. C.

Aksel, Malik.
1967. *Türklerde dini Resimler.* Istanbul. addenda.

And, Metin
1982. *Turkish Miniature Painting: the Ottoman Period.* revised edition. Istanbul: Dost.

Ardalan, Nader and Laleh Bakhtiar.
1973. *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture.* Chicago and London.

Arnold, Thomas W.
1965. *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture.* New York.

Aslanapa, O.
1971. *Turkish Art and Architecture.* London.

Atasoy, Nurhan.
1976. "The documentary value of the Ottoman miniatures." *IV ème congres international d'art turc: Aix-en-Provence, 1971. Etudes historiques* 3. Provence. pp. 11-17.

----1972. *Türk Minyatur Sanatı Bibliografyası.* Istanbul.

Atasoy, N. & Çağman, F.
1974. *Turkish Miniature Painting.* Istanbul.

Atasoy, N. , Çağman, F., Grube, E. J.
1978. "Topkapı Sarayı collection," *Islamic Painting.* Tokyo.

Atıl, Esin.
1987. "The *Nakkashane."* In *The Age of Suleyman the Magnificent.* Milan, New York. pp. 29-111.

——1986. *Süleymaniye: The Illustrated History of Suleyman the Magnificent.* Washington and New York.

——1980. (ed). "The Art of the Book." In *Turkish art.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. pp. 137-238.

—— 1973. "Ottoman miniature painting under Sultan Mehmed II." *Ars Orientalis* vol. 9. pp. 103-121.

—— 1970. *Surname-i Vehbi, an 18th century Ottoman Book of Festivals.* unpublishe Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan.

——1973. *Turkish Art of the Ottoman Period.* Washington.

Atiyeh, G. N. (ed.)
1995. *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East.* Albany.

Bates, Ülkü.
1989. "Ottoman documents concerning building activities in Mecca and Medina." In *Islamic art: common principles, forms and themes. Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul in April 1983.* Damascus.

Bayrakdar, N.
(n.d.)—— *Catalogue of illustrated Turkish manuscripts in the Süleymaniye Library.* (In Turkish). Istanbul. (in preparation).

Bilgin, O.
1994. "Turkey." in *World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts* vol. 3. ed. G. Roper. Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation (Publication 10). London. pp. 269-400.

Binney, E.
1981. *Turkish treasures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd: 1981 supplement to the 1979 catalogue.* San Diego.

—— 1979. *Turkish treasures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.* Portland.

——1973. *Turkish miniature painting and manuscripts from the collection of E. Binney 3rd.* New York.

Birnbaum, Eleazar.
1989. "An Ottoman printing puzzle: the *Hilye-i Khaqani* of 1264/1848." In *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times. Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis.* Princeton. pp. 433-450.

Bosch, G. et al.
1981. *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking.* Chicago.

Bosch, G.
1961. "The staff of the scribes and implements of the discerning: an excerpt." *Ars Orientalis* 4, pp. 1-13.

Brown, Michelle P.
1994. *Understanding the Illuminated Manuscript.* Malibu.

Burckhardt, Titus.
1976. *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning.* London.

Çağman, F.
1980. "Turkish miniature painting." in *The Art and Architecture of Turkey.* ed. E. Akurgal. New York. pp. 222- 248.

—— 1976. "The place of the Turkish miniature in Islamic art." in*Turkish Contribution to Islamic Arts.* Istanbul. pp. 90-117.

Çağman, F., Tanındı, Z.
1979. *Islamic Miniature Painting.* Istanbul.

—— 1979. *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Islam Minyaturleri.* (Topkapı Sarayı Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting). Istanbul.

Çig, K.
n.d. *Catalogue of illustrated Turkish manuscripts in the Topkapu Museum.* (in Turkish). Istanbul. (in preparation).

Creswell, K. A. C.
1946. "The lawfulness of painting in early Islam." *Ars Islamica* vol. 11-12. pp. 159-66.

De Angelis, M.A. & Lentz, T.W.
1982. *Architecture in Islamic Painting: Permanent and Impermanent Worlds.* Cambridge.

Derman, M. Uğur.
1998. *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakip Sabancı Collection, Istanbul.* New York.

——1995. "Calligraphy." In *The Sabancı Collection.* Trans. Pricilla Mary Işin and Adair Mill. Akbank Culture and Art Publication: 60. Istanbul. pp. 12-179.

Dodd, Erica C. and S. Khairallah.
1981. *The Image of the Word: A Study of Qur'anic Verses in Islamic Architecture.* 2 vols. Beirut.

El-Basha, Hassan.
1988-89. "Ottoman pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madina as historical and documentary sources." *Islamic Art* vol. 3. pp. 227-245.

Emel, Esin.
1989. "The Qur'anic verses and the Hadith as sources of inspiration in Islamic art," *Islamic Art: Common principles, forms and themes,* Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul in April 1983, ed. Ahmed M. Issa and Tahsin O. Tahaoğlu. pp. 73-83.

——1970. "Le developpement heterodoxe de la peinture religieuse Turque Islamique," *Actes du Ve congrés international d'islamisants, correspondance d'orient No. 11.* Brussels.

——1963. *Mecca the Blessed, Medina the Radiant.* New York.

Erol, Turan.
1988. "Painting in Turkey in nineteenth and early twentieth century." in *A History of Turkish Painting.* 2nd ed. Seattle and London. pp. 87-236.

Ettinghausen, Richard.
1974. "Arabic epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation?" *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles.* ed. D. Kouymjian. pp. 297-317.

——1957. "Persian ascension miniatures of the fourteenth century." In *Convegno di scienze morali storiche e filologiche.* Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. pp. 360-383.

Fisher, Carol G.
1984. "A reconstruction of the pictorial cycle of the *Siyar-ı Nabi* of Murad III." *Ars Orientalis* vol. 14. pp. 75-93.

——1981. *The Pictorial Cycle of the Siyer-i Nebi: A Late Sixteenth Century Manuscript of the Life of Muhammad.* Ph.D. dissertation. Michigan State University.

Fisher, A.W. & Garrett Fisher, C.
1985 "A note on the location of the royal Ottoman painting ateliers." *Muqarnas* vol. 3. pp. 118-120.

Fotograflarla Istanbul Kütüphaneleri. (Libraries of Istanbul).
1995. Turkish Librarians Association, Istanbul Branch Publications; 17. Istanbul.

Gibb, Elias John Wilkinson.
1958-63 (reprinted). *A History of Ottoman poetry.* 6 vols. London.

Goldziher, Ignaz.
1912. "The appearance of the Prophet in dreams." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* pp. 503-506.

Golembek, L.
1981 "Some representations of architecture in the Istanbul albums." *Islamic Art* vol. 1. pp. 130-135.

Grabar, Oleg.
1993. "The aesthetics of Islamic art." In *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.* Eds. Ahmet Ertug et. al. Istanbul. pp.xix-xxxvi.

——1987. *The Formation of Islamic Art.* rev. ed. New Haven & London.

——1966. "Earliest commemorative structures," *Ars Orientalis* vol. 3. pp. 33-62.

——1959. "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock." *Ars Orientalis* vol. 3. pp. 33-62.

Grube, E.
1965. "The Siyar-ı Nabi of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library." *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca, Venezia 26-29 Settembre.* Napoli. pp. 149-176.

Habib.
1305/1888. *Hatt u Hattatan.* Istanbul.

Hasan, Perween.
1993. "The footprint of the Prophet." *Muqarnas* vol. 10. pp. 335-343.

Hilmi Efendi, Mustafa (Hakkakzade).
1986. *Mizanul-Hatt.* Istanbul.

Huart, Clement.
1972. *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman.* Osnabruck.

Inal, Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal.
1954. *Son Hattatlar.* Istanbul.

Issa, Andre.
1990. "Islamic religious painting and the Christian icon," *Sacred Art Journal,* vol. 11. (December). pp. 145-151.

Karatay, F.
1961. *Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Topkapı palace museum library. Topkapı Yazmalar kütüphanesi kataloğu.* 2 vols. Istanbul.

Khatibi, Abdelkebir and Mohammed Sijelmassi.
1977. *The Splendour of Islamic Calligraphy.* Tr. James Hughes. New York.

Krenkow, Fritz.
1912. "The Tarikh Baghdad of the Khatib Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Thabit al-Baghdadi." Appendix: "The appearance of the Prophet in dreams." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* pp. 77-79.

Lavoix, H.
1859. "Les Peintures musulmans." *Revue de l"orient, de l'Algerie, et des colonies* vol. 9. pp. 353-69.

Lewis, Bernard.
1976. "An epistle on manual crafts,"*Studies in classical and Ottoman Islam (7th - 16th centuries).* London. 1976. pp. 142-152.

Lings, Martin.
1976. *The Qur'anic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination.* London.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein.
1991. "The spirituality of Islamic art." in *Islamic Spirituality.* ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr. World Spirituality, vol. 20. New York.

——1987. *Islamic Art and Spirituality.* Ipswich.

Margoliouth, David.
1937. "Relics of the Prophet Muhammad." *Muslim World,* 27. pp. 20-27.

Memnon, Muhammad Umar.
1976. *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle against Popular Religion.* The Hague and Paris.

Milstein, Rachel.
1991. "Stories of the prophets and their illustration in Islamic mysticism." In *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting.* Na'ama Brosh and Rachel Milstein. pp. 20-42.

Milstein, R. & Brosh, N.
1984. *Islamic Painting in the Israel Museum.* Jerusalem.

Muhsin, Mahdi.
1995. "From the manuscript age to the age of the printed book." in *The Book in the Islamic World.* Ed. George Attiyeh. New York.

Mustakimzade, Sülaiman Sa'duddin.
1928. *Tuhfe-i hattatin.* Ed. Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal. Istanbul.

Pedersen, Johannes.
1984. *The Arabic Book.* Tr. G. French. Princeton.

Qadi Ahmad.
1959. *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir-Munshi.* tr. V. Minorsky. Washington.

Raby, J. and Tanındı, Zeren.
1993. *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style.* Ed. T. Stanley. London.

Rado, Sevket.
n.d. (1984).*Türk Hattatları.* Istanbul.

Renda, Günsel.
1993. *Woman in Anatolia: 9000 years of the Anatolian woman.* Istanbul: T.C. Ministry of Culture General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.

----1988. "Turkish miniature painting: the Ottoman period." in *A History of Turkish Painting.* 2nd ed. Seattle and London. pp. 16-86.

----1977. "Turkish painting during the period of Westernization (1700-1850)." in *Batililasma Doneminde Türk Resim Sanati 1700-1850.* Ankara.

Rieu, C.
1888. *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum.* London.

Robertson, Edward.
1920. "Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman on calligraphy." *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* vol. 1. (University of Glasgow Oriental Society). pp. 57-83.

Robinson, Francis.
1993. "Technology and religious change: Islam and the impact of print." *Modern Asian Studies* vol. 27, no. 1. pp. 229-51.

Rogers, J. M.
1996. *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Collection of Nasser D. Khalili.* London.

-----1970. "The genesis of Safawid religious painting." *Iran* vol. 8. pp. 125-139.

Safadi, Yasin H.
1978. *Islamic Calligraphy.* London.

Schimmel, Annemarie.
1984. *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture.* New York.

Schmitz, Barbara.
1992. *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library.* New York.

Seguy, Marie Rose.
1977. *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: Miraj-Nameh (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Suppl. Turc 190).* New York.

Serin, Muhittin.
1992. *Hattat şeyh Hamdullah.* Istanbul.

Sims, E. G.
1978. "The Turks and illustrated historical texts." paper read at the *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art. Budapest, 1975.* ed. G. Feher. Budapest.

Soucek, Priscilla P.
1988. "The life of the Prophet: illustrated versions," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World.* Papers from a Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2-4 April 1980. Ed. P. Soucek. University Park and London. pp. 193-209.

Stchoukine, I. & Edem, H.
1933. *Les Manuscrits Orientaux Illustres de la Bibliothéque de l'Universite de Stamboul.* Paris.

Tanındı, Zeren.
1993. "Manuscript production in the Ottoman palace workshop." *Manuscripts of the Middle East.* 5/1990-91. pp. 67-98.

Tezhip SanatindaTiğ.
1991. T.C. Kültür Bakanliği, Milli Kütüphane Baskanliği. Ankara.

Venoit, Stephen.
1997. *Occidentalism: Islamic Art in the Nineteenth Century*. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art vol. xxiii. Oxford and New York.

Wagtendonk, Kees.
1987. "Images in Islam: discussion of a paradox." *Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions.* ed. Dirk van der Plas. Leiden. pp. 112-127.

Welch, Anthony .
1997. "The Shrine of the Holy Footprint in Delhi." *Muqarnas* vol. 14. pp. 166-178.

.....1979. *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World.* Austin.

Welch, Anthony and Stuart Cary Welch.
1982. *Arts of the Islamic Book.* Ithaca and London.

Zygulski, Zdzislaw Jr.
1992. *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire.* New York and London.

APPENDIX I

A Catalogue of Manuscripts

Catalogue #1 - R70, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 698/1298),[1] for the treasury of the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'sim (r. 640-656/1242-1258).[2]
dated: 690/1291.

Thick, cream-coloured paper. 71 folios. 26.5 x 17.5 cm. 7 lines. *Sülüs* and *nesih.* [3] Black and white ink, with gold and blue *tezhip*,[4] or illumination. Brown leather binding. **(figure 1.1)**.

By the late Ottoman period the *En'am-ı şerif* had become a heavily illustrated manuscript with calligraphic as well as pictorial imagery. However, manuscripts known simply as *En'am* were being produced as early as the final years of the Abbasid empire. The earliest *En'am* were slim volumes of *khatt*, or "beautiful writing," containing selected chapters of the Qur'an, especially the sixth chapter, *Surah al-An'am.*[5]

The first manuscript in our study, **TSM R70** was written in *sülüs* and *nesih* by Yaqut al-Musta'simi, the last of the great Abbasid calligraphers in Baghdad.

---

[1]See Appendix II: "Biographies of calligraphers, patrons and collectors."
[2]See Appendix II.
[3]As this manuscript was produced in the Ottoman Empire and uses both Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, I have chosen to use the mixed terminology used by Ottoman calligraphers.
[4]The Ottoman Turkish word *tezhip* means "gilding." I use the word illumination to refer specifically to the non-representational form of manuscript embellishment, and not to representational images, or illustrations (either calligraphic or otherwise).
[5]Some *En'am* consist entirely of *Surah al-An'am*, while others include a selection of surahs. Over time, the number of surahs included in the *En'am* increased dramatically, with late eighteenth-century versions containing as much as one-third of the Qur'an.

Known as the Sultan of Calligraphers, Yaqut was responsible for the development of the *aklam-ı sitte,* the "six scripts,"[6] and is known as the founder of later Ottoman calligraphy. *Sülüs,* used here for the chapter headings and the central line of each page, was considered the *ümmü'l-hat,* the mother of all writing, whose "round and taut style of characters gives the greatest scope to calligraphers where variety of forms and the creation of decorative compositions are concerned."[7] Legibility made *nesih* the script of choice for Ottoman calligraphers writing the Qur'an, and it was the first typeface to be used by Turkish printers.[8]

f. 1. Dedication medallion. **(figure 1. 2)**

An oval shaped cartouche bearing a white ink inscription in *sülüs,* outlined in gold on a blue background. The seal is surrounded by a thin red line, gold braiding and outlined in a fine blue ink. The seal identifies the manuscript as belonging to the treasury of al-Musta'sim, the last Abbasid caliph. There appears to be a discrepancy between the caliph's date of death in 656/1258, and the date of the production of this manuscript, making it unlikely that al-Must'sim was the actual patron.

ff. 1v-71. Surahs: *al-Fatiha, al-An'am, al-Kahf, Saba,* and *Fatir.*

From the opening *serlevha,*[9] the elegance of Yaqut's hand is strikingly displayed against a background of blue and gold illumination. **(figure 1. 3)** The *unvans*[10] have been written in *sülüs,* using a white ink on a blue, cartouche-

---

[6]The six scripts are *sülüs, nesih, muhakkak, reyhani, tevki'* and *rıka.*
[7]Uğur Derman, p. 24.
[8]Uğur Derman, p. 26. For an important discussion of the significance of the use of cursive script in Qur'anic calligraphy see Yasser Tabbaa's "The transformation of Arabic writing: Part 1, Qur'anic calligraphy," in *Ars Orientalis* 21, 1991, pp. 119-148.
[9]A *serlevha* is a double-page illumination.
[10]Refers to a rectangular panel of illumination that may appear above or below an image. The *unwan* itself may contain information such as the title of the accompanying image or text, or a brief explanation of its contents.

shaped background that has been outlined in gold. The *unvans* themselves are bordered with golden leaves, and gold braiding frames the composition. On either side of the frames, reaching into the margins, golden and white arabesques play upon a triangular-shaped base of blue. Round margin ornaments containing golden leaves are etched in the same blue ink. Simple, round verse markers complete the design. The text is written in three lines, the middle line is larger and in *sülüs*, the smaller top and bottom lines are in *nesih.*

f. 71. Colophon. **(figure 1. 4)**

The colophon is written in *sülüs* at the bottom of folio 71, following the final lines of *Surah Fatir.* It reads: "Written by Yaqut al-Musta'simi, may God forgive him." The colophon's illumination is similar to that of the chapter headings. Folio 70v is typical of the remaining pages of the manuscript, with seven lines to the page, the centre line being inscribed in the larger *sülüs.*

Catalogue #2 - Nuri Arlasez 245, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (833-1429/926-1520).[11]
date: unknown.[12]

Water-stained, medium weight, cream-coloured paper. 30 folios. 23.5 x 15 cm. 8 lines per page. *Nesih.* Black ink, with gold, blue and red illumination. Red leather *şemse kap*, or binding, stamped and embossed with hand-carved dies, and gilded. **(figure 2. 1)**

Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi, the artist responsible for the next three manuscripts in our study, had a profound effect upon the history of Ottoman calligraphy. Şeyh Hamdullah, who was known as the *"kıblt'ül-küttab*, or "the most favoured of scribes,"[13] developed a new style, based upon Yaqut's *aklam-ı sitte*, that became widely known as the "Şeyh Manner." Sultan Bayezid II himself was Şeyh Hamdullah's patron. Many, if not most of the *silsilas*[14] of later Ottoman calligraphers include the name of Şeyh Hamdullah.

In the twentieth century, this *En'am* was owned by Nuri Arlasez (b. 1910), one of modern Turkey's foremost manuscript collectors. Arlasez embraced collecting with a passion, never selling anything - even when faced with poverty. Arlasez's interest in manuscripts developed after Attatürk abolished the use of the Arabic script in favour of the Romanization of the Turkish alphabet. Arlasez's ability to identify a particular calligrapher's hand was legendary. He once had the good fortune of discovering a manuscript in the streets of Istanbul

---

[11]See Appendix II.
[12]Published in Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Türk Hat Üstadları 2, Istanbul. 1992. p. 95.
[13]Uğur Derman, p. 70. The *qibla* is the direction of Mecca, and the Ka'ba to which all Muslims turn in prayer.
[14]A calligrapher's *icazet*, or document of permission to teach and practice his or her craft, includes a *silsila*, or list of the names of one's teachers, and teacher's teachers. For an interesting example of a collection of typical *silsilas* see Mustafa Hilmi's *Mizanü'l-hatt*, Osmanlı Yayınevi: Istanbul, 1266/1849 (facsimile edition 1986).

that turned out to have been the work of Şeyh Hamdullah himself.[15] Arlasez's entire manuscript collection was donated to the Süleymaniye, where Şeyh Hamdullah's *En'am*, **Nuri Arlasez 245**, is located today.

ff. 1v-29v. *Surah al-An'am.*

The rectangular-shaped surah heading of the *unvan sahifesi*[16] is inscribed in white ink on a gold background. **(figure 2. 2)** Golden, floral arabesques decorated with tiny red buds ripple across a background of gold and blue, surrounded by a blue border. The rulings are gold and blue, and the fine blue ink lines above the heading contain rosebud shapes as well as the geometric motifs more typical of the sixteenth century.

f. 29v. Colophon.[17] **(figure 2. 3)**

---

[15] *Dergah*, September 1995, no. 67, pp. 12-13, 16.

[16] The *unvan sahifesi* is the elaborately illuminated first page of a prayer books. Unlike the double-paged illumination known as the *serlevha*, the *unvan sahifesi* refers to the embellishment of only the verso of the first page.

[17] Colophons, or *ketebehu* (literally: "he wrote,"), usually consist of formulaic prayers, the calligrapher's name, and sometimes the date and place of the manuscript's production. Where this information is available, I have included it at the beginning of each catalogue entry. Although their location has been noted, the colophon's themselves have not been translated as the pertinent information has already appeared in the catalogue heading.

Catalogue #3 - Ayasofya 19/1 M, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (d. 926/1520).[18]
date: 897/1491-92.[19]

Light, cream-coloured paper with faint horizontal marks. 21 folios. 15.7 x 10.5 cm. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Gold, blue and red illumination. Brown leather binding with *mıkleb*, or flap. **(figure 3. 1)**

ff. 1v-21. *Surah al-An'am.*

Unfortunately, this manuscript has suffered some damage, and the *unvan sahifesi* **(figure 3. 2)** has been stained, perhaps with ink. The surah heading is written in golden *sülüs* across a dark blue background, laced with a lighter blue *rumi* arabesque. Above the heading, the illumination turns to gold against a blue background with red buds on a golden arabesque. Red ink alternates with blue in the finials above, and the rulings are gold, blue and red. To the right of the text is a golden, oval-shaped margin ornament, covered in flowers.

f. 21v. Colophon. **(figure 3. 3)**

---

[18]See Appendix II.
[19]Published in Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Türk Hat Üstadları 2, Istanbul. 1992. p. 94.

Catalogue #4- Ali Emiri Arabı 10, Fatih Millet Library, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.[20]
date: sixteenth century.[21]

Cream coloured paper. 130 folios. 16.5 x 11.7 cm. 5 lines per page (ff. 1-114) and 3 lines per page (f. 115 to f. 130.). *Nesih* and *sülüs hubari*. The *tezhip* is gold, blue, white, and red, with some pricking. Gold and blue border. Red leather *şemse* binding with a *mıkleb*. **(figure 4. 1)**

Ali Emiri Efendi[22] donated his entire collection of sixteen thousand books and manuscripts, many of them rare and important, including this *En'am* by the hand of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi, to the Fatih Millet Library in Istanbul, where they remain today.

f. 1-117. Surahs *al-Fatiha, al-An'am, Ya Sin, Mulk, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas, Fatiha.*

This *unvan sahifesi*, featuring *Surah al-Fatiha*, is the first to be decorated with what will become a typical, and perhaps the most striking of the *tezhip* motifs, the illuminated arch-shape,[23] above the surah heading. In addition to this elegant blue and gold dome the illumination includes geometric blue finials, floral arabesques and *rumis*.

f. 119. *Du'a* for the sighting of the crescent moon.

---

[20]See Appendix II.
[21]Published in Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Türk Hat Üstadları 2, Istanbul. 1992. p. 97.
[22]See Appendix II.
[23]This arch-shape suggests a number of elements: a dome, a mihrab, or even the primordial earth mound with flowers springing from it. See Cat. #6, **figure 6. 2**, the opening *serlevha* of **H. Husnu Paşa 103**, ff. 1v-2, for an image of a similar motif.

f. 124v - *Du'a* for Ashura. Red ink instructions note purpose of prayers, and give instructions to take ritual ablution before reading the prayer of Ashura.[24]

f. 130. Colophon. **(figure 4. 2)**

[24]This particular translation was graciously provided by Mehmed Taysi, director of the Fatih Millet Library.

Catalogue #5 - EH 307, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah (d. 1001/1593).[25]
date: 956/1549.

Light, cream-coloured paper. 41 folios. 20 x 15 cm. 7 lines per page. *Nesih.* Gold, blue and green illumination.

Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah was the grandson of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.

ff. 1v-41. *Surah al-An'am.* **(figure 5. 1)**

In this manuscript the artist has decorated the *unvan sahifesi* with an unusual whirling pattern containing blue circles on a gold background. The whirls seem to be emanating from a central golden cartouche. A border of green surrounds the uninscribed surah heading. The blue finials above the *unvan* are somewhat geometric, and more typical of the period.

According to traditional Ottoman practices, after the illumination was finished, the manuscript was returned to the calligrapher (if it was not one and the same individual) who would complete it by writing in the names of the surahs, *cüz*,[26] and other indicators.[27] As the surah headings of this manuscript are uninscribed, and as the *tezhip* is unusual for this period, it is possible that the manuscript was illuminated at a later (perhaps even much later) date.

---

[25]See Appendix II.
[26]Division, or part. The Qur'an is traditionally divided into 30 parts or *juz*.
[27]Uğur Derman, p. 38.

Catalogue #6 - H. Husnu Paşa 103, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah.[28] dated: 956/1549.

Cream coloured paper with horizontal marking. 120 folios. 16 x 11.5 cm. 9 lines per page. *Nesih.* Gold, blue, white and red illumination. Brown leather *şemse* binding with gold stamping. **(figure 6. 1)**

ff. 1v-119. *Surahs al-Fatiha, al-An'am, al-Kahf, Saba, Fatir,Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Qiyamat* and the *amme cüz'ü,* or last section of the Qur'an.

The Qur'an is divided into thirty *juz,* (*cüz* in Ottoman Turkish), or sections. The *amme cüz'ü,* the thirtieth and last section, is comprised of short surahs, most of them revealed in the early part of the Prophet's career at Mecca. These Meccan surahs speak frequently of the Oneness of God and the importance of belief. After *Surah al-Fatiha* and the *Ayat al-kursi,* the *amme cüz'ü* is typically the first section to be read and memorized by children learning the Qur'an.

This manuscript is somewhat unusual as both of its first pages are illuminated. **(figure 6. 2)** The double *unvans* are written in white ink on a gold background, surrounded by a blue and gold field across which float a golden spray of floral arabesques decorated with tiny white and red flowers. A blue border with golden dots surrounds the intricate design, while above the heading a gold and blue dome is covered with the same flowers. The borders are ruled with gold and blue, while the geometric-shaped finials are etched in blue.

---

[28]See Appendix II.

f. 120. *Du'a* and colophon. **(figure 6. 3)**

Catalogue #7 - EH 355, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Hüseyin Şah (Hüsameddin) ibn Abdullah,[29] for his patron, Sultan Süleyman ibn Selim.[30]
dated: 965/1557.[31]

Light cream paper. 21 folios. 18.5 x 12 cm. 11 lines per page. Gold, blue, and red illumination. *Nesih.* Elegant, brown leather *şemse kap* binding with a *mıkleb.* The finely worked leather has been embossed and gilded. A floriated arabesque with *rumis* covers the binding's border and central medallion. **(figure 7. 1)**

This manuscript once belonged to Sultan Süleyman ibn Selim, known to the Ottomans as *kanuni*, the lawgiver, but to the West as Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 926-974/1520-1566). During the sixteenth century, Qur'anic illumination was at its finest and most elaborate. After the calligrapher had completed the writing of the text, teams of specialists from the *nakışhane*, the palace's atelier of illuminators and miniaturists, laboured to produce the highest quality of work. In this case, the calligrapher was Şeyh Hamdullah's appointed successor, Hüseyin Şah.

ff. 1v-21. *Surah al-An'am.*

The golden medallion in the centre of the *unvan sahifesi* is uninscribed. **(figure 7. 2)** The central medallion and two smaller, side medallions are ringed in blood-red. The royal-blue background is covered in a golden arabesque with tiny pink and blue flowers and golden *rumis.* A blue dome atop the *unvan* contains the same motifs with blue, flower-like finials above on a background of

---

[29]See Appendix II.
[30]See Appendix II.
[31] Published in Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Istanbul, 1992. (image of ff. 1v-2r on p. 6).

golden stars. Golden embellishments on each side of the dome are defined by lines of blue tracery. The letter *sin* of the *bismillah* has been embellished with a tiny garden of red and blue flowers.

f. 21v. Colophon.

Catalogue #8 - EH 324, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Hafiz Osman (1052-1110/1642-1698).[32]
dated: 1080/1669-70.

Light cream paper. 39 folios. 19.3 x 13 cm. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* The colours of the illumination are predominantly gold and blue, with green, orange, pink and white flowers. Ruled borders of green and gold. Red leather binding with *mıkleb.* The binding is baroque in style, having been stamped in gold, then painted with peach, pink and blue flowers with green leaves. **(figure 8. 1)**

Hafiz Osman was among the greatest of the Ottoman calligraphers. There are two manuscripts in this study by his hand. This, the first of the two manuscripts, was written before 1088/1678, the date he began working in the style for which he became famous.

ff. 1v-38v. *Surahs al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, Mulk, al-Nabaa, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas.*

Both folios of the *unvan sahifesi* have been illuminated with a golden *beyne's-sutur,*[33] or gilt surround. **(figure 8. 2)** The central medallion bearing the heading for *Surah al-An'am* is inscribed with white ink. In the background, a diagonal cross of midnight blue is carpeted with tiny peach and white flowers and orange buds. The interstices of the surah heading are filled with gold and a flowery netting of pink, green and orange. Borders of blue, red and white, and black and white surround the heading. The illumination above the heading continues the same motifs. The illumination is bordered on the top by blue and gold floriated finials rising up over waves of gold. Oval-shaped margin

---

[32]See Appendix II.
[33]Meaning "between the lines."

ornaments on each page repeat the colour scheme of the main area: gold is the primary colour, highlighted with midnight blue, pink and a touch of blood-red.

f. 39. Colophon. **(figure 8. 3)**

Catalogue #9 - EH 322, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Hafiz Osman.[34]
dated: 1092/1681.

Light cream paper. 66 folios. 19 x 12.5 cm. 10 lines per page. *Nesih.* Illumination is predominantly gold and blue, with pink, white and blue flowers and red buds.

Hafiz Osman wrote this manuscript three years after he began working in the style for which he became famous. In addition to the change in calligraphic style, this is the first manuscript in our study to be referred to as an *En-am-ı şerif* because of the inclusion of the *asma' al-husna,* or ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God, the *asma al-nabi,* or ninety-nine names of the Prophet, as well as a *hilye şerif,* or textual "image" describing Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics.[35] Hafiz Osman was the first to write the *hilye* in the form of a *levha,*[36] as we see it here.

ff. 1v-60v. Surahs *al-An'am, Ya-Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas,* and *Fatiha,* followed by a *du'a* to be recited after reading the Qur'an.

The surah heading of the *unvan sahifesi* has been inscribed in *sülüs* using white ink on a golden cartouche. **(figure 9. 1)** The heading is surrounded by a carpet of tiny white, pink, red and pale blue flowers on a background of midnight blue and gold. Above the heading rises a golden dome with floral

---

[34]See Appendix II.
[35]For a discussion of the *hilye* and their role in these manuscripts, see Chapter Three.
[36]*Levha,* according to Uğur Derman, were calligraphic compositions that were popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These *levha* were intended to be read as well as to serve a decorative function, and were most often framed and hung upon interior walls. (p. 53) Until this point, the *hilye* had simply been written on a piece of paper and carried as a *ta'viz,* or protective amulet.

finials etched in blue. A band of gold braiding surrounds the upper part of the *unvan.* The golden elements have been pricked in order to catch the light.

f. 61. Colophon. **(figure 9. 2)**

It is significant that in this manuscript the colophon has been placed immediately after the Qur'anic surahs. It would seem that at least at this early stage, it was important to differentiate between the sacred text and the calligraphic "images" that followed.

ff. 61v-63. The *asma' al-husna,* or Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God. **(figures 9. 3** and **9. 4)**

The Names are inscribed in the traditional order as narrated in a hadith narrated by Abu Huraira: "From Abu Huraira, who said that he heard the Prophet, peace be upon him, say: 'God Almighty has ninety-nine Names, one hundred minus one, Single. Whoever mentions them will enter Paradise.'"[37]

ff. 63v-65. The *asma' al-nabi,* or names of the Prophet Muhammad. **(figures 9. 5** and **9. 6)**

The names are preceeded by a hadith of explanation as narrated by 'Ali (ff. 63-63v). Visually, the Prophet's names are afforded a treatment that is identical to those of God, with golden verse stops between each name.

ff. 65v-66. *Hilye şerif.* **(figure 9. 7)**

Two golden circles contain the text of this *hilye,* each circle is surrounded by four semi-circles containing the names of the four *rashidun* caliphs: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, and the phrase, "may Allah Almighty be pleased with them all." Pale green blossoms and golden arabesques surround the circles. An exquisite tension between text and white space is punctuated by golden verse

---

[37] *Sahih Muslim* (Book of *dhikr).*

stops.[38] The top *unvans* read: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful,"* and *"We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures."*[39] The text of the *hilye* is written in Arabic. It reads:

> "He has a large forehead. His beard is very thick. (He is) wide-eyed. It is said that his complexion is white. It is said that his appearance is pleasing. Smooth cheeked. His nose is aqualine. His chest is broad. His face and beard are round. It is said that his forehead is wide. Of long hands, perfect shape. Medium height and weight. His body is hairless except for a line of hair rising from his chest to his navel. And between his shoulders the Seal of Prophethood: a layer of flesh (forming the words) 'Muhammad is the Prophet of God.' Send blessings and peace upon the Prophet for the sake of the holiness of (surah) *al-Fatiha."*

The bottom *unvans* read: "Oh God, send peace and blessings upon the Prophet of Mercy," and "(He is) the intercessor for the nation of Muhammad and his pure family."

---

[38]In describing the difference between the work of Şeyh Hamdullah and Hafiz Osman, Uğur Derman refers to the "relatively greater purity" of the latter. See Uğur Derman, p. 28.
[39]21:107.

Catalogue #10 - Yazma Bagislar 265, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Hasan Üsküdarı (d. 1145/1732).[40]
date: unknown.

Medium cream paper with a faint, horizontal line marking. 69 folios. 17 x 11.5 cm. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Illumination is predominantly gold, with blue, red, pink, and white accents.

One of Hafiz Osman's foremost pupils was Hasan Üsküdarı. Unlike his teacher's *En'am-ı şerif,*[41] here Hasan Üsküdarı has included non-Qur'anic material prior to his *ketebehu,*[42] or signature. **Yazma Bagislar 265** contains the *asma' al-husna* and the *hilye* of the Prophet Muhammad as well as several pages of *du'a,* or supplications, and an *evrad-ı şerif,* or daily litany of prayers recited only by those members of the various Sufi orders who had received their shaykh's permission to recite. The inclusion of an *evrad* indicates that the patron was likely to have been an initiated Sufi.

ff. 1v-48. Surahs: *al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Takathur, al-Asr, al-Humaza, al-Quraish, al-Fil, al-Ma'un, al-Kauthar, al-Kafirun, al-Nasr, al-Tabat, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas* .

The *unvan sahifesi* consists of a simple dome shape with floriated blue finials above the surah heading. **(figure 10. 1)** The golden dome is covered with an arabesque of pink, red, white, yellow and blue flowers. The surah heading is written in white ink on a golden cartouche surrounded by clusters of red flowers.

ff. 48v-49v. The *asma' al-husna* **(figure 10. 2)**

---

[40]See Appendix II.
[41]See Cat. # 9, **EH 322.**
[42]Meaning: so-and-so "wrote this."

ff. 49v-51. A *hilye şerif.* **(figures 10. 3 and 10. 4)**

The *hilye* may not be considered an "image" as it consists of simple lines of text. The *unvan* at the bottom of f. 49v reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text itself is in Arabic and reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures.*[43] And this is his ['Ali's] description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. He had a large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless. He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people. He was the noblest of human company. Whoever saw him from afar stood awed by him. Whoever shared familiarity with him loved him. Whoever tries to describe him says: 'such as he was never seen before or after. Transmitted by Tirmidhi (*rawa'hu al-Tirmidhi)* in *Mishkat al-Masabih."*[44]

The *unvan* at the bottom of f. 50v reads: "There is no power and no strength except with God Almighty." The text at the top of f. 51 is written in Turkish. It reads: "Whoever writes this *hilye* and looks at it, God will protect them from evil. Amen."

ff. 51-54v. *Du'a.*

---

[43]21:107.

[44]*Mishkat al-Masabih* is a compendium of cannonical and other hadith written by Abu Muhammad al-Hussain b. Mas'ud b. Muhammad al-Farra al-Baghawi (d. 516 or 510 A.H.) and revised by Wali al-Din Muhammad b. 'Abdallah al-Khatib al-Tibrizi in 737 A.H.

ff. 55-62. *Evrad-ı şerif*. **(figure 10. 5)**

ff. 62v. Colophon. **(figure 10. 6)**

ff. 63-69. *Du'a*.

Catalogue #11 - EH 365, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Mehmed Hocazade (d. 1106/1695),[45] illuminated by Salih in the year 1144/1731-32.
(originally dated: 1094/1682-3).

Various coloured paper, gold floral margin ornamentation. 101 folios. 16.5 x 11cm. 9 lines per page. *Nesih.* The text was illuminated fifty years after its inscription, with a lavish use of gold, red, and blue. The red leather binding is beautifully stamped, and possibly dates to the early 1730s.

This is the first *En'am-ı şerif* to feature architectural, as well as pictorial or representational imagery. **TSM EH 365** was originally written as an *En'am* in the late seventeenth century by Hocazade Mehmed, a well-known calligrapher whose teacher, Suyolcuzade Mustafa Eyyubi (d. 1097/1686),[46] also taught Hafiz Osman.[47] Fifty years later, **TSM EH 365** was transformed into an *En'am-ı şerif* when Hocazade Mehmed's text was illuminated and illustrated by a man named Salih. In the Ottoman world, a thriving industry surrounded the reparation, restoration and binding of manuscripts. It is possible that the changes to **TSM EH 365** took place as a result of either a reparation or restoration. However, as the text itself is in remarkably good shape, the pages remaining strong and supple, there appears to have been little if any reason for the manuscript to have undergone repairs. It is more likely that the work of a well-known calligrapher such as Hocazade Mehmed may have been purchased or commissioned by a collector as an investment and left unilluminated, perhaps even unbound until the later date.[48]

---

[45]See Appendix II.
[46]See Appendix II.
[47]The two men even shared the same calligraphy teacher. See Uğur Derman, p. 76.
[48]The *ketebehu*'s appearance on the last folio of this text, f. 107, **(figure 11. 13)**, indicates the complete (although not necessarily finished) nature of the manuscript and suggests the latter

Salih was the first artist in this study to include an image of the Ka'ba (f. 80) **(figure 11.11)**[49] as well as an image of the mark found between the Prophet Muhammad's shoulders, the *khatam al-nubuwwat*, or Seal of Prophethood (f. 78). **(figure 11. 9)** He was also the first to include an image of the *Muhr al-sahab al-kahf*, or the Seal of the Seven Sleepers, f. 80v. **(figure 11. 12)** The appearance here of these talismanic images is evidence of the *En'am-ı şerif*'s increasing importance as a ritual object whose primary function was as a conduit of prophetic and saintly *baraka*. [50]

Another significant first noted in this important *En'am-ı şerif* is the inclusion of the *hilyes* of the other prophets with an accompanying Ottoman Turkish text. While later *En'am-ı şerif* will use Ottoman Turkish for the description of Muhammad himself,[51] in **TSM EH 365** the Prophet's *hilye şerif* (ff. 75v-77) **(figures 11. 7** and **11. 8)** continues to be written in its original Arabic, virtually the same hadith taken from Tirmidhi's *Mishkat al-Masabih* that was used by Hasan Üsküdarı in his **Yazma Bagislar 265** (Cat. #10).[52]

ff. 1v-65. Surahs: *al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, Al-Nabaa, al-Takathur, al-Kafirun, al-Nasr, al-Lahab, Falaq, Nas,* and *Fatiha,* followed by first five verses of *Surah al-Baqara* and other selected verses of Qur'an.

ff. 65v-69. The *asma' al-husna.*

ff. 69v-77. Circular *hilyes* of the prophets: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isma'il, Issac, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, Aaron, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad.

---

scenario.

[49]For a discussion of the miniature paintings of the *En'am-ı şerif* see Chapter Four.

[50]For further discussion of the role played by such talismanic images see Chapter Three.

[51]See, for example the *hilye şerif* found in Cat. #15, **Halet Efendi 5**, ff. 43v-45, **(figures 15. 4, 15. 5,** and **15. 6)**, dated 1173/1759-60, is in Arabic with an Ottoman Turkish translation in red ink.

[52]ff. 49v-51. **(figures 10. 3** and **10. 4)**

Each *hilye* consists of five lines of Ottoman Turkish text encircled by a background of varying ornamentation. The *unvans* have been left blank. Normally, the written text would have been illuminated by a master of *tezhip* and his or her apprentices,[53] then returned to the calligrapher for the final touches before being bound. As this manuscript was apparently written some fifty years before it was illuminated and illustrated by Salih, perhaps the *unvans* were intentionally left blank, as a mark of respect for the original calligrapher whose job it should have been to inscribe them after the illuminator had completed his work.

f. 69v-70. The *hilye* of Adam and Noah. **(figure 11. 1)**

> "The Most Honourable Adam, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a ruddy complexion. He had big eyes. He was very tall. His chest was broad."
>
> "The Most Honourable Noah, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a pale complexion. He had curly hair. He had brown eyes. He had a small beard.

f. 70v-71. The *hilye* of Abraham and Isma'il. **(figure 11. 2)**

> "The Most Honourable Abraham, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was white. His eyes were pale. His nose was beautiful. His forehead was high. He had a white beard.

---

[53] Although their numbers were admittedly few, there were women calligraphers and illuminators in the late Ottoman empire.

"The Most Honourable Isma'il, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a pale complexion with ruddy cheeks. He had a spiritual light in his face. He was of good character, and he was humble.

f. 71v-72. The *hilye* of Issac and Lot. **(figure 11. 3)**

"The Most Honourable Issac, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a pale complexion with ruddy cheeks. He was very humble, so much so that his head hung to one side.

"The Most Honourable Lot, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He was dark brown. He had very beautiful hair. He was righteous. He had a very beautiful face.

f. 72v-73. The *hilye* of Jacob and Joseph. **(figure 11. 4)**

"The Most Honourable Jacob, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was white and red. His lower lip was full. He had a mole on his face."

"The Most Honourable Joseph, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was ruddy. He had a long neck. He had big eyes. He was beardless. He had a very beautiful face.

f. 73v-74. The *hilye* of Aaron and Moses. **(figure 11. 5)**

"The Most Honourable Aaron, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He was brown-skinned. He had beautiful hair. He was righteous. He had a beautiful face.

"The Most Honourable Moses, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His beard was black. His appearance was stern. His lips were full. He was righteous.

f. 74v-75. The *hilye* of David and Jesus. **(figure 11. 6)**

"The Most Honourable David, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was ruddy. His eyebrows were slim. His stomache was big. His face was sensitive. His character was forgiving.

"The Most Honourable Jesus, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was beautiful. His face was white. His eyes were beautiful. His height was proportioned. His face was beautiful.

f. 75v-77. The Prophet Muhammad's *hilye şerif*, written in Arabic. **(figures 11. 7** and **11. 8)**

This *hilye* is almost identical to that found in the previous manuscripts: **Yazma Bagislar 265** (Cat. #10), ff. 49v-50 **(figures 10.3** and **10. 4)** and **EH 371** (Cat. #17), ff. 105v-106 **(figures 17. 2** and **17. 3)**. Visually, the *hilye* is indistinguishable from those of the earlier prophets in this manuscript.

"From 'Ali, may God Almighty be pleased with him. This is his description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. He had a large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless. He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful

> of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people. He was the noblest of human company. Whoever saw him from afar stood awed by him. Whoever shared familiarity with him loved him. Whoever tries to describe him says: 'such as he was never seen before or after. From *Mishkat al-Masabih.*"[54]

f. 77v-78. The Seal of Prophethood, and the *hilye* of Abu Bakr. **(figure 11. 9)**

The image on the right is the first example of what will become a ubiquitous feature of the *En'am-ı şerif*, the *khatam al-nubuwwat*, or the Seal of Prophethood. An inscribed, tear-shaped seal rests upon a bower of pink roses. The text reads: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God. God is One, no partners has He. Anywhere you [the Prophet Muhammad] turn, you will be victorious."

On the left, the *hilye* of Abu Bakr. This *hilye* and those of 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali. which follow are similar (eg. variety of illumination) to the previous *hilyes*, with the exception that these include Turkish translations along with the Arabic text.

> "Abu Bakr, the Truthful, may God be pleased with him. He was a tall man. He was without much meat (slim). His face was white. His face was so thin that his bones protruded. He did not have much hair."

f. 78v-79. The *hilye* of 'Umar and 'Uthman. **(figure 11. 10)**

> 'Umar, who distinguishes truth from falsehood, may God be pleased with him. His face was tanned and his body was white. He was tall and heavy-set. His hair was thinning, bald on top. He had a beautiful face. His eyes were red.

---

[54]The text itself cites Tirmidhi's hadith.

> 'Uthman, the compiler of the Qur'an, may God be pleased with him. He had a beautiful face. He was brown-skinned. He had a lot of hair. His beard was thick.

f. 79v-80. The *hilye* of 'Ali, and a miniature image of the *Ka'ba* at Mecca. . **(figure 11. 11)**

The *hilye* on the right reads:

> 'Ali, may God be pleased with him. He was dark-brown. He was of medium height. He had a lot of body hair. He had a large beard.

In the image on the left, an attempt at perspective has been made, at least for the Ka'ba itself, but the surrounding structures have been illustrated by using a simple elevation. Six minarets and a single arcade surround the Ka'ba, the *maqams* of the four *imams* and the Prophet Abraham, the *minbar*, or pulpit, and the well of *Zem-zem.* The buildings seem to float against a pink background, and the arcade fills the entire space alloted to the image. The artist has not chosen to place the *haram* in either its architectural or landscape context.

f. 80v-81. The Seal of the Seven Sleepers, and a *du'a.* **(figure 11. 12)**

The Seal of the Seven Sleepers appears here for the first time on the right. The seal, used for gaining sustenance, or riches, will become an important feature in later versions of the manuscript. Here the names of the seven youths and their dog: Yamlikha, Makshalina, Massalmina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadhinush, Kafashtatayutush, and Qutmir, are inscribed in a circle, much the same way as the *hilye* have been decorated.

ff. 81-106v. Various *du'a* and *salawat.*

f. 107. Colophon. **(figure 11. 13)**

Catalogue #12 - EH 394, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

Evrad-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Mustafa Mir (d. 1175/1761),[55] for his patron, Sultan Mahmud,[56] with a binding by Ahmed Altuni (goldsmith).
dated: 1144/1731-32.

High quality, smooth cream coloured paper. 131 folios. 17.5 x 11.7 cm. 11 lines per page. *Nesih*. Exquisite gold-tooled, brown leather binding.

The colophon (f. 132) refers to the text as an *evrad*. This is the first of the manuscripts to include a selection of *ta'viz*,[57] elegantly illuminated amulets and talismans in the shape of squares inscribed with verses from the Qur'an and mystical numbers written according to the system of *abjad*.[58] Ottoman Turkish texts explain how these *ta'viz* are to be used.

ff. 1v-47. *Surahs al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas.*

ff. 47v-55v. Qur'anic *du'a.*

ff. 55v-58. *Ta'viz.*

Six pages of protective amulets, each page containing sixteen squares containing numerals written on the diagonal. Each numeral stands for a particular letter, according to the traditional system of *abjad*. The text around the outside of ff. 56v-57 **(figure 12. 1)** includes verses from the Qur'an and instructions in Ottoman Turkish:

---

[55]See Appendix II.
[56]See Appendix II.
[57] See Chapter Three.
[58]A system of meaning in which letters are replaced with their numerical equivalent. For further explanation, see Chapter Three.

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. And your God is One God: there is no god but He, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. "*[59] *Alif! Lam! Mim! Allah! There is no god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, the Supporter of all.*[60] *(All) faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-Subsisting, the Sustainer.* [61] This (*ta'viz*) is for whatever you may ask for in this life and in the next...Anyone may write this *(ta'viz)* and carry it...No matter what your need or reason for making this request with Allah's permission it will happen."

ff. 58v-131v. A litany of prayers, including the *'Ism Allah*, or Names of Allah (ya Allah, etc.).

---

[59] 2:163.
[60] 3:1-2. The meaning of these mystical letters at the beginning of this and other surahs remains the subject of scholarly debate.
[61] 20:111.

Catalogue #13 - EH 395, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am-i şerif, by the calligrapher Mehmed Rasim (1099/1688-1169/1756),[62] illuminated by Ahmed.
dated: 1146/1733-34.

Thick, pink paper with gold flecking. 97 folios. 18 x 12 cm. 9 lines per page. *Nesih.*

ff. 1v-68. Surahs: *An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waq'ia, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Qadr, al-Takathur, al-Nasr, Ikhlas, Falaq,* and *Nas.*

The *unvan sahifesi* features glorious waves of gold and royal blue covered in an arabesque of flowers and topped by blue finials embellished with gold peonies. **(figure 13. 1)**, In this sumptuously embellished manuscript the use of gold pricking has been extended to include the gilt surround of the text.

ff. 68v-69. *Surah al-Fatiha* and the first five verses of *Surah al-Baqara.*

ff. 69v-71. Qur'anic passages used as *du'a.*

ff. 73v-75. The *asma' al-husna.*

ff. 75v-77. The *asma' al-nabi.*

ff. 77v-78. A *hilye şerif.* **(figure 13. 2** and **13. 3)**

A visually stunning image, this opening presents us with two golden orbs each containing five lines of text. The golden *beyne's setur* and verse marks have

---

[62]See Appendix II.

been pricked to catch the light, while tiny floral arabesques glitter in the background. The circles themselves are surrounded by a base of royal blue, upon which floats a dainty net of tiny pink, yellow, white and blue flowers, red buds and golden *rumis.* Above and below the *unvan,* golden rectangles provide sumptous relief for rows of crimson, mauve and pink blossoms.

The text itself is in Arabic. The *unvans* read: "*In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures,*.[63] .."The main text reads:

> "The Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, was the most magnificent of those considered magnificent. His face shone pearl-like and similar to the full-moon. (f. 78) Of luminous, lily-white complexion. He was large of head, and possessing a thick, dense beard. Taller than average, and shorter than a tall person. With expanded, not elevated cheeks. Gap-toothed."

ff. 78v-96. (The Turkish text indicates that this is the *evrad* of Şeyh Ahmad, the son of Şeyh Eyyüb.)

f. 96v. Colophon. **(figure 13. 4)**

---

[63] 21:107.

Catalogue #14 - OR 4251, British Museum Library, London

En'am-ı şerif, by an unknown calligrapher.
dated: 1170/1757.

Light cream coloured paper. 106 folios. 6.25x3.75 in. 11 lines per page.

This is the first *En'am-ı şerif* to illustrate images of the Prophet's footprint and his sword *Zülfiqar.* A double-page *serlevha* **(figure 14. 1)** featuring *Surah al-Fatiha* and the first few verses of *Surah al-An'am,* is illuminated in very dark blue and gold with red highlights. The thick borders and heavy-handed floral margin ornaments appear to have been illuminated with a silver paint that has oxidized with time, leaving a dull blackish residue.

ff. 8v-62. Surahs: *al-Fatiha, al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Inshira, al-Tin, al-Iqraa, al-Qadr* to the end of the Qur'an.

f. 63. text.

ff. 63v-66. The *asma' al-husna.*

ff. 66v-69. The *asma' al-nabi.*

ff. 69v-72. A *hilye şerif,* and the *hilyes* of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali.

f. 72v-73. The *Qadam şerif,* or the Prophet's footprint and his sword *Zülfiqar.* **(figure 14. 2)**

The Prophet's footprint, or *qadam şerif,* is very similar in shape to that of a stone footprint encased in gold and preserved along with his other relics in

Istanbul's Topkapı Sarayı. **(Plate 16)** These relics were said to have been passed down to the Ottomans via the Mamluks and the Abbasids, and were understood to contain prophetic *baraka*, or spiritual grace. The famous sword *Zülfikar* was won by the Prophet on the battlefield at Badr.[64] His cousin and son-in-law 'Ali inherited the sword, however it was believed to have disappeared with the Abbasids. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, images of *Zülfikar* served as important symbols of Ottoman power and were frequently found on flags and weapons as well as such miniature paintings.[65]

f. 73v-74. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. **(figure 14. 3)**

These images of the Ka'ba and Medina are a curious blend, combining elements of a more traditional topographic view with a first, self-conscious attempt at the use of Western three-dimensionality. Traditional images of these Holy Places were two-dimensional views that mixed elevation with plan in order to allow the viewer access to the building's most salient features. In the image of Mecca we see the Ka'ba itself, the *maqams*, or stations of the Four Imams of the Sunni schools, and multiple Ottoman-style minarets. At Medina the walls of the Prophet's Mosque seem to have evaporated - all that remains is the Prophet's Tomb with the three rectangular graves below an elaborate dome.[66] Although Islam's sacred places have been illustrated in a traditional fashion, it is interesting to note that the artist has chosen to experiment with a certain Westernization in the treatment of the surrounding houses.

f. 74v-94. Ottoman Turkish text, Qur'anic *du'a* and *salawat.*
ff. 95-96. *Du'a khatim.*
ff. 97-106. *Du'a.*

---

[64]The first battle fought and won by the nascent Muslim community during the Prophet's lifetime.
[65]Zdzislaw Zygulski, Jr., p. 46.
[66]The graves are occupied by the Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr and 'Umar.

Catalogue #15 - Halet Efendi 5, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Mustafa b. al-wazir al-maruf Mehmed Paşa. dated: 1173/1759-60.

Fine, thin pink paper. 136 folios. 26 x 16.6 cm. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Exquisite, red leather *şemse* binding with *mıkleb*. **(figures 15. 1** and **15. 2)**.

Produced in the year 1173/1759-60, in the Balkan city of Dimtoka, **Halet Efendi 5** is a superb manuscript. The original red leather *şemse* binding has been exquisitely stamped, embossed and gilded, both inside and out. The *tezhip* is spectacular, the *unvan sahifesi* is bordered by thick gold bands and a graceful *halkari* design that shimmers with gold. **Halet Efendi 5** is the first *En'am-ı şerif* to feature bird's eye views of the Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque and tomb at Medina. The manuscript was produced by Mahmud, the son of the grand vezir, Mehmed Paşa, and eventually owned by Mehmed Sa'id Halet Efendi (1760-1823), a member of the Mevlevi order who was "the most influential and long-lived among the conservative leaders of the time."[67] Halet Efendi's manuscript collection, including rare works of history, literature and Sufism was first endowed to the library he built at the Mevlevi *tekke* in Galata. When the *tekkes* were closed in the 1920s by order of Attatürk, the collection entered the Süleymaniye where **Halet Efendi 5** is found today.

ff. 1v-38v. Surahs: *An'am, Ya Sin, al-Fath, al-Mulk, al-Na'ba, Ikhlas, Falaq,* and *Nas.*

This spectacular *unvan sahifesi* consists of a surah heading written in gold over a series of whirling blue arabesques. **(figure 15. 3)** Above the heading, a golden dome is covered in multi-coloured flowers, while the ubiquitous floriated

---

[67]Shaw, 1977, vol. II, p. 8.

blue finials have become more of a backdrop. The gilt surround of the text seems to melt into the golden borders, and the backround has been painted with watered-down gold paint to produce the shadowy effect known as *halkari.*

ff. 39. Qur'anic *du'a.*

ff. 39v-40v. The *asma' al-husna.*

ff. 41-42v. The *asma' al-nabi.*

f. 43. Qur'anic passage about *salawat* on the Prophet Muhammad.

ff. 43v-45. A *hilye şerif.* **(figures 15. 4, 15. 5,** and **15. 6)**

The *hilye* is a straightforward text, written in Arabic with a Turkish translation in red ink running between the lines. The *unvan* is decorated with a wave of gold and midnight blue covered with tiny pink and peach flowers with green tracery, and finials of red and blue. The text of the *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him." The text of the *hilye* itself reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures.* [68] (Allah) There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God. (Muhammad). From 'Ali ibn Talib, (may God enoble his face, and may God be pleased with him) his description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. He had a

---

[68] 21:107.

> large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless. He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people. He was the noblest of human company. Whoever saw him from afar stood awed by him. Whoever shared familiarity with him loved him. Whoever tries to describe him says: 'such as he was never seen before or after. May peace and blessings be upon him."[69]

The names of the *al-ashara mubashara*, the list of those promised Paradise, then follow, written in golden ink: "Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, Hamza, 'Abbas, Talha, Zubair, Sa'd, Sa'id, Abd al-Rahman, Abu 'Ubaida, may God be pleased with them all."

f. 45v-46. The Ka'ba and The Prophet's Mosque at Medina. **(figure 15. 7)**

This bird's eye view includes incredibly detailed images of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, set in oval cartouches. The artist has a sophisticated grasp of the use of perspective, and has depicted details such as the city walls of Medina and surrounding places of spiritual importance, such as *al-Baqi'* cemetery where many of the Prophet's family and his companions are buried.

ff. 46v-58v. Qur'anic *du'a.*

Surah al-Fatiha, the first five verses of *Surah al-Baqara*, and various other Qur'anic verses.

ff. 59v-67. *Du'a.*

ff. 67v-96v. *Salawat.*

---

[69]Tirmidhi's text. See Cat. #10, **Yazma Bagislar 265**, ff. 49v-50 and Cat. #17, **TSM EH 371**, ff. 105v-106.

f. 97. Hadith about *salawat*, and more *salawat.*

ff. 102v-105v. The *hizb şerif* of Imam Nawawi.

ff. 106-108v. *Du'a.*

ff. 108v-109v. *Dhikr.*

ff. 109v-120v. *Dhikr* of the names of the people of Badr, and *salawat*. **(figure 15. 8)**

ff. 120v-135v. The *dhikr* of the names of the *ahl al-kahf* (people of the Cave, i.e. the Seven Sleepers), **(figure 15. 9)** and various *du'a* (Ramadan, 'Eid, etc.)

ff. 135v-136. Colophon and a bouquet of roses. **(figure 15. 10)**

Catalogue #16 - University of Victoria Manuscript 95-014

En'am-ı şerif, by Musa Efendi ibn Hasan Efendi, a student of Ibrahim Rodosi, in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.
copied in 1201/1786-87, by Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi-zade

According to the colophon[70], this *En'am-ı şerif* was copied in the year 1201/1786-87 by Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi- zade from an original manuscript written by the calligrapher Musa Efendi ibn Hasan Efendi, a student of Ibrahim Rodosi. The manuscript consists of a selection of Qur'anic surahs, *du'a*, *salawat*, calligraphic roundels, *hilye*, *ta'viz*, and a series of miniature paintings. The script is a competent, even elegant *nesih*. The hand is sure; the letters smooth and well-shaped, with black ink used for the basic text and white ink for headings. Throughout the manuscript the lines of text are ringed in gold by the *beyne's-sutur*, or gilt surround. The ruled gold borders are thinly outlined in black and red. Verse markers are tiny gold circles with black lines radiating from the centre. The centre and points of contact with the circumference are marked with red and blue dots. The *tezhip* is typical of that seen in the late eighteenth century, with the predominant colours being gold, blue, peach, pink, red, yellow, and orange.

It is not known whether or not Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi-zade was responsible for either the illumination, or the illustration of the manuscript. His placement of the colophon after the surahs and prayers and just prior to the calligraphic and representational images might suggest that someone else may have produced these images; however a close examination of the inscriptions of the later part of the text indicate that they were in fact probably produced by the original calligrapher. In any case, both images and text were purposely bound together in a simple red leather *şemse* binding. **(figure 16.1)** The binding

---

[70] p. 311.

measures 19.5 x 12.5 cm. and is stamped with three scalloped medallions in the centre and four corner medallions. The medallions are embossed with gold. The central medallion is painted with a red floral arabesque. The borders of the binding have been painted with a gold outline, as well as a gold, rolled "s" stamp.

p. 4-11. The text begins with an *evrad,* or daily litany, including Qur'anic passages from *al-Fatiha* **(figure 16. 2)**, *al-Baqara* (2:1-5, and 284-285) **(figure 16. 3)**, and *al-Imran* (3:189-200).

The *unvan sahifesi,* or right hand opening on p. 4, **(figure 16. 2)** contains *Surah al-Fatiha,* the opening chapter of the Qur'an. Framed in gold and peach, the white ink inscription reads from right to left: "*This is Surah al-Fatiha, the Seven Verses.*[71] Underneath, but all the more noticeable because of the blackness of its ink, and the long sweep of the letter *sin,* is written the *bismillah,* the words that begin every surah except one.[72] *"In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful."*

> *Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe,*
> *Most Gracious, Most Merciful;*
> *Master of the Day of Judgement*
> *Thee do we worship, and only Thine aid we seek.*
> *Show us the straight way*
> *The way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace,*
> *Those whose (portion) is not wrath and who go not astray.*

A background of midnight blue and gold is strewn with a floriated arabesque of orange buds and flowers of pale blue, peach, pink and white with red accents.

---

[71] *Fatiha,* means "the opening." It is traditionally known as *"'Umm al-Qur'an,"* or the Mother of the Qur'an, and "The Seven Oft-Repeated Verses."

[72] *Surah Tauba* (9) omits the *bismillah.* Ideally, this sentence is used to begin, or "open" any action on the part of a believer. Although the *bismillah* begins each surah, it is not counted in the numbering system as a verse.

In the lower left corner of the page, calligrapher Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi-zade has again written: *"bismillah."* He has used the catchword system[73] (*rakib,* in Turkish) whereby a word that is written on a slant at the end of each page, repeats the first word of the following page. Common not only in Ottoman Turkish manuscripts, but in Arabic, Persian, and most European ones until well into the nineteenth century, this system insures the proper arrangement of pages in an unpaginated manuscript. The *rakib* system also provides the reader with a transitional moment to insure the smooth flow of text from one page to the next. When reciting Qur'an there are certain places where one must not pause, in order to safeguard the meaning of the text. The inclusion of the *rakib* is intended to prevent this occuring.

p. 12-186. This section contains selected surahs: *al-An'am, al-Kahf, al-Sajda, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf , al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a,* and *al-Mulk.* (last page of *Surah al-Mulk)* **(figure 16. 4)**

p. 187-191. The *ayat şerif,* or "noble verses" from Qur'an used as prayers: 9:51, 10:107, 11:6, 29:60, 11:56, 35:2. **(figures 16.5** to **16. 9).**

p. 192-253. The *amme cüz'ü,* or thirtieth, and final part of Qur'an, followed by *al-Fatiha.*

p. 254-259. *Ayats* (Qur'anic verses) of protection. **(figures 16.10** to **16. 15)**

These verses were chosen because they contain various forms of the root word *hafiza,* to guard or preserve.

---

[73]The Islamic world may have been responsible for the introduction of the catchword system to Europe around the year 1000 C.E. via Spain, Italy and South West France. See the entry for "catchword" in Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding the Illuminated Manuscript,* Malibu, 1994. p. 36.

p. 259-263. The *asma' al-husna,* or ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God. **(figures 16. 15** to **16. 19)**

p. 263-266. The *asma' al-nabi,* or Names of the Prophet. **(figures 16. 19** to **16. 22)**

p. 267-271. *Du'a,* or prayers in Arabic. **(figures 16. 23** to **16. 27)**

p. 272-286. *Salawat,* or the invocation of blessings on the Prophet. **(figures 16. 28** to **16. 42)**

p. 286-310. *Du'a.* **(figures 16. 42** to **16. 66)**

p. 311. Colophon. **(figure 16. 67)**

Until this point, the manuscript contains only text, specifically Qur'anic passages and prayers. The colophon is followed by a blank page. The rest of the manuscript consists of miniatures or calligraphic "images". By placing the colophon between the text and the images, the calligrapher has apparently indicated responsibility for the former and not the latter.[74] However, a comparison between the scripts suggests that Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi-zade was the calligrapher for at least some, if not all of the later images. (See, for example the similarity between the hand of the colophon and that of the *ta'viz* on p. 355 **(figure 16. 110)**.)

Arabic text:

---

[74]This point was reinforced by Uğur Derman in an interview in Istanbul during July, 1996.

> The writing of this *En'am-ı şerif* and sublime words (*kalam munif*) was completed by the hand of the poor servant by the mercy of Allah the Almighty, Musa Efendi, son of Hasan Efendi, student of Ibrahim Rodosi Efendi, may the Mercy of the Giver of Life (*al-Bari)* be upon him. Earlier, he recommended (*awsani)* that I write his name in this copy (*nuskha)* for the sake of *baraka.* I sought Allah's guidance in this matter, and I wrote it. I am asking to receive Allah's Mercy from His Abundance, to give me good health, and forgive my sins. Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi-zade. May Allah make the way easy for us all. 1201H.

p. 313. The "*Great Seal."* **(figure 16. 68)**

This calligraphic device consists of a central medallion containing God's name (*ya Allah*) repeated 16 time in a central square, representing earth. The square is surrounded by a circle, representing heaven.[75] The phrase *ya Allah* is repeated four times in squares located in each of four surrounding half circles. The circle and half circles are gold, encircled in gold on a silver background. On the silver interstices are written the names of the Prophet's descendents: Imam Hasan, Zain al-Abidin, Imam Hussain, Musa Kazim, Jafar ibn al-Sidiq, and Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi. Calligraphic roundels in the four corners contain the Names of God, written in red ink on a blue background. This seal may serve as a *ta'viz* because of the way it is structured.

The text reads:

> *In the Name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful.*
> *Verily, Allah and His angels send blessings on the Prophet.*
>
> Oh Self-Subsisting! Oh Ever Living!
> Oh Lord of Majesty and Generosity!

---

[75]See the discussion of the symbolism of circles and squares in Ardalan and Bakhtiar's *The Sense of Unity*, p. 29.

Oh ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him, and salute him with all respect.[76]

p. 314. Calligraphic roundel "Allah." **(figure 16. 69)**

The text of the *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background with silver and peach borders. It reads: "This is the Name of the Lord of Creation..." The image consists of calligraphic roundel containing the word "ALLAH" in black ink on a gold background, bordered by a circle of silver and a finer still circle of gold. The roundel is placed aginst a background of midnight blue, against which floats a floriated arabesque of purple, white, peach and red flowers.

p. 315. Calligraphic roundel "Muhammad." **(figure 16. 70)**

The text of the *unvan* reads: "This is the name of the Prophet Muhammad, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The image is identical to that of the facing page except the roundel contains the word "MUHAMMAD." The name Muhammad comes from the verb *hamada*, to praise, and means "he who is worthy of praise," or "the one who is often praised."

p. 316-33. A series of *hilye* describing the physical appearance and characteristics of a number of prophets and the first four caliphs, or successors of the Prophet Muhammad. Each *hilye* also contains four roundels, each of which includes one of the Prophet Muhammad's names written in red ink.[77]

p. 316. The *hilye* of Adam. **(figure 16. 71)**

---

[76]33:56. This verse enjoins the believers to engage in *salawat* upon the Prophet, calling upon Allah to shower him with blessings and honour.

[77]The *asma' al-şerif*, or noble names of the Prophet Muhammad are traditionally said to be ninety-nine in number.

Written in white ink on a gold background, bordered with silver, gold and peach, the *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Adam, the Sincere Friend of Allah, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The descriptive text consists of five lines written in black ink on a gold background. It is encircled with gold on a silver background. The text of the *hilye* describes Adam as having large, beautiful eyes, a long nose, no beard, and a noble face. In names in the four corner roundels are: Muhammad (worthy of praise, mentioned in surahs 3:144, 33:40, 47:2, and 48:29), Mahmud (praised), Ahmad (mentioned in 61:6), Hamid (praising).[78] The repetition of these names is said to convey *baraka*, or blessings, and they are held to have talismanic properties.[79]

p. 317. The *hilye* of Noah. **(figure 16. 72)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Noah. May Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Noah as having a white face, curly hair and brown eyes. He has a noble face with a small beard. The *hilye* is identical to that of Adam on the facing page. The names in the four roundels are: Hamid (praising), Qasim (divider), 'Aqib (the last), Khatim (the seal, mentioned in 33:40).

p. 318. The *hilye* of Abraham. **(figure 16. 73)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Abraham, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes the prophet Abraham as having a white face and curly hair, with hazel eyes. He has a small nose, a large forehead and a noble face. The borders of the heading are silver and orange. The names in the four roundels are: Mahi (wipes out infidelity), Da'i

---

[78]Many of the translations of the Names of the Prophet Muhammad in this and the following pages have been taken from the list found in Schimmel's, *And Muhammad is His Prophet*, pp. 257-259.

[79]See W.E. Staples, "Muhammad, a talismanic force," *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57 (Jan.-Oct. 1940): 63-70.

(caller, mentioned in 33:46), Siraj (lamp, mentioned in the same verse), Munir (radiant, again, mentioned in the same verse).

p. 319. The *hilye* of Issac. **(figure 16. 74)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Issac, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes the prophet Issac as having a white complexion, red cheeks, a short neck, and a head carried to one side in humility. He has a beautiful face. The names in the four roundels are: Hashir (who gathers people), Mubashshir (bringer of good news, mentioned in 33:45), Bashir (bringer of good tidings, mentioned in 7:88), Nasir (eelper).

p. 320. The *hilye* of Isma'il. **(figure 16. 75)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Isma'il, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes the Prophet Isma'il, like his brother, as being white complexioned with red cheeks. *Nur*, or heavenly light, radiates from his face. He has a beautiful character with humbleness. Physically, he is very beautiful. The names in the four roundels are: Mundhir (?), Mursil (sender), Rasul (messenger, mentioned frequently in the Qur'an), Nabi (prophet, mentioned frequently in the Qur'an).

p. 321. The *hilye* of Lot. **(figure 16. 76)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Lut, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Lut as being light brown in complexion. He had beautiful hair. He had a righteous character. He was physically handsome. The names in the four roundels are: Murtad (dressed?), Mahdi (well-guided), Khalil (good friend), Jayib (heart).

p. 322. The *hilye* of David. **(figure 16. 77)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable David, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text describes David as having a reddish complexion, and a thin body with a big stomach. He has delicate, soft features, and his character is gentle. The names in the four roundels are: Tayyib (good), Safi (sincere friend), Ta Ha (mentioned in 20:1), Ya Sin (mentioned in 36:1).

p. 323. The *hilye* of Moses. **(figure 16. 78)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Moses, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Moses as having a black beard. His physical appearance was majestic. He had full lips and spoke with God directly. The names in the four roundels are: Mustafa (chosen), Murtada (content), Mukhtar (chief), Nasir (helper).

p. 324. The *hilye* of Aaron. **(figure 16. 79)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Aaron, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Aaron, Moses's brother, as having a dark complexion. He was very righteous. His physical appearance was very pleasant. The names in the four roundels are: Qa'im (support), Hafiz (protector), Shaheed (witness), Shahid (witnessing).

p. 325. The *hilye* of Jacob. **(figure 16. 80)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Jacob, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Jacob as having a white complexion with a reddish face. His lower lip is larger than the top lip. His nose is slightly turned up. The names of the Prophet Muhammad in the four roundels are: 'Alim (knower), 'Adil (just), Halim (forbearing), Nur (light).

p. 326. The *hilye* of Joseph. **(figure 16. 81)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Joseph, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." In the text of the *hilye* Joseph is described as having a reddish face, large eyes, no beard, and a beautiful appearance. The names in the four roundels are: Mubin (clear, evident, mentioned in 15:89), Burhan (proof), Hujjat (authority), Bayan (proclamation).

p. 327. The *hilye* of Jesus. **(figure 16. 82)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Jesus, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Jesus as having beautiful eyes. He has a medium build, with a white complexion. He has a very beautiful face. The names in the four roundels are: Muti' (obedient), Mudhakkir (makes remembrance), Wa'iz (admonisher), Sahib (friend).

p. 328. The *hilye* of Muhammad. **(figure 16. 83)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Muhammad, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* describes Muhammad's body as blessed, noble, entirely perfect and complete without any mistake, flawless. He had black eyebrows, medium build, a large head and forehead, with a gap between his teeth. He had light in his eyes. The names in the four roundels are: Natiq (spokesman), Sadiq (sincere, mentioned in 19:54), Musaddiq (declares the truth, mentioned in 2:101), Mutaffir.

p. 329. The *hilye* of Muhammad (continued). **(figure 16. 84)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Muhammad, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The text of the *hilye* continues: His eyes were black. He had light coming from his face, with a round beard, large shoulders and a flat stomach with a line of hair down his chest until his belly. He had the seal of prophecy between his shoulders. The names in the four roundels

are: Makki (from Mecca), Madani (from Medina), Abtahi (from al-Batha, near Mecca), Quraishi (from the Quraish tribe).

p. 330. The *hilye* of Abu Bakr. **(figure 16. 85)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable Abu Bakr al-Sidiq, may Allah be pleased with him." The text of the *hilye* describes Abu Bakr, the first caliph, closest friend and father-in-law of the Prophet, as being very tall and thin. He had a white complexion. He was so thin that you could see his cheekbones. The names in the four roundels are: 'Arabi (of the Arabs), Hashimi (of the clan of Hashim), 'Aziz (noble, dear), Haris (concerned).

p. 331. The *hilye* of 'Umar. **(figure 16. 86)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable 'Umar, may Allah be pleased with him." The text of the *hilye* describes 'Umar, the second caliph and father-in-law of the Prophet, as having a dark face and a light body. He was tall. He had a big head, he was bald, and he had a very beautiful face.
The names in the four roundels are: Ra'uf (mild, mentioned in 9:128), Rahim (merciful, mentioned in 9:128), Jawwad (generous, magnanimous), Ghani (rich).

p. 332. The *hilye* of 'Uthman. **(figure 16. 87)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable 'Uthman , may Allah be pleased with him." The text of the *hilye* describes 'Uthman, the third caliph and twice son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, as being of medium height. He had a beautiful face with soft skin and a hairless body. He had big shoulders, big bones. The names in the four roundels are: Fattah (conqueror), 'Alim (knower), Munib (repenter), Khatib (preacher).

p. 333. The *hilye* of 'Ali. **(figure 16. 88)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the venerable 'Ali, may Allah be pleased with him." The text of the *hilye* describes 'Ali as having a brown complexion, and being of medium height with a hairy body and large shoulders. He is slightly bald, and has a beautiful face. It ends with a special prayer for 'Ali: "*karam Allahu wajhan,*" asking that light may shine on his face on the Day of Judgement. The names in the four roundels are: Fasih (well-spoken), Rashid (well-guided, mentioned in 11:78) Tahir (pure), Mutahhar (purified).

p. 334. The Seal of God's Names. **(figure 16. 89)**

The *unvan* bears a verse from the Qur'an that reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but (he is) the Messenger of Allah, and the Seal of the Prophets: and Allah has full knowledge of all things."*[80]

In the central medallion, the extended verticals of God's Names are used to form a six-pointed star, the Seal of Solomon. Written in gold ink on a pale blue background are the words: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious!" The centre of the star is silver, on each of the six points are written in black ink one of God's Names: "O Ever Living! O Self-Subsisting. In the corners surrounding the medallion are four roundels encircled with gold containing the Prophet's names: Imam (leader), Ummi (unlettered), Muqtasid (adopted a middle course, mentioned in 35: 32) Sabiq (winner).

p. 335. The Seal of the Qur'anic verse *"Inna Allah kulli shay'in qadir."* **(figure 16. 90)**

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a golden background, bordered with silver and orange. It reads: "*In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Verily*

---

[80] 33:40.

Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye who believe send blessings on him, and salute him with all respect."[81] The phrase, "Verily, Allah hath power over all things," forms the basis for this calligraphic device. It is taken from the Qur'an, 3:189: "To Allah belongs the dominions of the heavens and the earth, and *Allah hath power over all things."* The words fairly seem to spin outwards from a central point where the phrase: "verily Allah" is repeated four times in black ink on a backround of silver. The golden *'ayn* of the word *'ala*, or "over," surrounds these Names of God, forming a clover-like motif at the centre. The *alif maqsura* of the same word sweeps down over a blue and red background and reaches right to the edges of the medallion, as if to scoop up the rest of the phrase, written in red in on four, cloud-like cartouches. The medallion itself is ringed in gold on a silver background. Four roundels, one in each corner, circled in gold and written in black ink, contain names of the Prophet: Haqq (truth, mentioned in 3:86), Muqtasid (adopting the middle course, mentioned in 35:32), Awwal (the first), Ahad (the one). These names also serve as Names of God.

p. 336. The "Seal of Prophethood." **(figure 16. 91)**

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background, surrounded by silver and peach/red borders. It reads: "This is the Seal of the Prophet Muhammad Mustafa, may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him." This image depicts the "Seal of Prophethood" that tradition says was located between the shoulders of the Prophet Muhammad. The central motif is an extended, oval-shaped seal with white writing on a gold background, surrounded by orange/red and gold borders. The text reads:

> "Allah is One. He has no associates. There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. Go wherever you like, you

---

[81] 33:56.

are supported. This is the seal of Prophecy, and he is the Seal of the Prophets, peace be upon him."

The seal itself forms the central portion of a three-panel device. The top half of the seal is placed against a background of crimson red with the words: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious!"[82] written in white ink. Below this, the background colour changes to black with a golden arabesque. Appearing to pierce the seal from above is a golden triangle, framed in silver. Below the seal is a golden rectangle bordered in peach and red. The two outer panels each contain two cartouches of text written in black ink on a gold background, bordered with silver. They read: "Victory is from God, and the near ..." "He is the bringer of light, O Muhammad." "This is the Seal of Prophethood, and he is the Seal of the Prophets." According to tradition, the caliph Abu Bakr said that anyone placing this seal in his shroud or grave "will never experience the pain of the grave, and God will forgive all his sins, great and small."[83]

p. 337. The "Seal of Solomon." **(figure 16. 92)**

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background, bordered with silver, peach and red. It reads: "This is the seal of Solomon..." The "Seal of Solomon" was a ring with which the prophet Solomon was able to control the world. The ring is usually presented as a six-point star. Here, however, the central motif is a five-pointed star. The five points of the star are silver, with the words "In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful," written in white ink. The star floats on a gold background, encircled by a gold and orange/red border. Four golden roundels, one in each corner, bear the names of the Prophet

---

[82]These two Names of God are mentioned in hadith, and are not part of the *'asma al-husna.* See Ghazali's *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God,* Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, 1992. p. 168.

[83]Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger,* p. 91.

Muhammad: Zahir (exoteric), Batin (esoteric), Shafi'i (healer), and Mushafi'i (healing) in black ink.

p. 338. A *ta'viz*, or protective amulet. **(figure 16. 93)**

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background, with silver and blue borders. It reads: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Glory be to Allah, all praise is for Allah, there is no god but Allah, Allah is Greatest." Three lines of text, written in black ink against a gold background, are encircled by yet another line of text. The text of the outer circle of the *ta'viz* reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Generous, Most Merciful. And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."* [84].

The inner circle reads: "Nothing exists without His Will. There is no power and no might except that of Allah, the Exalted, the All-Powerful. Oh Ever-Living, Oh Allah." In each of the four corners, circles of gold border names of the Prophet written in black ink: Hadi (guide), Muhallil (?), Muharram (prohibitor), Amir (ruler).

p. 339. Another *ta'viz*. **(figure 16. 94)**

The outer circle reads:

> *"We sent down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe: to the unjust it causes nothing but loss after*

---

[84] 68: 51-52.

> *loss."*[85] *"And when I am ill, it is He who cures me."*[86]*"Say: 'It is a guidance to those who believe."*[87]

The centre of the circle reads: "A guidance *and a healing for the diseases in your hearts.* [88] It is Allah who heals. O Healer! O Sufficient! O Giver of Health! O Ever Living! O Allah!" Surrounding circles contain the Prophet's Names: Na? , Hakim (wise), Qarib (near), Shakur (most grateful).

p. 340-351. Calligraphic renderings of the names of the rightly guided caliphs: Abu Bakr **(figure 16. 95)**, 'Umar **(figure 16. 96)**, 'Uthman **(figure 16. 97)**, and 'Ali **(figure 16. 98)**; the Prophet's grandson's Hasan **(figure 16. 99)** and Hussain **(figure 16. 100)**; and six of the *al-ashara al-mubashshara,"* the "Ten who were Promised Paradise": Talha **(figure 16. 101)**, Zubair **(figure 16. 102)**, 'Abdallah **(figure 16. 103)**, Abd Al-Rahaman **(figure 16. 104)**, Sa'd **(figure 16. 105)**, and Sa'id **(figure 16. 106)**.

p. 352-353. The "Great Seal of Ja'far al-Sadiq," **(figure 16. 108)** and explanatory text **(figure 16. 107)**.

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a golden background with a peach coloured border. It reads: "This is the explanation of the Great Seal." Written in Ottoman Turkish, the text describes the purpose of the Great Seal found on page 353:

> "Ja'far ibn al-Sadiq said that for anyone who looks at this blessed seal, Hell will be forbidden. Anyone who looks at it in the morning, Allah will protect them from evil until night. Anyone who looks at

---

[85] 17:82.
[86] 26:80.
[87] 41:44.
[88] 10:57.

> it at night, Allah will protect them from evil until morning. Whoever looks at it from the beginning of the month, Allah will protect and keep them safe until the end of the month. Allah created seventy thousand angels to protect this seal and those who gaze upon it."

The Great Seal's central motif consists of six concentric circles, ringed with gold on a silver background. Above and below, smaller circular medallions cluster one upon the other, the smallest bearing the Names of God: "Oh Ever Living! Oh Self-Subsisting! Oh Possessor of Majesty and Benevolence!" Four slightly larger medallions repeat *Surah al-Ikhlas* in their outer circles: "*Say: He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him.*" Inside two of these medallions are written the Names of God: "O Most Glorious! O Ruler! O Clear Evidence! O Just!" The largest, central medallions, top and bottom, bear the testament of belief: "I believe in Allah and His Angels, and His Books, and His Messengers, the Day of Judgment, the Will of Allah, both good and bad." The text of the central motif reads:

Outer circle:

> "There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. There is no god but Allah, Adam is the 'Sincere Friend of Allah'. There is no god but Allah, Noah is the 'One Protected by Allah'. There is no god but Allah, David is the 'Deputy of Allah'. There is no god but Allah, Abraham is the 'Friend of Allah'. There is no god but Allah, Moses is the 'One who Spoke to Allah'. There is no god but Allah.

The second circle and part of third circle:

> "*Allah, there is no god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize Him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except*

> *as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).* [89]

The final part of the third circle: "*And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message.*[90] And the fourth circle: *"il ha ha, il ha ha, il ha ha, ha ha mim, ha ha mim, ha ha mim."* This pattern of letters is repeated five times. These letters, known as *tilsim,* have a secret meaning and are used as a *ta'viz.* In the fifth circle, the *shahada,* or testament of faith, is repeated in its entirety three times. The fourth time it is cut off at the word, "Muhammad." "*There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah."* In the sixth circle, the phrase "*Allah, the Most High,"* is repeated five times. In the centre of the seal is inscribed: "O Allah!"

p. 354. The "Seal of the Seven Sleepers." **(figure 16. 109)**

The text of the outer circle reads:

> "*But if they turn away, Say: 'Allah sufficeth me: There is no god but He on him is my (trust)*[91] *- He is the Lord of the Throne Supreme.*[92] Praise be to Allah, our Creator, and the Creator of Angels and Spirit.[93]

The inner circle of the seal bears the names of the "Seven Sleepers," and their dog, Qutmir. Here the names are given as Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadnush, and Kafashsatush.

---

[89] 2:255.
[90] 68:51.
[91] The words "my trust", *tawakkatu,* are missing from the text.
[92] 9:129.
[93] This prayer is known as the *dhikr* (Remembrance) of the Angels.

p. 355. Another *ta'viz.* **(figure 16. 110)**

Similar to the *ta'viz* on pages 338-339 **(figures 16. 93** and **16. 94)**. The text of the outer circle reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Generous, Most Merciful. And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."* [94] There is no power..."

The inner circle of the *ta'viz* continues:

> "and no might and no strength except with Allah the Almighty, *but Allah will suffice thee as against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."* [95]

p. 356. The *Pence şerif,*[96] or the Prophet's handprint. **(figure 16. 111)**

The *unvan* is written in white on a gold background with mustard yellow and silver borders. It reads: "This is the image of the *pence* of the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." A golden handprint, inscribed in white ink, rests on a blue background interlaced with a red, foliated arabesque. The text across the *pence* is written in white ink. Although the text has been damaged, it is possible to read: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.* There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah....Glory be to God the Almighty...No victory except 'Ali's, no sword except *Zülfiqar.*

---

[94] 68: 51-52.
[95] 2:137.
[96] An Ottoman Turkish word meaning the whole hand, also a set of five things or persons - traditionally understood to be the Prophet and his family: his daughter Fatima, son-in-law 'Ali, and grandsons Hasan and Hussain.

p. 357. The *Qadam şerif*, or Prophet's footprint. **(figure 16. 112)**

The *unvan* is the same as that of the previous page. It reads: "This is an image of the Prophet's noble footprint, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The footprint is inscribed with the following words:

> Love of the Prophet is a blessing for all humanity.
> The earth says it is proud because he is sleeping in it.
> All of creation must visit his grave.
> Gabriel said that the Paradise called "Adan" told the Prophet Muhammad that those who visit (his grave) would enter and live there (Adan) forever.

p. 358. The *na'l şerif*, or the Prophet's sandal. **(figure 16. 113)**

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. It reads: "This is an image of the Messenger's noble sandal, May Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The Prophet's golden sandal resembles a contemporary Turkish bath slipper with a black strap across the top. The text on the sandal itself reads:

> In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
> By Allah's Name, no one is able to do any evil to you - on earth or in the heavens - and He is the Hearing and Knowing.

p. 359. *Zülfiqar*, the Prophet's sword. **(figure 16. 114)**

The *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. It reads: "'Ali does not fight except with his sword *Zülfiqar.*" A golden double-bladed sword, the famous *Zülfiqar*, given to 'Ali by the Prophet, is displayed on an orange background with a red arabesque. Five golden roundels surround the sword, bearing the names of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Isra'fil, Azra'il, and the phrase *masha'Allah*, "by God's Will." Resting across the seal is an oval cartouche bearing the words: "Oh Ever-Living! Oh Allah!"

The text written in white ink on the sword itself reads:

> In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
> There is no god but Allah.
> The King, the Truth.[97]
> Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.
> The Evident, the Truth, the Promise, the Trustworthy.[98]

The miniature uses a three-panel layout similar to that of the Seal of Prophecy. *Zülfikar* and the roundels are in the central panel. The side panels feature cartouches with black script on a gold background.

p. 360. The staff of Moses. **(figure 16. 115)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is an illustration (*rasm*) of the staff of Moses." A two-headed, golden staff dominates the middle of the illustration. The black and red finials are snake-headed, a reference to the miraculous transformation of Moses's staff before Pharoah. On either side of the staff are golden rectangles, marked respectively: "noble prayer rug," and "noble mat." The prayer rug, seen to the right of the staff, has a niche shaped directional indicator and a hanging mosque lamp - reinforcing its use as a ritual object. The woven mat, on the other hand, appears bereft of specific markings.

p. 361. The rose of Muhammad and the Ten Promised Paradise. **(figure 16. 116)**

A single rose bearing the name of the Prophet Muhammad and the ubiquitous *tasliya*, or honorific blessing: "may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him." The ten leaves bear the names of those promised Paradise, according to tradition: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, Talha, Zubair,

---

[97]Names of Allah.
[98]Names of the Prophet Muhammad.

'Abdallah, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Auf. Calligraphic representations of the Ten frequently include the Names of God and the Prophet.

p. 362. The *'Ayn a'la Allah,"* an "Eye upon God." **(figure 16. 117)**

A calligraphic pun that contains within it a visual metaphor for the Divine. Written in gold, the letter *'ayn* surrounds the words "*'a'la Allah.*" The *unvan* reads: "This is an eye upon (looking toward) God." The letters are shaped to resemble an eye with the word "Allah" reflected in the pupil, a visual metaphor for the Divine. To the right of the image is the Qur'anic phrase: *"but Allah will suffice thee as against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."*[99] The words, O God, are repeated frequently. The Names of God surround the image: "O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Ever-Living, O Self-Sufficient," as do and the names of Muhammad and the four archangels: Gabriel, Michael, 'Azra'il and Isra'fil.

p. 363. The *Liwa al-hamd,* or the "Flag of Praise." **(figure 16. 118)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is an illustration of the noble banner of Praise." A golden banner bearing a finial and three triangular-shaped sections inscribed in white ink on a gold background covered with arabesques.
The text of the banner reads: "In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds." According to tradition, on the Day of Judgement, the Prophet Muhammad will gather those who believe[100] together under the Banner of Praise in order to protect them from tribulation.

---

[99] 2:137

[100] In addition to his own *'umma,* the Prophet Muhammad will intercede for those who came before him: "There is no prophet among the children of Adam up to Muhammad who is not under Muhammad's banner." See Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger,* p. 282, ff. 20.

p. 364. The Prophet's *teber,* or battle-ax. **(figure 16. 119)**

A silver and gold double-edged ax against a background of red arabesque. The ax is inscribed: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah," and "O Allah!" "O Muhammad!"

p. 365. The noble date palm. **(figure 16. 120)**

A lush green palm, laden with dates. The earth below the tree has been represented as a golden orb.

p. 366. The *Masjid al-Haram,* or the Sacred Mosque at Mecca. **(figure 16. 121)**

A perspectival rendering of the *Masjid al-Haram* at Meccca, with the Ka'ba, the well of Zem-zem, the *maqams* of Abraham and the imams of the four schools, and the surrounding houses and hills. The pavement lines in the courtyard of the Haram, the uncharacteristic uniformity of the houses, and the use of a landscape background all suggest a certain Westernizing influence.

p. 367. The *Masjid-i Nabi,* or the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. **(figure 16. 122)**

The artist of this manuscript had either never visited the Holy City, or was working from a somewhat faulty memory as the image lacks a certain accuracy. For example, the *riwaqs* are depicted as being only one aisle deep, whereas in reality they were much wider. By the year 1201/1786-87, the sanctuary of the Mosque at Medina had ten aisles, there were three aisles each on the eastern and northern sides, and four on the west.[101] The artist has also mistakenly placed the fifth minaret on the north side instead of the west, and he has placed an arcade around the front of *al-hujra al-sharif,* the Tomb of the Prophet, resulting in an L-shaped plan instead of the traditional, rectangular hypostyle mosque. The image

---

[101]Hassan El-Basha, "Ottoman pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madina as historical and documentary sources," *Islamic Art* III, 1988-89, pp. 228-229.

includes Fatima's orchard, stylized houses surrounding the mosque, and green hills in the background.

p. 368. The tree of Tuba. **(figure 16. 123)**

The leaves of the tree that is said to grow upside down in Paradise are shown here to be multi-coloured.

p. 369. The Prophet's relics. **(figure 16. 124)**

The *hirqa şerif,* or the Prophet's cloak, is depicted along with a copy of the Qur'an, his prayer beads, ablution ewer and basin.

p. 370. The Prophet's *sancak,* or banner. **(figure 16. 125)**

The golden *sancak* rests on a blue background that is covered with red arabesques. The *sancak* is inscribed in white ink with the *shahada.* The side-panels bear inscriptions: "There is no god but Allah, the King, the Truth, the Evident. Muhammad is the Prophet of God. The truthful, the honourable, the trustworthy."

p. 371. The Ka'ba. **(figure 16. 126)**

An unusual image of the Ka'ba, a sort of topographical image with a somewhat distorted perspective. The door of the Ka'ba, the Black Stone and the *kiswa* are all indicated, but appear out of context. The words, "*maqam Ibrahim,*" inscribed on top of the image form part of a Qur'anic inscription, but may also be "read" as a visual depiction of the site known as the "Station of Abraham," where the patriarch is traditionally believed to have stood when he replaced the Black Stone as he completed the rebuilding of the Ka'ba. The *unvan* reads: "This is the House of Allah at Mecca." The Ka'ba itself is inscribed, "House of Allah," in white ink. A Qur'anic inscription on and around the image reads:

> *"...The Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey."* [102]"These are the True Words of Allah, repeated by the Noble Prophet."

p. 372. A calligraphic prayer square. **(figure 16. 127)**

p. 373. The *maqam* Mahmud, or the station of Muhammad. **(figure 16. 128)**

The text of the *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the Station of Mahmud." *Surah Bani Isra'il 17: 79* encourages the Prophet Muhammad to pray in the small watches of the morning, an extra prayer of additional spiritual profit, promising him *al-maqam al-Mahmud,* the *Station of Praise and Glory* on the Day of Resurrection.

> "And in his hand on the Resurrection Day will be the banner of praise. And when he prostrates himself before God in intercession on our behalf and it is accepted he will praise his Lord with a new song that shall then be revealed to him, for his is the heavenly *Station of Praise* ... and when he rises up in that Station all the assembly shall praise him, Muslims and misbelievers alike, the first and the last, and all meanings and modes of thankful praise shall be gathered up and offered to him.[103]

Underneath the *unvan,* in black ink, is written the *tasbih,* "Glory to Allah," the *tahmid,* "praise be to Allah," the *shahada* and *takbir,* "Allah is Greatest." These phrases constitute the *Mu'aqqibat,* the "succeeding ones," expressions of adoration taught by the Prophet Muhammad.[104]

---

[102] 3:96-97.
[103] From the preface to Jalal al-Din Suyuti's (d. 911/1505) *Al-Hirz al-Mani.* Suyuti is quoting from the preface to Al-Darimi's (d. 255/861) famous book of hadith written some seven centuries earlier. Quoted in Constance Padwick's *Muslim Devotions,* p. 75.
[104] Abdul Hamid Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad,* p. 176.

p. 374-389. The *sancaks.* **(figures 16. 129** to **16. 144)**

These *sancaks* or flags, of the Prophets, the rightly-guided caliphs and those promised paradise are identical in shape to the flags used by Ottoman officials.

p. 390-403. *Du'a.* **(figures 16. 145** to **16. 158)**

The final thirteen pages display a series of different shapes surrounded by arabesque and containing text that consists largely of the Names of Allah followed by *ayats* containing these Names and Attributes. Several pages include Arabic prayers and an Ottoman Turkish text explaining their purpose and use, for example: "Whoever reads this prayer one hundred times every Friday, Allah protects them from the punishment of the grave," or "Whoever reads this prayer, Allah will remove his bad manners for one hundred years," or "Whoever reads this prayer morning and night, Allah will grant him peace on Judgement Day." The text also includes a beautiful *salawat,* or prayer of blessing on the Prophet: "By each and every letter of the Qur'an, praise the Prophet a thousand times upon a thousand."

p 404-407. The final pages are filled with a home recipe for a heart medication written in Ottoman Turkish, likely added by a later owner.

Catalogue #17 - EH 371, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Mahmud Raci,[105] student of Mustafa Kütahi.[106] dated: 1205/1790-91.

Medium, cream coloured paper. 106 folios. 16 x 10 cm. 10 lines per page. *Nesih.*

ff. 1v-78. *Surahs al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Nazi'at, al-Fajr, al-Dhuha, al-Inshirah, al-Tin, al-'Alaq, al-Qadr, al-Baiyina, al-Zalzalah* to the end of the Qur'an, followed by *al-Fatiha* and first five verses of *al-Baqara.*

The *unvan sahifesi* is illuminated in gold and royal blue, with an arabesque overlay of purple flowers. **(figure 17. 1)** The floriated finials rising above the golden wave are alternating sprays of red and blue. An unusual band of turquoise blue has been added in addition to the typical red and midnight blue bands of braided borders.

ff. 79-84. Qur'anic *du'a.*

ff. 84v-88. The *asma' al-husna* and the *asma' al-nabi.*

f. 88. *Du'a.*

ff. 89-95v. *Hizb al-'a'zim.*

ff. 96-97v. *Du'a munajat.*

---

[105] See Appendix II.
[106] See Appendix II.

ff. 98-99v. *Salawat.*

ff. 100-103v. *Du'a.*

f. 104. Colophon.

f. 104v. Calligraphic roundel "Allah."

f. 105. Calligraphic roundel "Muhammad."

ff. 105v-106. The *hilye şerif.* **(figures 17. 2 and 17. 3)**

Two golden crescents contain the text of this *hilye.* The crescents are surrounded by golden arabesques of red flowers and green leaves. Around the crescents are inscribed the names of God, Muhammad, and the *rashidun caliphs.*

The top *unvan* reads: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."*

The text of the *hilye* is in Arabic, it reads:

> "From 'Ali, may God Almighty be pleased with him. This is his description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. (continued on f. 106) He had a large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless? He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people. He was the noblest of human company. Whoever saw him from afar stood awed by him. Whoever shared familiarity with him loved him. Whoever tries to describe him says:

'such as he was never seen before or after.' Peace and blessings of God be upon him."

The bottom *unvan* reads: "If not for you (Muhammad), I would not have created the entire universe."

f. 106v. The "Noble Seal of Prophethood." **(figure 17. 4)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the Noble Seal of Prophethood, the most generous of Messengers, and the purest of Prophets." This seal is similar in appearance to the preceding *hilye.* A golden, tear-shaped seal is found in the centre of the golden crescent. This seal is inscribed in white ink with the words: ".....Everywhere you turn, you are victorious." The white space between the seal and the crescent is inscribed with black ink: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God...and between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets." Surrounding the golden crescent are four inscriptions: "There is no god but God...the King, the Truth, the Evident. Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the truthful, the honourable, the trustworthy."

Catalogue #18 - Pertevniyal 43, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Mustafa Nazif, illuminated by al-Hajj al-Hafiz Mehmed Nuri.[107]
dated: 1208/1793-94.

Medium cream-coloured paper with light horizontal line marking and gold flecks. 67 folios. 17 x 12 cm. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Red leather binding with gold stamping, painted *rumis* and a *mıkleb.* **(figure 18. 1)**

Although we do not know who originally commissioned this manuscript, it was eventually owned by Pertevniyal Sultan,[108] the wife of Mahmud II and the mother of Abdülaziz (r. 1277/1861- 1293/1872). As Valide Sultan, Pertevniyal was the most powerful woman in the Ottoman empire and one of the most important patrons of 19th century Istanbul. In 1871, Pertevniyal Sultan endowed a mosque complex at Aksaray. The mosque complex included a library to which Pertevniyal donated more than 800 books. In 1945, most of the books, , including this *En'am-ı şerif,* were sent to the Süleymaniye Library.

This manuscript is an example of an *En'am-ı şerif* that does not feature *Surah al-An'am* at all, but replaces it with *Surah Ya Sin.*[109]

---

[107]No information is available on either artist.
[108] See Appendix II.
[109]See also Cat. #21, **IUL 5756**, dated 1263/1820-21 by Hasan al-Rashid (although Cat. #19, **IUL 5197**, dated 1254/1838-39, by the same calligrapher, does contain *Surah al-An'am.)*; as well as Cat. #23, **YY 847**, also by Seyyid Mehmed Hilmi; Cat. #24, **IUL 5573** by an unknown calligrapher; Cat. #26, **Spencer Turk 9**, dated 1289/1872 by Mustafa Hilmi; Cat. #27, **M&A Arab 22**, dated 1291/1874, by an unknown calligrapher; and Cat. #28, **IUL 5619**, dated 1292/1875-76, by an unknown calligrapher. That these manuscripts continued to be referred to as *En'am-ı şerif* despite that surah's absence in the text is evident from inscriptions within the books themselves. For example, Cat. #21, **IUL 5756** (ff. 168v-169), Cat. #24, **IUL 5573** (inside lining) and Cat. #28, **IUL 5619** (f. 1v) all contain text that identify them as *En'am-ı şerif.*

ff. 1v-30. *Surahs Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Nazi'at, al-Takathur, al-'Asr, al-Humaza, al-Fil, al-Quraish, al-Kauthar, al-Falaq, al-Nas , al-Fatiha* and the first five verses of *Surah al-Baqara.*

The page surrounding *unvan sahifesi* has been illuminated with watered-down gold paint to produce a floral *halkari* effect. **(figure 18. 2)** Bands of gold, black and red braiding surround the text. The blank surah heading is encircled with red and blue flowers against a golden background. The slightly dome-shaped top of the *unvan* is decorated with blue floriated finials.

The last two verses of the Qur'an, *Surah al-Falaq* and *Surah al-Nas,* are followed by the repition of *Surah al-Fatiha.* **(figure 18. 3)** Pink, blue and orange borders surround the surah headings. Each of the *bismillahs* are decorated with tiny flowers, and the margins contain elegant floral ornaments.

ff. 30v-38v. Qur'anic *du'a* that may represent the first part of an *evrad,* or Sufi litany.

ff. 39-47. The *salawat şerif,* or noble prayers of blessings upon the Prophet. This section includes instructions (f. 46v) to read these prayers night and day.

f. 47v. *Du'a barat.*

f. 48. A prayer of repentance.

f. 48v. A prayer of blessings.

f. 49. Another prayer of repentance.

f. 49v. *Salawat.*

f. 50. *Du'a khatim sharif.* (A prayer to end the *evrad.)*

ff. 51v. The *silsila,* or genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad.

f. 52. The names of the Prophets.

f. 52v-53. The colophon and the *liwa al-hamd,* or the "Flag of Praise." **(figure 18. 4)**

Once again, the artist has placed the colophon prior to the calligraphic and representational images. In the image on the left, a bent crescent finial tops a golden, three-panelled banner containing the phrases: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful; There is no god but Allah; and Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds." Oval cartouches on either side of the banner read: "Allah give us goodness in this life and the hereafter. Do not punish us with fire."

f. 53v-54. The Seal of Prophethood, and the Great Seal. **(figure 18. 5)**

On the right, the *unvans* read: "The centre of this typically tear-shaped seal is written in white ink and reads, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God." The middle ring of the seal repeats the phrase and adds a hadith: "Everywhere you [Prophet Muhammad] turn, you are victorious." The outer ring contains an arabesque of gold and black. The seal itself rests upon a multi-coloured backround of blue and a golden arabesque with flowers of pink, yellow, pale blue and orange. Panels above and below the seal are inscribed with red ink and read: "This was revealed for him [the Prophet Muhammad]: *'And surely thou hast sublime morals.'*[110]" The bottom panel contains a *hadith qudsi:* "If not for you (the Prophet Muhammad), I would not have created the universe."

---

[110]68:4.

On the left, the *unvan* is written in white ink on a gold background with a red border. It reads: "This is the Noble Seal [of the Prophet Muhammad] upon him be blessings and peace." Two circles surrounded by four roundels are displayed against a white and blue background intertwined with multi-coloured floral arabesques. The centre circle is inscribed with black ink and reads: "Everywhere you turn, you are victorious." In the outer circle, bands of gold separate the text that reads, up and down: "There is no god but God... and Muhammad is the Messenger of God." And left to right: "and between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood... and he was the Seal of the Prophets." Surrounding the seal are four roundels with the inscriptions: "There is no god but God...the King, the Truth, the Establisher. Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the truthful, the honourable, the trustworthy."

f. 54v-55. Calligraphic roundels, "Allah," and "Muhammad." **(figure 18. 6)**

f. 55v-56. A prayer in Ottoman Turkish, and the Seal of Solomon. **(figure 18. 7)**

On the right, six lines of text are inscribed in a golden circle that rests against a blue and white background covered with a multi-coloured floral arabesque. Four smaller roundels bear the Names of God: "O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Ruler, O Glorious One."

The text reads:

> " O my God, it is You Who is worshipped. From You I wait for support. No one can conceive of You. *Say: 'He is One.'*[111] You are One. You are Alone. We all seek Your support. You are beyond my comprehension. O my Lord, support me."

---

[111] 112:1.

On the left, two inscribed golden triangles are interwoven to form the "Star of Solomon." The star is centred within a golden circle, floating on an arabesque of pink, yellow, blue and red flowers, highlighted against a dark blue background. The golden *unvans* at the top and bottom of the image are bordered in red and white. The *unvans'* central cartouches are surrounded by a faint, golden arabesque with peach-coloured flowers, but these panels were never inscribed. Four roundels, one in each corner, contain the Names of God: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious! O Ruler of All! O Most Glorious!" The centre of the star is inscribed with a passage from the Qur'an: *"It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."*[112] The interwoven triangles also contain Qur'anic passages - a repetition and continuation of the same verse, and the verse of *taslim*:

> *"...and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful: Be ye not arrogant against me."*[113] *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...Oh ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him* [the Prophet Muhammad], *and salute him with all respect."*[114] "Most often and frequently." *"It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be ye not arrogant against me, but come to me in true submission (to the true religion)."*[115]

Three very similar Qur'anic passages are repeated twice around the inside of the outer circle:

> *"Allah! There is no god but He - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all."*[116] *"Alif, Lam, Mim. Allah! There is no god but He - the*

---

[112]27:30.
[113]27:30-31.
[114]33:56.
[115]27:30-31
[116]2:255. (*Ayat al-kursi*)

Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all."[117] *"All faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-Subsisting, the Sustainer."*[118]

f. 56v-57. The Ka'ba, and the Prophet's relics. **(figure 18. 8)**

In this image of the Ka'ba, the *kiswa* has been pulled halfway up to expose the underlying gray stones. The building appears out of its architectural context and seems almost to hover in the midst of a golden arabesque. Around the image, verses from the Qur'an are inscribed in red:

"...he was not of the pagans. The first House (of worship) appointed for men was that at Bakka: full of blessing and of guidance for all the worlds. In it are Signs Manifest; the Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage therto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey; but if any deny faith, Allah stands not in need of any of His creatures."[119]

Underneath, in Ottoman Turkish, is inscribed the following:

"If the servant of the Servant [Prophet Muhammad] goes to visit Your [Allah's] House, and asks for Your forgiveness and blessings, will he not receive them? Yes, anyone showing his face in Your House must receive blessings and forgiveness."

On the right, the *unvan* reads: "The estate (that which was left behind) of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him." The Prophet's *hırka*, or cloak, green with a pink lining and golden trim elaborated with pricking, his copy of the Qur'an, outlined in gold; his golden *miswak*, or toothbrush, his *tasbih*, or prayer beads consisting of one hundred golden beads; his comb, and his basin and ewer for making ablutions, all made of gold.

---

[117] 3:2.
[118] 20:111.
[119] 3:95-97.

f. 57v-58. The "Eye of Ali," and the Seal of the Names of God. **(figure 18. 9)**

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the eye *('ayn)* of 'Ali, may Allah enoble his face." To the left and to the right, two golden letter *'ayns*, begin the word "'Ali," and curve around the word "Allah." Between the letters the calligrapher has inscribed verses of the Qur'an:

> *"After (the excitement) of the distress, He sent down calm on a band of you overcome with slumber, while another band was stirred to anxiety by their own feelings, moved by wrong suspicions of Allah - suspicions due to ignorance. They said: 'Have we any hand in the affair?' Say thou: 'Indeed this affair is wholly Allah's.' They hide in their minds what they dare not reveal to thee. They say (to themselves); 'If we had anything to do with this affair, we should not have been in the slaughter here.' Say: 'Even if you had remained in your homes, those for whom death was decreed would certainly have gone forth to the place of their death': but (all this was) that Allah might test what is in your breasts and purge what is in your hearts. For Allah knoweth well the secrets of your hearts.'*[120]*...for Allah forgives all sins: for He is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.'*[121] O Restorer! O Controller! Most Forgiving, the Guardian of All."

The seal on the left features both the Names of God and the Seal of Solomon. Inscribed in white ink on a gold background and bordered in red, the *unvans* read: "O King of the Dominions...(unreadable)" Two circles float upon a background of blue and gold and floral arabesques of pink, yellow, pale blue and red.

The inner circle consists of a golden six-pointed star bearing the red inscription "The Seal of Solomon." Extending out from each of the star's points are the various names of God: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious! O Most Glorious! O Ruler! O Just! O Proof!" The outer circle contains a Qur'anic verse:

---

[120] 3:154.
[121] 39:53.

> *"With Him are the keys of the Unseen, the treasures that none knoweth but He. He knoweth whatever there is on earth and in the sea. Not a leaf doth fall but with His knowledge: there is not a grain in the darkness (or depths) of the earth, nor anything fresh or dry (green or withered) but is (inscribed) in a Record Clear (to those who can read).*[122] These are the true words of Almighty God."

f. 58v-59. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. **(figure 18. 10)**

Bird's-eye views of the holy cities are framed with red ovals and golden arabesques. Although the images are very detailed, there is some factual error. For example, while the domes of the minarets are typically Ottoman, with their conical tips covered in blue, the artist has mistakenly placed the fifth minaret at Medina on the north side instead of the west. The Ka'ba's covering, or *kiswa*, is shown half-pulled up to reveal the underlying stone courses, a rital that takes place yearly when the cover is exchanged for another. The Black Stone is clearly visible at the left-hand corner of the building. The *maqam*s surrounding the Ka'ba are depicted, as is the Orchard of Fatima and the *khazinat al-nabi*, or Treasury of the Prophet in the courtyard at Medina. To the left of the mosque is the cemetery of Baqih. The ground surrounding both buildings is covered with gold pricking.

f. 59v. The Seal of the Seven Sleepers, and four seals of the Names of God. **(figure 18. 11)**

The seal on the right consists of seven circles of gold alternating with black and red script, above a background of blue and gold covered with an arabesque of multi-coloured flowers. The top *unvan* contains the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog: "Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadhanush, Kafashtatanush, Qutmir." The bottom *unvan* reads: "O You who are Kind, be kind with us. Be sparing and clement with us. You are the Mighty, save us from Your Overwhelming Might." The first circle:

---

[122] 6:59.

"There is no god but God, the King, the Truth. There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. There is no god but God, Adam is the Chosen of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the Protected of God. There is no god but God, Abraham is the Friend of God. There is no god but God, Isma'il is the Sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Moses is the One Who Spoke to God.[123] There is no god but God, Solomon is the Trusted of God. There is no god but God, Jesus is the Spirit of God."

The second circle (in red) reads:

"In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed! ' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.[124]*...There is no god but He, the Exalted in Power, the Wise. The religion before Allah is Islam."*[125]

The third circle (in black) reads:

"Allah! There is no other god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory)."[126]

The fourth circle (in red) consists of a series of repeated *tilsim.*[127] The fifth circle (in black) repeats the *shahada:* "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the

---

[123]Identical with Cat. #28, **IUL 5619** f. 75.
[124] 68:51-52.
[125]3:18-19.
[126]The *ayat al-kursi,* 2:255.
[127]Mystical words of power. The word *tilsim* is thought to be of foreign origin, either Persian or Ethiopic. It is the source of our own word "talisman." See Lane, vol. 2, p. 1867.

Messenger of God,"five times. The sixth and centre circle (in black) repeats the phrase: "God is Most High,"three times.

In the image on the left, four circular medallions are placed horizontally in the central panel. On either side of the central panel, a series of arabesque motifs balance the composition, with alternating backgrounds of blue and green. The motifs of the side panels are surrounded by gold pricking, and the medallions of the central panel are displayed against a golden arabesque. Each of the medallions consists of two golden circles and two bands of text. The outer circles are all inscribed in red ink with the same passage, all of *Surah al-Ikhlas: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Say he is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute. He begetteth not, nor is He begotten, and there is none like unto Him."* The inner circles, inscribed in black, bear the Names of God: "O Just! O Proof! O Most Tender! O Most Gracious! O Ruler! O Glorious! O Most Beneficent! O Most Merciful!"

ff. 60v-63v. *Du'a.*

This section includes a passage (ff. 60v-61) **(figure 18. 12)** which repeats several variations upon the names of the Seven Sleepers.

f. 64. Colophon. **(figure 18. 13)**

Catalogue #19 - IUL 5197, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Hasan Al-Rashid,[128] a student of Sayyid Mehmet Tahir.[129]
dated: 1254/1838-39.
No images available.

Light cream coloured paper. 211 folios. 20.8 x 14.4. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Red leather binding with *mıkleb.*

This is the first of two manuscripts in this study by the hand of the calligrapher Hasan Al-Rashid, the second is Cat. #21, **IUL 5756**.

ff. 1v-2. *Du'a* and first five verses of *Surah al-Baqara.*

ff. 6v-31. *Surah al-An'am* and a prayer to recite after reading it.

ff. 31v-32. *Surah al-Fatiha* and *Ya Sin (unvan sahifesi).*

ff. 32v-64v. *Surahs al-Dukhan, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Fajr, al-Dhuha, al-Inshirah, al-Tin, al-'Alaq, al-Qadr, al-Baiyina, al-Zalzalah* to the end of *al-Nas* and *al-Fatiha.*

f. 65-123. Various Qur'anic and other *du'a (du'a sharif, du'a salawat kabir* etc.) and *salawat.*

---

[128] See Appendix II.
[129] See Appendix II.

ff. 123-124. The "Great Seal" of the Prophet Muhammad, with instructions for its use.

The explanatory text for this seal begins on f. 123 and continues to f. 123v. It is written in Ottoman Turkish, and reads:

> "This is the explanation of the Great Seal [of Muhammad], may peace and blessings be upon him. It is said that our Master Muhammad Mustafa, peace and blessings be upon him, said: 'Whoever looks at this seal and rubs it on his eyes, they receive the same reward as if they recited the entire Qur'an one thousand times, as if they prayed one thousand years, as if they fed one thousand poor people, as if they fought one thousand *jihad*, the reward of one thousand Arafats, as if they fasted one thousand years, as if they made one thousand *Hajj* , as if they visited one thousand sick people, as if they prayed one thousand *janaza* prayers for the dead, as if they built one thousand bridges, as if they freed one thousand slaves, all these rewards Allah gives to whomever looks at this seal."

The upper *unvan* on f. 124 reads: "*Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him, and salute him with all respect.*"[130] The lower reads: "Send blessings and peace be upon him."

The seal itself is a double circle with *ya Allah* repeated sixteen times in the centre, and again eight times at each of the top, bottom, right and left of the outer ring. The Names of Allah are inscribed in four roundels: "O Ever-Living! O Self-Subsisting! O Lord of Majesty and Glory!" Above and below the seal are inscribed the words: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah." The interstices are inscribed with the names of members of the Prophet and his family: Muhammad, 'Ali, Hussain, Ja'far al-Sadiq, Muhammad Musa, Imam Kasim, Zain al-Abidin, 'Ali Musa.

---

[130] 33:56.

f. 124v-125. Calligraphic roundels "Allah" and "Muhammad."

ff. 125v-134. *Hilyes* of the prophets, the *hilye şerif* and the *hilyes* of the *rashidun* caliphs, all in Ottoman Turkish.

f. 125v. *Hilye* of Adam.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Adam, the Sincere Friend of God, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "He was very tall. He was slim. His face was white. He was so thin you could see the bones around his eyes."

f. 126. *Hilye* of Noah.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Noah, the One Protected by God, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "He had a white complexion. He had curly hair. He had brown eyes. He had a small beard. He had a beautiful face."

f. 126v. *Hilye* of Abraham.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Abraham the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His complexion was white. He had curly hair. He had brown eyes. He had an aqualine nose. His forehead was flat."

f. 127. *Hilye* of Issac.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Issac the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "He had a pale complexion and ruddy cheeks. He was very humble, so much so that his neck hung to one side. He had a beautiful face."

f. 127v. *Hilye* of Isma'il.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Isma'il the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "He was white, but his face was ruddy. His face was full of spiritual light. He was very humble.

f. 128. *Hilye* of Lot.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Lot the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His colour was brown. His hair was red. He was righteous. He had a beautiful face."

f. 128v. *Hilye* of David.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable David the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His complexion was ruddy. His eyebrows were slim. His stomache was big. His face was sensitive. His character was forgiving."

f. 129. *Hilye* of Moses.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Moses the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His beard was black. His appearance was stern. His lips were full. He was righteous."

f. 129v. *Hilye* of Issac.[131]

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Issac the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His face was brown. His hair was red. He was righteous. He had a beautiful face."

f. 130. *Hilye* of Jacob.

---

[131]Logically, this *hilye* should be that of Aaron.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Jacob the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His hair was white. His complexion was red. His lower lip was full. He had a mole."

f. 130v. *Hilye* of Joseph.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Joseph the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "He was reddish in colour. He had a long neck. He had big eyes. He was beardless. He had a very beautiful face."

f. 131. *Hilye* of Jesus.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Jesus the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text reads: "His colour was beautiful. His face was white. His eyes were beautiful. His height was proportioned. His face was beautiful."

f. 131v-132. *Hilye* of Muhammad.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." The text reads: "His body was flawless. His eyebrows were thin and black. His height was average. His head was large. His forehead was high. His face was filled with spiritual light. His teeth were spaced and light seemed to shine from between them. He had jet-black eyes and a round beard. His stomache was flat. He had a line of hair from his chest to his navel. On his back was the Seal of Prophethood."

f. 132v. *Hilye* of Abu Bakr.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Abu Bakr, the Truthful, may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "He was tall. He was slim. His face was white. His face was so thin you could see his bones."

f. 133. *Hilye* of 'Umar.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable 'Umar, who separates truth from falsehood, may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "His face was tanned, and his body was white. He was tall and heavy-set. His hair was thinning, bald on top. He had a beautiful face."

f. 133v. *Hilye* of 'Uthman.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable 'Uthman, possessor of the Two Lights,[132] may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "He was tall and heavy-set. His eyes were beautiful. His skin was soft. He had a lot of body hair and big bones. His head was large."

f. 134. *Hilye* of 'Ali.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable 'Ali, may God ennoble his face and may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "He was dark brown. He was of medium height. He had a lot of body hair. His shoulders were broad. His hair was thinning. He had a beautiful face."

f. 134v. The Seal of the Names of God.

A circular seal surrounded by four smaller roundels bearing the names of the Prophet: "Jawad, 'Abid, (unreadable), Shahid." The *unvans* read: "*Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him,*

---

[132]'Uthman was known as the possessor of two lights because of his marriages to two of the Prophet's daughters.

and salute him with all respect."[133] The main feature of the seal is a circular wheel consisting of the Names of God: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious!" repeated three times. The uprights of the letters are extended through the centre of the circle to form part of an opposing letter. Where these lines meet in the centre, they form a six-pointed Star of Solomon.

f. 135. The Seal of *"Inna Allah 'ala kulli shay'in qadir."*

The *unvans* read: "Glory be to God, and praise be to Him, and glory be to God... the Almighty, *"for Allah hath power over all things."*[134] The four surrounding roundels contain the names of the Prophet. The seal itself consists of the four-time repetition of the Qur'anic phrase: *"for Allah hath power over all things."*[135] The word *'ala*, or "over," has been enlarged and centred to form the hub and spokes of a spinning wheel.

f. 135v. The "Seal of Prophethood of the Messenger of God."

The *unvans* read: "This is the Seal of Prophethood of the Honourable Messenger of God...Glory be to God, and praise be to God, and there is no god but God, and God is Greatest, God is Greatest, God is Greatest, and to Him is the praise." Four corner roundels bear the names of the Prophet. The seal consists of an inner and outer circle, and a central, oval motif. The text in the outer circle reads: "This is the Seal of Prophethood, and he is the Seal of Prophets. Everywhere you turn, you are successful." The inner circle reads: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God."

f. 136. The "Seal of Solomon."

---

[133] 33:56.
[134] 16:77.
[135] 16:77.

The *unvans* read: "This is the Seal of the Honourable Solomon, may peace and blessings be upon him." Four corner roundels bear the names of the Prophet. A circle surrounds a six-pointed star, the centre is inscribed with the words: "*Tajaj,*[136] O Muhammad, verily you are a lion!" The points of the star are inscribed with the Qur'anic verse: *"It is from Solomon, and it is , 'In the Name of Allah.'"* The interstices of the seal are filled with the Names of God: "The Wise, the Holy, the Just, the Everliving, the One."

f. 136v. *Ta'viz.*

The top *unvan* reads: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."* The bottom *unvan* reads: *"Allah and His angels send blessings on the Prophet."*[137] The four roundels, one in each corner, contain the names of the Prophet. The *ta'viz* consists of an inner and an outer circle. The outer circle contains a Qur'anic passage frequently used against the evil eye:

> *"And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."*[138]

The inner circle reads: "Allah wills what He wills, and anything He does not will, will not happen. There is no power and no strength except with Allah."

f. 137. *Ta'viz.*

The top *unvan* reads (in Ottoman Turkish): "This is a seal of the (Qur'anic) verses of healing." The bottom *unvan* reads: "Allah has spoken the Truth." Four

---

[136]A word of *tilsim,* from Syriac, naming a *Jinn.* (From a conversation with Shaykh Hisham Kabbani). Solomon was given control over the *Jinn.*
[137]33:56.
[138]68:51-52.

roundels, one in each corner, contain the names of the Prophet. The *ta'viz* consists of an inner and an outer circle. The outer circle reads:

> *"We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unbelievers it causes nothing but loss after loss.* [139] *And when I am ill, it is He who cures me.* [140] *Say: 'It is a guide and a healing to those who believe* [141]*...and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts.* [142]

f. 137v-143. Calligraphic roundels "Abu Bakr," "'Umar," "'Uthman," "'Ali," "Hasan," "Hussain," "Talha," "Zubair," "'Abdallah," "'Abd al-Rahman," "Sa'd," "Sa'id."

f. 143v. The Rod of Moses.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the staff of Moses, may the blessings of God be upon our Prophet and his descendents." A double headed staff with snake's head finials. Above the staff are written the names of the four archangels: Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, and 'Azra'il. Below the heads of the staff are written Qur'anic prayers:

> (right) *"The Lord of Moses and Aaron."*[143] *"Our Lord give us good in this world and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire."*[144](left)*"O my Lord! leave me not without offspring, though Thou are the best of Inheritors."*[145]*"'Our Lord!' (they say), 'let not our hearts*

---

[139]17:82.
[140]26:80.
[141]41:44.
[142]10:57.
[143]7:122. (This verse is found in a passage that recounts the story of Moses and his rod.)
[144]2:201.
[145]21:89. (Zakariyah's prayer)

deviate now after Thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own Presence; for Thou art the Grantor of bounties without measure.'"[146]

f. 144. The Prophet's Battle-ax.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the noble battle-ax....." The names of the four archangels are written above the standard: "Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, and 'Azra'il, blessings be upon them." The standard is circular, and inscribed with text: "O God, O He, O Muhammad." The bottom *unvan* repeats what is written on the standard and adds, "peace and blessings be upon him." To the side of the banner is written: "I put my trust in God, and God is Sufficient for me." Underneath the banner are Qur'anic prayers:

(left)*"'Our Lord!' (they say), 'let not our hearts deviate now after Thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own Presence; for Thou art the Grantor of bounties without measure.'"*[147] (right) *"Our Lord give us good in this world and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire.* [148] By Your Mercy."

f. 144v. *Ta'viz.*

The top *unvan* reads: "And Allah...There is no power and no strength except Allah." The bottom *unvan* contains the *dhikr* of the angels: "Praise be to Allah, our Creator, and the Creator of Angels and Spirit." Four roundels, one in each corner bear the Names of God: "O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Merciful, O Compassionate." The body of the *ta'viz* consists of an inner and an outer circle. The outer circle reads:

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...Allah sufficeth me: there is no god but He on Him is my trust, He is the Lord of the

---

[146]3:8.
[147]3:8.
[148]2:201.

Throne Supreme![149] There is no power and no strength except with Allah."

The centre of the circle continues:

"The Highest, the Mightiest. O Ever-Living, O Self-Sufficient. *But Allah will suffice thee as against them. and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing.*[150] The Truth from Allah, Most High. O Most Compassionate."

f. 145. The Ka'ba.

A simple image with no architectural context, similar in layout to that of the University of Victoria's manuscript (Cat. #16, p. 371, **figure 16. 126**). "This is the House of Allah...(unreadable).

The first House (of worship) appointed for men was that at Bakka: full of blessings and of guidance for all the worlds. In it are Signs Manifest; the Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey..."[151]

ff. 145v-146. The Ka'ba and Medina.

Oval-shaped, bird's-eye views of the Holy Precincts. Inaccurate, somewhat formulaic images of Mecca and Medina. Surrounding houses are pictured as row upon row of highly regular, rectangular shapes. The Prophet's tomb is depicted as being three stories high, with what appear to be flames reaching up from the roof.

f. 146v. The Prophet's handprint.

---

[149] 9:129.
[150] 2:137.
[151] 3:96-97.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the handprint *(pence)* of the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." A broken outline of the print of a right hand, with its thumb and four fingers inscribed in white ink: "In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God...Glory be to God and to Him is the praise, Glory be to God the Almighty...No victory except 'Ali's, no sword except *Zülfiqar*... God is Sufficient, I put my trust in God."

f. 147. *Zülfiqar.*

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the Honourable 'Ali's *Zülfiqar.*

The names of the four archangels surround the double-bladed sword: "Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, and 'Azra'il." The handle of the sword is inscribed with the words: "In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful." The blades are inscribed: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God...The King, the Truth, the Evident. [152] In Truth, a trustworthy promise."

f. 147v. The *Qadam şerif.*

The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the footprint of the Messenger of God." A broken line indicates the shape of the footprint. The footprint is inscribed with the words: "If God wills, it will be, and if not, it will never be. There is no power except with God..."

f. 148. The Prophet's sandal.

The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the noble sandal." The sandal is inscribed with the words: "I seek refuge with God (Glory be to God and praise be to God) from Satan the Accursed. In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most

---

[152]The Names of God.

Merciful, I seek refuge in the words of God, from the evil of that which is created."

f. 148v. The Tree of Tuba.

The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the Tree of Tuba." The trees roots soar upward, around them is written: "The station of the honourable 'Azra'il, upon him be blessings and peace."

f. 149. The Noble Date Palm.

The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the tree of life."

f. 149v. The eye of *'Ali.*

The *unvan* reads: "This is the likeness of 'Ali's eye *('ayn),* may God ennoble his face." *(Hadha shaklu 'ayn 'Ali karrama Allahu wajahu.)* A calligraphic renderings of the words "'Ali" and "Allah" are surrounded by the letter *'ayn.* To the right and slightly above the composition, the Qur'anic verse, *"but Allah will suffice thee against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."*[153] To the left of the image is the prase, "my trust is in God." The centre of the *'ayn* in the word "'Ali" contains the phrase, "O Muhammad." The centre of the surrounding *'ayn* contains the phrase, "O God;" beneath its sweeping tail, the same phrase is repeated nine times. The phrase, "God is sufficient," is inscribed under the word "Allah." In the lower right and left hand corners, the names of the four archangels appear: Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, and 'Azra'il, between them is inscribed the phrase, "peace be upon them." The bottom *unvan* reads: "Glory be to God Almighty, and praise be to Him."

---

[153]2:137. This verse refers to those who have turned back after having accepted Islam, those who are in schism.

f. 150. The Rose of Muhammad.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the Rose of the Messenger of God." A rose, inscribed with the name "Muhammad," and ten leaves, each bearing a name of one of the ten promised paradise: "Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, Talha, Zubair, Sa'd, and Sa'id." The area above the flower is filled with the names of the four archangels: "Gabriel, Michael, Isra'fil, 'Azra'il, peace be upon them." The area below the flower is inscribed the traditional blessing on the companions of the Prophet: "may God Almighty be pleased with them all."

f. 150v. The *liwa' al-hamd*, the "Flag of Praise."

The three-panelled flag is surrounded by the names of the archangels and rightly-guided caliphs. The panels are inscribed with the *shahada*, the *bismillah*, and the second verse of *Surah al-Baqara: "Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."* To the right, and underneath the flag, a Qur'anic prayer recited after the Hajj: *"Our Lord! Give us good in this world, and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire!"* [154] To the left, the Qur'anic prayer of those "of understanding": *"Our Lord! Let not our hearts deviate now after Thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own Presence, for Thou art the Grantor of bounties without measure."* [155] The implication is that angels will be above Muhammad's "Flag of Praise" on the Day of Judgement, while below it will shelter those who recited these prayers.

f. 151. The Great Seal of God.

The Great Seals's central motif consists of six concentric circles, ringed with gold on a silver background. Four small roundels surrounding the central

---

[154] 2:201.
[155] 3:8.

medallion bear the Names of Allah: "Oh Ever Living, Oh Self-Subsisting, Oh Possessor of Majesty and Benevolence." Four slightly larger medallions are inscribed with *Surah al-Ikhlas*: "*Say: He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him.*" Above and below the central medallion is the testament of belief: "I believe in Allah and His Angels, and His Books, and His Messengers, the Day of Judgement, the Will of Allah, both good and bad."

The outer circle of the central medallion reads: "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. There is no god but God, Adam is the 'Sincere Friend of God'. There is no god but God, Nuh is the 'One Protected by God'. There is no god but God, Da'ud is the 'Deputy of God'. There is no god but God, Ibrahim is the 'Friend of God'. " The second circle reads: "*And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message.*"[156] The third and part of the fourth circle reads:

> "*Allah, there is no god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize Him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).*[157]

The rest of the fourth circle consists of *tilsim*, "*il ha ha, il ha ha, il ha ha, ha ha mim, ha ha mim, ha ha mim.*" The fifth circle reads: "God, the Most High," repeated three times. The centre of the circle reads: "O God!"

f. 151v. *Ta'viz.*

---

[156] 68:51.
[157] 2:255-256.

f. 152. The *rasm maqam Mahmoud*, or the 'Station of Muhammad." (This image is very similar to that of **UVic 95-014**, p. 371, **(figure 16.126).**)

f. 152v. The *sancak*, or flag of the Messenger.

The *unvan* reads: "The *sancak* of the Messenger, peace be upon him." The simple flag bears a trefoil-shaped finial and is inscribed with the *shahada*, below it the words "O God, O Ever-Living." To the side and below the flag, the words: "the *sancak* of the Messenger of Almighty God, peace be upon him...O Evident by the sanctity of the noblest of prophets and believers."

f. 153. The Prophet's relics.

His cloak, prayer rug, prayer beads, and a ewer and basin for ablutions.

ff. 153v-155. *Sancaks* of the Prophet.

Three tear-shaped standards bearing inscriptions:

> "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the truthful, the honest...Victory is from God, and the immanent opening, and the announcement of good news to the believers. O Muhammad!..There is no go but God, the King, the Truth, the Evident, Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the truthful, dependable, the trustworthy, May the peace and blessings of God be upon him."

ff. 155v-162. *Sancaks* of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, "uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, Talha, Zubair, 'Abdallah, 'Abd al-Rahman, Sa'd, Sa'id, Hamza, 'Abbas.

f. 162v. A prayer square. (similar to that of UVic)

f. 163-171v. *Salawat* in the form of cypress trees, tombstones (?), or *mihrabs*.

f. 172-174v. *Du'a.*

ff. 175-180v. The *'asma al-husna* and the *asma' al-nabi.*

ff. 181-204. *Du'a* and *salawat.*

ff. 204v-205. Colophon. The calligrapher, Hasan al-Rashid, is noted as being *hafiz al-Qur'an,* and a student of Mehmed Tahir. The manuscript refers to itself as an *En'am-ı şerif,* and is dated 1254/1838-9.

Catalogue #20 - IUL 6386, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband, illuminated by *al-hajj* Rasm Mehmed.
dated: 1257/1841-42.
No images available.

Heavy, dark cream paper. 88 folios. 26.2 x 16.2. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Red leather binding with *mıkleb.*

This *En'am-ı şerif* was written by the calligrapher 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband and includes the *silsila*, or spiritual chain of authority of Şeyh 'Ali Naqshband, leading to the obvious conclusion that it was probably commissioned by a member of the Naqshbandi order. **IUL 6386** incorporates elements from both the earliest *En'am-ı şerifs* **(UVic 95-014)** and the latest **(IUL 5619)**, illustrating the eclectic nature of these manuscripts and their influence on each other.

f. 1. *Du'a.*

ff. 1v-2. *Surah al-Fatiha* and the first five verse of *Surah al-Baqara.*

f. 2v. *Ayat al-kursi.*

ff. 5-38v. *Surahs al-An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Nazi'at, al-Dhuha, al-Ikhlas, al-Falaq, al-Nas.*

ff. 39-40. Qur'anic *du'a.*

Yadi ayat, or verses of remembrance: 9:51, 6:17, 11:6, ?, 29:60, ? [158]

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Say: 'Nothing will happen to us except what Allah has decreed for us: He is our Protector': and on Allah let the believers put their trust." (9:51)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance dependeth on Allah: He knoweth its resting place and its temporary deposit: all is in a clear Record." (11:6)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. How many are the creatures that carry not their own sustenance? It is Allah who feeds (both) them and you: For He hears and knows all things." (29:60)

ff. 40v-41. *Du'a munajat.*

ff. 41v-42v. The *'asma al-husna.*

f. 43. *Silsila* of the Messenger of Allah.

ff. 43v-44. The "Great Seal," with instructions for its use in Ottoman Turkish.

The explanation of the Great Seal, (f.43v) states:

"Anyone who looks at this Great Seal, morning or night, and rubs it over their face and eyes, God will forgive their sins for the past 70 years. Anyone who looks at this seal at the beginning of the month, God will protect them from difficulties for that month. God will protect them from their enemies. This is a very great seal, with many deep secrets."

---

[158] A similar selection occurs in Cat. #16, **UVic 95-014**, p. 187-191, **(figures 16. 5 to 16. 9)**.

The Great Seal itself consists of a central medallion and four smaller side medallions containing the phrase, "O God!" inscribed seventy-seven times in all.

ff. 44v-47. Calligraphic roundels: Allah, Muhammad, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali.

ff. 47v-48. The Great Seal of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq with explanations for its use.

> "The explanation of the Great Seal...Imam Ja'far (may Allah be pleased with him), reported from the Messenger of God (peace be upon him): 'Anyone who looks at this Great Seal, Allah will protect them from Hellfire, and they will surely see Allah's Beauty. They will be protected from 70,000 difficulties in this life, will never be destitute, and will have a long life. Allah will forgive them their sins. All this is due to the blessings of this seal.'[159] Ameen."

The seal itself consists of three concentric circles, centred around the words: "O God." The outer circle reads:

> "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. There is no god but God, Adam is the chosen one of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the one God protected. There is no god but God, Abraham is the friend of God." The second circle reads: "There is no god but God, He is Alone, no partners has He. Isma'il is the sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Moses is the one who conversed with God."[160]

The inner circle reads: "There is no god but God, His is the dominion, and to Him belongs all praise, and He has power over all things."

---

[159]The Ottoman Turkish explanatory text is almost identical with that of Cat. # 28, **IUL 5619**, f. 53v-54.

[160]Note the similarity with Cat. #18, **Pertevniyal 43** f. 59v **(figure 18. 11)**.

f. 48v. A collage of images: the Prophet's hand (*pence şerif*), his comb, prayer beads, and 'Ali's *Zülfiqar.*

f. 49. More images: the Tree of Tuba, an incence burner, a rose-water sprinkler, and a Qur'an case.

f. 49v-50. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina.

Oval-framed, bird's-eye views of the Holy Cities. Medina is portrayed with flames bursting from the roof over the Prophet's tomb. The Haram at Mecca has aquired a marble pavement around the Ka'ba, with pathways radiating from the centre to the surrounding arcades.

f. 50v. Images of the Prophet's footprint, his ablution ewer, and the double-headed rod of Moses.

f. 51. Images of the Prophet's sandal, his *miswak* (toothbrush), and ablution basin.

ff. 51v-68v. Various *du'a* and *salawat* including the *du'a munajat, istighfar, barat, Ramadan şerif, sanati jadid,* the *salawat kabir,* and the *du'a khatim.*

ff. 68v-69. A colophon giving the name of the calligrapher as 'Abd al-Samad Naqshband, and the illuminator *Al-Hajj* Rasm Mehmed. The inscribed date is 1257/1841-42.

ff. 69v-72v. A collection of prayers. *(hizb)*

ff. 73-78. *Silsila Naqshbandi,* the chain of Naqshbandi shaykhs from the Prophet Muhammad through Abu Bakr. This branch of the order follows Shaykh 'Ali Naqshbandi (f. 75).

ff. 78-79v. Another collection of prayers. *(hizb)*

ff. 80-82. *Hisb* of Imam Hasan.

ff. 82v-83. *Du'a* .

Catalogue #21 - IUL 5756, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul

En'am-i şerif, by the calligrapher Hasan al-Rashid,[161] student of Mehmet Tahir.[162] dated: 1263/1820-21.
No images available.

Heavy, dark cream coloured paper. 188 folios. 26.7 x 17.3. 9 lines per page. *Nesih*. Green leather binding with *mıkleb*.

This is the second *En'am-i şerif* in our study by the calligrapher Hasan al-Rashid, the first being Cat. #19, **IUL 5197**.

ff. 1v-53v. *Surahs al-Fatiha, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Inshirah, al-Tin, al-'Alaq, al-Qadr, al-Baiyina, al-Zalzalah* to the end of the Qur'an, and *al-Fatiha*. (with specific *du'a* for each surah.)

ff. 54-74. Qur'anic *du'a*.

f. 74v. *Khatim al-Qur'an*.

ff. 75-151v. *Salawat, du'a, hizb*.

f. 152. The genealogy of the Prophet.

ff. 152v-157v. *Fadilat Ya Sin*.

---

[161] See Appendix II.
[162] See Appendix II.

f. 158v. The Seal of the Names of God.

The *'asma al-husna* are inscribed in a series of squares above and below the seal. The seal is inscribed with the words, "O God!" repeated seventy-seven times.

f. 159. The Seal of the names of the Prophet.

The *'asma al-husna* are continued in a series of squares above and below the seal. The seal itself is a calligraphic rendering of the name "Muhammad" repeated four times around a central circle containing the name "Allah." The names of the other prophets are also inscribed in the interstices.

f. 159v. The Seal of Prophethood.

The *'asma al-nabi* are inscribed in a series of squares above and below the seal. The *unvan* reads: "This is the Seal of Prophethood of the Messenger of God, and God Almighty said: *'And thou (standest) on an exalted standard of character.'*[163]" The seal is like a tear-shaped pendant, the inscription inside is unreadable. The seal's outer band of inscription contains *tilsim,* or words of power. The inside band contains *Surah al-Ikhlas.* To the right of the seal is inscribed: ""The pride of the universe, sultan of prophets, peace be upon him." To the left of the circle: "First among women, our lady Fatima al-Zahra." Two circles below the seal contain the names of the Prophet's sons, Qasim and 'Abdallah.[164] To the right and left of the image, two cartouches contain inscriptions. On the left: "*Tajaj!*[165] O Muhammad, you are a lion." On the right: "Everywhere you turn, you are victorious."

---

[163]68:4.
[164]One of the Prophet's *qunyas* is 'Abu Qasim. It is not known whether or not he actually had a son of this name, what is known is that none of his sons survived to adulhood.
[165]A *tilsim* or word of power.

f. 160. Another Seal of the Prophet.

The names of the Prophet are continued in squares above and below the seal. The *unvan* reads: "This is the Seal of the Prophet in a different style...If not for you, I would not have created the universe."[166] The centre of the seal is a circle inscribed with the words: "*Tajaj!*[167] O Muhammad, you are a lion. Everywhere you turn, you are victorious." Four cartouches circle the centre: "There is no god but God...the King, the Truth, the Evident. Muhammad is the Messenger of God...the truthful, the honourable, the trustworthy." Four roundels surround the seal, each containing the name of one of the Prophet's children: Ibrahim, Zainab, 'Umm Kulthum, Ruqiya. Below the seal is a hadith, narrated by 'Ali: "The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: 'Anyone who writes my names and keeps them in his house will not find difficulty, or sickness, the evil eye, or magic, and poverty will never touch him.'"

ff. 160v-163. *Hilyes* written in Ottoman Turkish, describing the Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali. The text in the panels above and below the *hilye* also contains poems, hadith and *sirah* about the Prophet Muhammad. Of particular interest is a passage about the *hilye* itself, found on ff. 161-161v. The passage narrates a hadith from 'Ali, who said that he heard the Prophet say:

> "Whoever looks at my *hilye* it is as if they see my beautiful face. God will protect them from Hell-fire, and grant them the Paradise of Firdaus. He will protect them from the torment of the grave, and on Judgement Day they will be clothed in the raiment of Paradise."

f. 160v-161. The *hilye* of the Prophet Muhammad.

---

[166] A *hadith qudsi*, or sacred hadith conveying the words of God.
[167] *Tilsim.*

"His forehead was wide. His beard was round with a few white hairs. His eyes were black, some said brown, and some people said hazel coloured. His eyebrows were comely. There were spaces between his teeth. His nose was aquiline. His skin was tawny. His ears were small. His face was round. His face and beard were round. His forehead was wide. His arms were long. His height was average. He was of medium build. His fingers were slim. His body was hairless, except for one line of hair from his chest to his navel. Between his shoulders was the seal of Prophethood. In the centre (of the seal) was written: "(There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Prophet of God."[168]

f. 161v. *Hilye* of Abu Bakr.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable Abu Bakr, the Truthful, may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "He was tall. He was slim. His face was white. His face was so thin you could see his bones."

f. 162. *Hilye* of 'Umar.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable 'Umar, who separates truth from falsehood, may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "His face was tanned, and his body was white. He was tall and heavy-set. His hair was thinning, bald on top. He had a beautiful face."

f. 162v. *Hilye* of 'Uthman.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable 'Uthman, possessor of the Two Lights, may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "He was tall and heavy-set. His eyes were beautiful. His skin was soft. He had a lot of body hair and big bones. His head was large."

---

[168]Identical to that found in Cat. #25, **Düğümlü Baba 491**, ff. 71v-72 **(figures 25. 16** and **25. 17)**.

f. 163. *Hilye* of 'Ali.

The *unvan* reads: "This is the *hilye* of the Most Honourable 'Ali, may God enoble his face and may Almighty God be pleased with him." The text reads: "He was dark brown. He was of medium height. He had a lot of body hair. His shoulders were broad. His hair was thinning. He had a beautiful face."[169]

f. 163v. The Seal of Ja'far al-Sadiq.

The seal consists of two concentric circles with four surrounding roundels. The *unvan* reads: "This is the seal of Ja'far al-Sadiq, may God be pleased with him." The outer circle reads: *"There is no god but He: that is the witness of Allah, His angels, and those endued with knowledge standing firm on justice. There is no god but He, the Exalted in Power, the Wise."*[170] The inner circle reads: *"And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."*[171]

The four roundels read: "In the Name of God, by this Name no one can hurt you either on earth, or in the heavens, and He is All-Hearing, All-Knowing."..."*In the Name of Allah, Most Generous, Most Merciful...We sent down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe: to the unjust it causes nothing but loss after loss.*"[172]..."I seek protection in the Words of God, from His anger and punishment. And from the evil of his servants and their actions."..."In the Name of God, the healing is by God's Name, good health is by God's Name, the recuperation is by God's Name."

f. 164. The Eye of *'Ali.*

---

[169]The *hilye* of the four caliphs are identical with those of Cat. #19, **IUL 5197**, ff. 132v-134.
[170]3:18.
[171]68:51-52.
[172]17: 82

A calligraphic rendering of the phrase: "The *'ayn* (or eye) of 'Ali is upon God." The *unvan* reads: "This is the likeness of the *ayn* of 'Ali, may God enoble his face, and may God Almighty be pleased with him." The panel above the image reads: "Muhammad has four beloved companions: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali." A small rondel above the image is inscribed: "Anas ibn Malik, may god be pleased with him."[173] The words "O Muhammad" and "O God" are inscribed in the rounds of the two *'ayn*. The words "O God" are repeated twelve times between the curves of the letters. To the right of the image is inscribed the Qur'anic verse:*"but Allah will suffice thee against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing,"*[174] followed by the phrase, "my trust is in God." To the left of the image, the Qur'anic verse: *"Allah sufficeth me: there is no god but He: on Him is my trust, He the Lord of the Throne (of Glory) Supreme!"*[175] The panel below the image contains hadith:

> "The *amir al-mumineen,* (prince of believers), the champion lion of God said: 'Do not run after someone who is retreating, and do not run away from someone who needs your help.' He is 'Ali ibn Talib, may God enoble his face and may God be pleased with him. There is no victor except 'Ali, and no sword except *Zülfiqar.*" [The Prophet, peace be upon him, said:] "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Ali is the gate."

f. 164v. The Ka'ba.

The image in this manuscript reverts to the earlier way of depicting the sacred shrine: an over-head view of the Ka'ba and its precincts. The image lacks any attempt at perspective, showing some parts in plan, others in elevation. The

---

[173]The appearance here of the name of Anas ibn Malik, one of the Prophet's companions, and a prolific transmitter of *hadith*, probably indicates that it was he who transmitted the *hadith* found in the bottom panel.

[174] 2:137. This verse refers to those who have turned back after having accepted Islam, those who are in schism.

[175]9:129.

Ka'ba, Safa and Marwa are depicted, as are six minarets, the *maqams* of Abraham and the four imams, the well of Zem-zem, and Mount Arafat. A Qur'anic verse, describing the image, is inscribed on the image itself:

> "Allah said: *' The first House (of worship) appointed for men was that at Bakka, full of blessing and guidance for all kinds of beings. In it are Signs Manifest; (for example) the Station of Abraham. Whoever enters it attains security. Pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, those who can afford the journey."*[176]

At the bottom of the page, surrounding the image of Marwa, another Qur'anic verse:

> "God, Glorious and Almighty, said: *'Behold! Safa and Marwa are among the symbols of Allah. So if those who visit the House in the Season or at other times, should compass them round, it is no sin on them. And if any obeyeth his own impulse to good, be sure that Allah is He Who recognizeth and knoweth.'* God speaks the Truth."

f. 165. The *Masjid al-Aqsa* in Jerusalem.

An image similar in style to that of the Ka'ba. The *Haram al-Şerif* with various buildings and structures depicted. Written across the top of the pages:

> "God Almighty said: "*Glory to (Allah) Who did take His servant for a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did bless, in order that We might show him some of Our Signs: for He is the One who Heareth and Seeth (all things).*"[177]

f. 165v. The Prophet's Mosque in Medina (exterior).

---

[176] 3:96-97.
[177] 17:1.

The courtyard, arcades, four minarets and *rawda*, or tomb-sanctuary of the Prophet's Mosque, depicted with flames coming from the roof of the dome over his tomb. The flames reach into the text above:

> "God Almighty has said in Book: *"Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a niche and within it a lamp: the lamp enclosed in glass: the glass as it were a brilliant star: lit from a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil is well-nigh luminous, though fire scare touched it: Light upon Light! Allah doth guide whom He will to His Light: Allah doth set forth parables for men: and Allah doth know all things."*[178]

Below the mosque is inscribed a hadith: "'Whoever visits my tomb, it is incumbent upon me to intercede for him.' The Messenger of God speaks the truth. And his heart is sincere."

f. 166. The Prophet's Mosque in Medina (interior).

The interior of the *rawda*, or tomb-sanctuary is depicted with the three graves of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and 'Umar. Flames rise above. To the right are the domes, columns and arches of the sanctuary, covering the *minbar* and two *mihrabs*, while in the courtyard are the *kursi şerif* (noble throne), the *bir şerif* (noble well), the *farrash khana* (house of servants), the *quba khazine* (dome of the treasury), and other buildings and objects. The text above the domes reads:

> "God, Glorious and Almighty said: *'Light upon Light! Allah doth guide whom He will to His Light.'*[179] Peace be upon him (the Prophet) said: 'Whoever visits my tomb, it is incumbent upon me to interceed for him.'And the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said: 'The dust of our earth (around his tomb) is a cure for illness.'"

---

[178] 24:35.
[179] 24:35.

f. 166v. The Flag of Praise, the Prophet's prayer beads, and *miswak.*

The three panelled flag is inscribed with the *shahada*, the *bismillah*, and the first verse of *Surah Fatiha: "Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."*

f. 167. The banners of the Prophet and his grandsons Hasan and Hussain.

f. 167v. The Muhammadan Rose.

The rose bears the name of God and Muhammad, the Messenger of God. The leaves bear the names of the *al-'ashara al-mubashara*, the ten promised paradise: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, Talha, Zubair, Sa'd ibn 'Abi Waqqas, and 'Ubaid ibn Jarrah.

f. 168. The Tree of Tuba.

ff. 168v-169. Text identifies the manuscript as an *En'am-ı şerif.*

f. 169v. Colophon identifies the calligrapher as Hasan al-Rashid.

f. 170. Explanation (text)

ff. 170v-174v. Various *du'a* .

Catalogue #22 - Izmirli I. Hakki 1509, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Sayyid Mehmed Hilmi,[180] student of Sayyid Hajji Mustafa Izzet.[181]
dated: 1265/1848-49.

Cream coloured paper, 71 folios, 18.5 x 12, 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Painted, brown leather binding with *mıkleb.* **(figure 22. 1)** Unpaginated.

Seyyid Mehmed Hilmi was one of the most highly regarded students of Mustafa Izzet Efendi, one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century. Mustafa Izzet Efendi served as the *kadıasker,* or chief judge of Rumeli and as Sultan Abdülmecid's (r. 1255/1839-1277/1861) personal imam. He became a member of the Naqshbandi order during a pilgrimage to Mecca.[182]

Surahs *Ya Sin, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Inshirah, al-Qadr, al-Takathur, al-Ikhlas, al-Falaq, al-Nas, al-Fatiha.*[183]

The *'asma al-husna* and the *'asma al-nabi.*

The Seal of Prophethood, and its explanation.

Various Qur'anic *du'a.*

Hilye şerif. **(figure 22. 3)**

---

[180]See Appendix II.
[181]See Appendix II.
[182]Uğur Derman, pp. 116-118.
[183]This is another example of an *En'am-ı şerif* that replaces *Surah al-An'am* in favour of *Surah Ya Sin.*

The *unvans* read: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures.* [184] *And surely thou hast sublime morals...*[185]...If not for you, I would not have created the whole universe." The text itself is in Arabic and reads:

> "From 'Ali, a description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. He had a large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless. He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people. He was the noblest of human company. Whoever saw him from afar stood awed by him. Whoever shared familiarity with him loved him. Whoever tries to describe him says: 'such as he was never seen before or after. May the peace and blessings of God be upon him."

Du'a and an *evrad*.

colophon. **(figure 22. 4)**

---

[184] 21:107.
[185] 68:4.

Catalogue #23 – TSM YY 874, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher Sayyid Mehmed Hilmi,[186] student of Sayyid Hajji Mustafa Izzet.[187]
date: mid-13th/mid-19th century.

31 folios. *Nesih.* Unpaginated. Brown leather binding with flap **(figure 23. 1)**

Contents:

Surahs: *Ya Sin* **(figure 23. 2)** *al-Fath, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Inshira, al-Tin, al-'Aqaf, al-Qadr, Zalzalah* to the end of *al-Nas, al-Fatiha.*

Qur'anic *du'a.*

The *'asma al-husna.*

A colophon. **(figure 23. 3)**

---

[186] See Appendix II.
[187] See Appendix II.

Catalogue #24 - IUL 5573, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif by an unknown calligrapher.
date: *terminus post quem*: 1282/1865-66 (written on inside cover of the manuscript.)
no images available.

This manuscript has been described (perhaps by its owner?) on the inside lining as an *En'am-ı şerif*, despite the fact that *Surah al-An'am* does not appear at all.

ff. 1v-2. *Serlevha* with *Surah al-Fatiha* and first five verses of *Surah al-Baqara.*

ff. 2v-5. Selected verses from *Surah al-Baqara.*

ff. 5v-63. Surahs: *al-Kahf, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Inshira, al-Tin, al-'Alaq, al-Qadr, al-Baiyina, al-Zalzalah* to end of Qur'an.

ff. 63v-65. The *'asma al-husna.*

ff. 65v-67v. The *'asma al-nabi.*

ff. 68-69. Miniature roundels of the prophets: Adam, Noah, Isma'il, Idris, Abraham, Issac, Lot, Joseph, Jacob, Moses, David, Solomon, John, Jesus, Muhammad and his grandsons Hasan and Hussain.

ff. 69v-70. Calligraphic roundels using text (instead of images) of the Prophet's relics, including his prayer rug, ablution ewer, cloak, etc.

ff. 70v-71. The Seal of Prophethood and its explanation.

Text on f. 70v:

> "It is said that our Master Muhammad Mustafa, peace and blessings be upon him, said: 'Whoever looks at this seal and rubs it on his eyes, they receive the same reward as if they recited the entire Qur'an one thousand times, as if they prayed one thousand years, as if they fed one thousand poor people, as if they fought one thousand *jihad*, the reward of one thousand Arafats, as if they fasted one thousand years, as if they made one thousand *hajj*, as if they visited one thousand sick people, as if they prayed one thousand *janaza* prayers for the dead, as if they built one thousand bridges, as if they freed one thousand slaves, all these rewards Allah gives to whomever looks at this seal."[188]

The *unvan* on f. 71a reads: "This is the Seal of Prophethood, peace be upon him."

The seal itself consists of an inner and an outer circle. The outer circle is inscribed the words: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah...God is One, no partners has He...Everywhere you turn, you are victorious." The inner circle is inscribed: "The Seal of Prophethood, and he is the Seal of Prophets."

f. 71v. The Seal of *Shifa'* (a *ta'viz).*

The *unvan* reads: (Turkish) "This is the seal of healing." The *ta'viz* consists of an inner and an outer circle. The outer circle reads:

> *"We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe.* [189] *And when I am ill, it is He who cures me.*

---

[188]Identical to the explanation found in Cat. #19, **IUL 5197**, f. 123a.
[189]17:82.

[190] *Say: 'It is a guide and a healing to those who believe* [191]*...and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts.* [192]

The centre of the circle reads: "Allah has spoken the Truth, and it was conveyed by a noble Messenger."

f. 72. The Great Seal.

"O Ever-Living, O Eternal, O Lord of Majesty and Glory." The phrase *"ya Allah,"* is repeated in squares inside of circles. The interstices of the circles are inscribed with the names of members of the *ahl al-bayt* from the grandsons of the Prophet to Imam Mahdi.

f. 72v. The Seal of the Seven Sleepers.

The *unvan* reads: "These are the companions of the cave, May God Almighty be pleased with all of them." The names of the Seven Sleepers are inscribed, and surrounded by a circle: "Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadnush, Kafashsatush, *kalbuhum* (their dog) Qutmir."

f. 73. The Seal of Solomon.

A six-pointed star surrounded by the *ayat al-kursi.*

ff. 73v-74. Calligraphic roundels "Allah," and "Muhammad."

ff. 74v-75. *Hilye* of the Prophet Muhammad.

---

[190] 26:80.
[191] 41:44. This seal is almost identical with Cat. #19, **IUL 5197**, f. 137.
[192] 10:57.

The *unvan* reads: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures.*[193] *And surely thou hast sublime morals."*[194] The text itself is in Arabic and reads:

> "From 'Ali, a description of the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him. He said: 'He was neither very tall, nor very short. Neither curly nor straight-haired. He was wavy haired. He was neither stocky, nor plump-cheeked. His face was round and fair-skinned with redishness. His eyes were jet-black. He had a large back and shoulder-joints. His body was hairless. He had thick-set fingers and toes. He was a vigorous walker, and he did not turn aside except with his whole body. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood, and he was the Seal of the Prophets. He was the most generous and open-handed of people. The most truthful of humanity in speech, and the softest of speech among people."

Ottoman Turkish text in the surrounding panels translates this and the following Arabic *hilyes*.

f. 75v. *Hilye* of Abu Bakr.

> "Abu Bakr, may Almighty God be pleased with him, was a tall man. He was slim. His face was white. His face was so thin you could see his bones. He fought the unbelievers and the apostates, and he was the Friend of the Cave."[195]

f. 76. *Hilye* of 'Umar.

---

[193]21:107.
[194]68:4.
[195]This title of Abu Bakr is a favourite of Naqshbandis who are fond of telling how while hiding in a cave during their escape from Mecca to Medina, the Prophet taught his closest friend the secret of silent *dhikr*. See Schimmel, 1975, p. 169.

"'Umar, may Almighty God be pleased with him, had a strong build. His complexion was white. He was very tall and heavy-set. He was bald and his scalp was red. The white of his eyes was red. He had broad shoulders. His beard was thick and he put henna in it."

f. 76v. *Hilye* of 'Uthman.

"'Uthman, may Almighty God be pleased with him, was of medium height. He had a beautiful face. His hair and beard were thick. He was very powerful. His colour was brown. His stomach was round.

f. 77. *Hilye* of 'Ali.

" 'Ali, may Almighty God be pleased with him, was dark brown. He was of medium height. He had a lot of body hair. His shoulders were broad. His hair was thinning. He had a beautiful face. His stomach was round and he was slightly heavy."

ff. 77v-83. Calligraphic roundels of Hasan, Hussain, Talha, Zubair, 'Abdallah, 'Abd al-Rahman, Sa'd, and Sa'id.

ff. 83v-85. *Du'a* and *salawat* inscribed in various shapes, eg. cypress tress, tombstones, mosque lamps.

f. 85v-86. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina.

Very cursory, almost child-like drawing of the Holy Places. The Ka'ba is not centred in the Haram, the *rawda* is larger than life, the domes are depicted sideways, and the minarets are nowhere near their actual locations.

f. 86v. The Flag of Praise, the Prophet's prayer beads, and his *miswak*.

Three-panelled flag bearing the *shahada*, the *bismillah*, and the first verse of *al-Fatiha: "Praise be to God, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."*

f. 87. The Prophet's *Sancak.*

The tear-shaped banner is incribed with the *shahada.*

f. 87v. The Prophet's Metal Banner.

Also inscribed with the *shahada.*

f. 88. The Prophet's three *sancaks.*

The rectangular banners are inscribed with the *shahada;* "there is no god but God, the (unreadable), the Truth, al-Mubin; and "Muhammad is the Mesenger of God, the truthful, the keeper of promises, the trustworthy."

f. 88v. The Tree of Tuba.

f. 89. The Noble Date Palm.

f. 89v. The Muhammadan Rose.

The rose is unusual in that it bears the name of Fatima al-Zahra, the daughter of the Prophet. The leaves bear the names of the *al-'ashara al-mubashara,* the ten promised paradise: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, Hussain, Talha, Zubair, 'Abdallah and 'Abd al-Rahman.

f. 90. The *'Ayn 'ala Allah,* an "Eye upon God."

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the likeness of an eye *('ayn)* upon God." A calligraphic rendering of the phrase: "An eye/*'ayn* upon God," surrounds the phrases: "O God," "O Muhammad," and the Qur'anic verse, *"but*

Allah will suffice thee against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."[196] Below the image is a rectangular-shaped object inscribed, "The noble (prayer) mat.[197]" The *unvan* below repeats and elaborates: "The noble mat of the Messenger of God."

f. 90v. *Zülfiqar.*

A double-headed sword, between the blades the words: *"help from Allah and a speedy victory."*[198] The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of *Zülfiqar*, no victor except 'Ali, no sword except *Zülfiqar.* " Cartouches on either side of the image read: "O You who are Kind, be kind with us. Be sparing and clement with us. You are the Mighty, save us from Your Overwhelming Might."

f. 91. 'Ali's Handprint *(pence).*

The *unvan* reads: "This is the image of the hand of the Honourable 'Ali, may God enoble his face." On the hand is inscribed a verse from Qur'an: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Verily We have granted thee a manifest victory."* [199] And, repeated from the previous page, the verse *"help from Allah and a speedy victory."*[200]

f. 91v. The Prophet's Footprint.

The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the footprint of the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." Unfortunately, the text on the footprint is unreadable.

---

[196]2:137. This verse refers to those who have turned back after having accepted Islam, those who are in schism.
[197]This type of mat was made of palm fibre.
[198]61:13.
[199]48:1.
[200]61:13.

f. 92. The Prophet's Sandal.

The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the sandal of the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." The text is largely unreadable, but it appears to be asking God's protection.

f. 92v. The Seal of Solomon.

f. 93. A Seal.

Four smaller circles surround a large, six ringed seal. The four circles each consist of an outer ring, inscribed with the entire *Surah al-Ikhlas: "In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful..Say: He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him."* The centres of the four circles are each inscribed with two of the Names of God: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious! O Just! O Proof! O Most Gracious! O Most Merciful! O Ruler! O Glorious!" The outer ring of the seal itself reads:

> "There is no god but God, Adam is the Chosen of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the Protected of God. There is no god but God, Abraham is the Friend of God. There is no god but God, Isma'il is the Sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Moses is the One Who Spoke to God. There is no god but God, David is the Vice-regent of God. There is no god but God, Solomon is the Trusted of God."

The second circle reads:

> *"In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed! ' But it is nothing less*

than a Message to all the worlds. [201]*..There is no god but He: that is the witness of Allah.*[202]..O Allah!"

The third circle reads:

"Allah! There is no god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize Him, nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and earth. Who is their who can intercede (in His Presence) [203] *except as He permitteth. He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them."*[204]

The fourth circle continues the preceeding verse:

*"Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. HisThrone doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory)...*O Living, O Self-Subsisting."

The fifth circle consists of *tilsim,* or mystical words of power: *"hum, hum, haha, ilham, ilham,* etc." The sixth and centre circle repeats the phrase: "Allah, O the Highest," four times.

ff. 93v-99. Rather than being hand drawn, these *ta'viz* have been reproduced with an inscribed metal stamp.

ff. 99v-221. *Du'a* and *salawat.*

---

[201]68:51-52.
[202]3:18.
[203]The words in parentheses are missing from the text.
[204]The *ayat al-kursi,* 2:255.

Catalogue #25 - Düğümlü Baba 491, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am-ı şerif, by an unknown calligrapher.
date: an inscription on the front page of the manuscript gives the date 1289/1872-73, indicating a *terminus post quem.*

Very light-weight, medium cream coloured paper. 6.2 x 4. 151 folios. 11 lines per page. *Nesih.* Red leather binding with *mıkleb.* **(figure 25. 1)**

ff. 1v-58v. *Surah An'am,* prayer after reading *An'am, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Fath, du'a al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Takathur, al-Ikhlas, al-Falaq, Al-Nas.*

The *unvan sahifesi* is illuminated with a golden dome covered in white and orange flowers, framed by bright orange and gold boarders. **(figure 25. 2)**

ff. 59-61. Qur'anic *du'a.*

ff. 61v-63. *Du'a şerif.*

ff. 63v-69. *Hilyes* of the Prophets Adam, Noah, Ibrahim, Issac, Isma'il, Lot, David, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, and Jesus.

Golden circles of text are surrounded by golden arabesques of leaves and *rumis.* The *unvans* above and below contain the names of the Prophet (This is the *hilye* of...), and the honorific, "May God be pleased with them." The *hilyes* are all written in Ottoman Turkish.

f. 63v. *Hilye* of Adam. **(figure 25. 3)**

> "The Most Honourable Adam, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a

ruddy complexion. He had big eyes. He was very tall. His chest was broad."[205]

f. 64. *Hilye* of Noah. **(figure 25. 4)**

"The Most Honourable Noah, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a pale complexion. He had curly hair. He had brown eyes. He had a small beard."[206]

f. 64v. *Hilye* of Abraham. **(figure 25.5)**

"The Most Honourable Abraham, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was white. His eyes were pale. His nose was beautiful. His forehead was high. He had a white beard."[207]

f. 65. *Hilye* of Issac. **(figure 25. 6)**

"The Most Honourable Issac, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a pale complexion with ruddy cheeks. He was very humble, so much so that his head hung to one side."[208]

f. 65v. *Hilye* of Isma'il. **(figure 25. 7)**

"The Most Honourable Isma'il, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He had a

---

[205]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 69v.
[206]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 70.
[207]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 70v.
[208]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 71v.

pale complexion with ruddy cheeks. He had a spiritual light in his face. He was of good character, and he was humble.[209]

f. 66. *Hilye* of Lot. **(figure 25. 8)**

"The Most Honourable Lot, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He was dark brown. He had very beautiful hair. He was righteous. He had a very beautiful face."[210]

f. 66v. *Hilye* of David. **(figure 25. 9)**

"The Most Honourable David, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was ruddy. His eyebrows were slim. His stomache was big."[211]

f. 67. *Hilye* of Jacob. **(figure 25. 10)**

"The Most Honourable Jacob, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His complexion was white and red. His lower lip was full. He had a mole on his face."[212]

f. 67v. *Hilye* of Joseph. **(figure 25. 11)**

"The Most Honourable Joseph, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His

---

[209]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 71.
[210]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 72.
[211]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 74v.
[212]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 72v.

complexion was ruddy. He had a long neck. He had big eyes. He was beardless. He had a very beautiful face."[213]

f. 68. *Hilye* of Moses. **(figure 25. 12)**

"The Most Honourable Moses, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His beard was black. His appearance was stern. His lips were full. He was righteous."[214]

f. 68v. *Hilye* of Aaron. **(figure 25. 13)**

"The Most Honourable Aaron, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. He was brown-skinned. He had beautiful hair. He was righteous. He had a beautiful face."[215]

f. 69. *Hilye* of Jesus. **(figure 25. 14)**

"The Most Honourable Jesus the Prophet, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, and on our Prophet as well as upon him. His face was white. His eyes were beautiful. His height was proportioned. His face was beautiful."[216]

ff. 69v-71. The *'asma al-husna.* **(figure 25. 15)**

The Names of God are inscribed beneath an ornamental dome similar to that found in the *unvan sahifesi.*

ff. 71v-72. The *hilye şerif.* **(figure 25. 16** and **25. 17)**

---

[213]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 73 and Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 130v.
[214]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 74 and Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 129.
[215]Cf. Cat. #11, **EH 365** f. 73v.
[216]Cf. Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 131.

An unusually shaped *hilye*, two pages of Arabic text have been written in black ink, underneath which a Turkish explanation has been written in red. Each page consists of fifteen squares outlined in gold, and a part of the text has been inscribed in each square.

The *unvan* of f. 71v reads: *"It is from Solomon, and it is: In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."*[217]

> "His forehead was wide. His beard was round with a few white hairs. His eyes were black, some said brown, and some people said hazel coloured. His eyebrows were comely. There were spaces between his teeth. His nose was aqualine. His skin was tawny. His ears were small. His face was round. His face and beard were round.

The *unvan* of f. 72 reads: *"We have sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all creatures."*[218]

> "His forehead was wide. His arms were long. His height was average. He was of medium build. His fingers were slim. His body was hairless, except for one line of hair from his chest to his navel. Between his shoulders was the seal of Prophethood. In the centre (of the seal) was written: "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Prophet of God."

ff. 72v-74. The *'asma al-nabi.* **(figure 25. 5)**

The names of the Prophet are treated in a similar way to those of God.

ff. 74v-76. The *hilyes* of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Uthman, and 'Ali.

These *hilye* are identical to those earlier of the prophets. They are also in Ottoman Turkish.

---

[217] 27:30.
[218] 21: 107.

f. 74v. *Hilye* of Abu Bakr. **(figure 25. 19)**

"The Most Honourable Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was tall. He was slim. His face was white. His face was so thin you could see his bones. His forehead was prominent. You could see his shoulder bones. You could see the bones of his fingers."[219]

f. 75. *Hilye* of 'Umar. **(figure 25. 20)**

"The Most Honourable 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, was dark brown. He was tall and heavy-set. His hair was thinning, bald on top. He had red eyes. He had a beautiful face. He had good manners."[220]

f. 75v. *Hilye* of 'Uthman. **(figure 25. 21)**

"The Most Honourable 'Uthman, may God be pleased with him, was was tall and heavy-set. His eyes were beautiful. His skin was soft. He had a lot of body hair and big bones. His head was large. He put henna in his beard."[221]

f. 76. *Hilye* of 'Ali. **(figure 25. 22)**

"The Most Honourable 'Ali, may God be pleased with him, was dark brown. He was of medium height. He had a lot of body hair. His shoulders were broad. His hair was thinning. He had a beautiful face. He was well-known for putting *henna* in his beard, and then he allowed it to turn white. He had very big, black eyes."[222]

---

[219]Cf. Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 132v.
[220]Cf. Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 133.
[221]Cf. Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 133v.
[222]Cf. Cat. #19, **IUL 5197** f. 134.

f. 76v. The Prophet's relics and a *ta'viz* of the Seven Sleepers. **(figure 25. 23)**

A list of the objects left behind at the Prophet's death, and the names of the Seven Sleepers.

ff. 77-149. *Du'a, hizb* and a passage concerning Imam Ghazali.

ff. 149v. A circular *ta'viz.* **(figure 25. 24)**

The *ta'viz* consists of five golden concentric circles, with radiating red lines segmenting black words and letters. The outer circle contains the *ayat al-kursi:*

> *"Allah! There is no other god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can seize him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) before or after or behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feeleth no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in glory).*

The segments of the second circle contain a mixture of what appear to be proper names and numbers. The segments of the third circle contain individual letters; read together they form the *bismillah* . The fourth circle is written in the same manner, the letters forming Names of God: "The Holy, the Unique, the Ever-Living, the Self-Subsistent, the Wise, the Just." In the fifth and last circle each letter of the *ayat* has again been written separately: *"(To) he who was dead...We gave life."*[223]

f. 150. A circular *ta'viz.* **(figure 25. 25)**

---

[223] 6:122.

Identical in style to the previous page. The outer circle also contains the *ayat al-kursi*. The second circle repeats the *shahada* five times, and begins the repetition of the *tilsim* letters *sad* and *ha* (perhaps meaning "correct?"). The repetition of these letters continues for the first half of the third circle, followed by the words *la* and *hum* (perhaps meaning "for them"?). The fourth circle repeats the letters *sad* and *ha*. The centre of the circle reads: *"There is no god but Allah, He,"* the letters *sad* and *ha*, and the numbers 5, 5, 2 and 7 in a triangular design.

Catalogue #26 - Spencer Turk 9, New York Public Library, N.Y.

En'am-ı şerif, by the calligrapher: Mustafa Hilmi,[224] the student of al-Hajj Mehmed Vasfi,[225] for the patron Mehmed Emin.[226]
date: 27 Rabi' II 1289/5 July 1872.[227]

Dark cream paper. 143 folios. 20.8 x 14 cm. 13 lines per page. *Nesih.* Brown leather binding painted at the centre with golden, baroque foliage. **(figure 26. 1)**

Mehmed Emin Paşa Kibrıslı (1831-1881) served three times as grand vezir under Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1255/1839-1277-1861. He also served as governor of Aleppo in 1267/1850-51, where he "brutally suppressed" bedouin revolts. It is tempting to think that Mehmed Efendi may have commissioned this *En'am-ı şerif* to commemorate a visit to the holy city of Medina.[228]

ff. 1v-36. *Surah al-Fatiha,* the first and last verses of *Surah al-Baqarah, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Waqi'a, al-Juma'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Dhuha, al-Inshira, al-Tin, al-'Alaq* to the end of *al-Nas, al-Fatiha.*

On folio 1v-2a, a sumptous *serlevha* containing the first and beginning of the second chapter of the Qur'an, is illuminated in gold and bordered by a thick margin of golden foliage. **(figure 26. 2)**

ff. 36-38. The *'asma al-husna* and the *'asma al-nabi.*

---

[224] See Appendix II.
[225] See Appendix II.
[226] See Appendix II.
[227] Published in B. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library,* pp. 48-49, figures 38, 39, and 40.
[228] Barbara Schmitz, p. 48.

f. 38. A *du'a* in Ottoman Turkish.

f. 38v-39. The "Great Seal," with explanatory text in Ottoman Turkish. **(figure 26. 3)**

The Turkish text on f. 38v reads:

> "Anyone who looks at this seal, morning or night, and rubs it over their face and eyes, Allah will forgive the sins of the past seventy years. Anyone who looks at this seal at the beginning of the month, Allah will protect them from difficulties that month. Allah will protect them from their enemies. This is a very great seat, with many secrets."

The centre of the circular seal repeats the phrase, *Ya Allah!* The names of the four Archangels are inscribed in the interstices.

f. 39v-40. Calligraphic roundels of the "The Glorious Name Allah," and "Muhammad." **(figure 26. 4)**

ff. 40v-45. *Hilye*, or physical descriptions of the prophets Adam, Noah, Muhammad, the *rashidun*, or rightly guided *caliphs* Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, and the Prophet's grandsons Hasan and Hussain. The *hilye* are written in Arabic, encircled by slim, golden crescents against a white background strewn with red flowers and green leaves. Gold *unvans* bear the names of the prophets, caliphs, or *imams* with the appropriate honorific.

f. 40v-41. *Hilye* of Adam and Noah. **(figure 26. 5)**

> "Adam, may God be send peace and blessings upon him, had a ruddy complexion. He had big eyes. He was sixty arms length in height. His hair was worn in two braids."

"Noah, may God send peace and blessings upon him, had a ruddy complexion. His build was large. His face was open. His beard was long. He was very tall. He was 950 years old."

f. 41v-42. *Hilye* of Muhammad. **(figure 26. 6)**

"The Prophet, peace be upon him, was large of head. He was of luminous, lily-white complexion. His eyes were jet-black. His forehead was high. And it was said that he was wide-eyed, aqualine-nosed. His face "The Messenger of God, may God send peace and blessings upon was round. His eyelashes were thick, and his eyebrows met in the middle. He was gap-toothed. His ears were small. His beard was thick with a few white hairs. He was of medium weight, with a graceful body."

f. 42v-43. *Hilye* of Abu Bakr and 'Umar. **(figure 26. 7)**

"Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was thin. He had an open face. He was fair-skinned. His body was thin. His forehead was flat. His eyes were big. He was of medium height."

"'Umar, may God be pleased with him, was fair-skinned and he was tanned. His face was unblemished, faultless. He had thin (?) shoulders. He was wide eyed. He had a normal beard. He was tall."

f. 43v-44. *Hilye* of 'Uthman and 'Ali. **(figure 26. 8)**

"'Uthman, may God be pleased with him, was fair-skinned. His face was unblemished, faultless. His face was ruddy. He had refined hands and feet. He had a lot of hair. His shoulders were broad. He was of medium build."

"'Ali, may God be pleased with him, had a tawny complexion. His eyes were jet-black. His beard was black. His face was

unblemished, faultless. He had a lot of hair. He had a large stomache. He was of average height."

f. 44v-45. *Hilye* of Hasan and Hussain. **(figure 26. 9)**

"Hasan, may God be pleased with him, had a luminous, lily-white complexion. He had jet-black eyes. He had a high forehead. His eyebrows met in the middle. He had a handsome and engaging face. His eyelashes were very long. His build was slim. May God be pleased with him."

"Hussain, May God be pleased with him, had a luminous, lily-white complexion. He had a round head. He was wide-eyed. He had a wide forehead and a broad chest. His arms were long. He had refined hands and feet. May God be pleased with him."

ff. 45v-56. Calligraphic roundels of the *al-'ashara al-mubashara*: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Talha, Zubair, 'Abdallah, 'Abd al-Rahman, Ibn al-'Auf, Sa'd, Sa'id, Abu 'Ubaidah, Hasan, Hussain; and the Seven Sleepers: Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadnush, Kafashsatush, and Kalbuhum (their dog) Qutmir.

f. 56v-57. Seals of the Names of God and the Qur'anic verse: *"Huwa 'ala kulli shayin qadir."* **(figure 26. 10)**

On the right, the words: "O Most Gracious," and "O Most Tender," are repeated three times in a circle. The vertical shafts of the letters *alif* are extended into the centre of the circle and across to form parts of the letters on the opposite sides. Where the shafts of the letters cross in the centre, they form a six-pointed star, the Seal of Solomon. Written in red ink in the centre of the star are the words: "O Most Just, O Most Glorious!" The seal itself is encircled by a golden crescent, resting against a background arabesque of red.

On the left, the Qur'anic verse *"Huwa 'ala kulli shayin qadir," "He hath power over all things,"* is repeated four times with the word *'ala*, or "over" serving as the central focus. The four initial letters *'ayn* meet in the centre to form a clover-shape, the *lam* and the *alif maqsura* radiate out to the edge of the circle, sweeping the rest of the verse and giving it a circular motion. Here too, the seal is encircled by a golden crescent, and the background is identical to the previous seal.

f. 57v-58. The *muhar shifa' al-Qur'an*, the "Seal of Qur'anic Healing," and a *ta'viz.* **(figure 26. 11)**

The *unvan* (top and bottom) of f. 57v reads: "This is the Noble Seal of Healing from Qur'an." Three concentric circles contain the inscriptions. The outer circle reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe.*[229] *"[It is He] Who created me and it is He Who guides me; Who gives me food and drink.*[230] *Say: 'It is a guide and a healing to those who believe.*[231] O Healer, O Sufficient, O Giver of Health. In the Name of Allah, nothing will harm you, either in the heavens or on the earth, for He is All-Seeing, All-Knowing."

The middle circle reads:

> "In the Name of God, it is God who heals us, and we put our trust in God, He is our Master, and from Him is the victory. Nothing [may harm us], either in the heavens or on the earth, and He is All-Seeing, All-knowing."

---

[229] 17:82.
[230] 26:78-79.
[231] 41:44.

The centre reads: "There is no power and no might except with God. Amen."

On f. 58, the top *unvan* reads: "This is the seal of healing by God's Name." The bottom *unvan* reads: "My trust is for God alone." The outer circle reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...and heal the breasts of believers.*[232] *O mankind! there hath come to you an admonition from your Lord and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts, - and for those who believe, a Guidance and a Mercy.*[233]*..there issues from within their bodies a drink of varying colours, wherein is a healing for men.*[234] O Healer, O Sufficient, O Giver of Health. In the Name of God, nothing will harm you, either in the heavens or on the earth."

The middle circle continues: "and He is All-Seeing, All-knowing. Healing is from God, we put our trust in God. God is sufficient for us and the Most Excellent Guardian. He is our Master, and He gives us victory." The centre reads: "Glory be to God, all praise belongs to God, and there is no god but God, and God is the Greatest, and to Him is the praise."

f. 58v-59. Two *ta'viz*. **(figure 26. 12)**

The top *unvan* of f. 58v reads: "This is the seal of healing from the Qur'an." The bottom *unvan* reads: "O Healer, O Sufficient, O Ever-Living." The outer circle reads:

> *"And Who I hope will forgive me my faults on the Day of Judgement. O my Lord! Bestow wisdom on me, and join me with the righteous.*[235] *And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less*

---

[232] 9:14.
[233] 10:57.
[234] 16:69.
[235] 26:82-83. (Abraham's prayer)

> *than a Message to all the worlds.*[236] *We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unjust it causes [nothing but loss after loss].*[237]

The middle circle reads:

> In the Name of God, the Healer. In the Name of God, the Sufficient. In the Name of God, the Giver of Health. In the Name of God, by this Name nothing can hurt you either on the earth, or in the heavens, and and He is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. O Ever-Living, O Self-Sufficient, Supporter of all, O Allah, O Beloved."

The top *unvan* of f. 59 reads: "This is the seal of healing from the Qur'an." The bottom *unvan* reads: "O Healer, O Sufficient, O Bringer of Health!" The *ta'viz*'s outer circle and part of the middle circle contains the *Ayat al-kursi*.[238] The rest of the middle circle reads: "There is no power and no strength except with God. The Messenger of God spoke the Truth." The centre reads: " In the Name of God, the Healer. In the Name of God, the Sufficient. In the Name of God, the Giver of Health. O Healer, O Sufficient, O Bringer of Health, O He!"

f. 59v-60. Seal of the Prophet and the Seal of Solomon. **(figure 26. 13)**

The *unvan* of f. 59v reads: "This is the image of the Seal of Prophethood, peace and blessings be upon him." A golden, oval-shaped seal at the centre is inscribed in white ink with the *shahada*. To the left is inscribed: "Everywhere you turn, you are victorious. O Muhammad!" To the right: "This is the Seal of Prophethood, and he is the Seal of the prophets." A triangle above the seal reads: "God is One, no partners has He."

---

[236] 68:51-52.
[237] 17:82. (bracketed part is missing).
[238] 2:255.

The *unvan* of f. 60 reads: "This is the image of the Seal of Solomon, peace and blessings be upon him." An unusual, seven-pointed star contains the words: "*Tajaj!*[239] O Muhammad! And verily, you are like a lion. Everywhere you turn, you are victorious. God send peace upon him." The points of the star are inscribed with a Qur'anic verse: *"It is from Solomon, and it is 'In the Name of Allah.'"*[240] Between the points of the star and the surrounding circle are inscribed God's names: "the Self-Sustaining, the Wise, the Holy, the Praised, Our Lord, and Lord of Angels and Spirits, Alone and Ever-Living."

f. 60v-61. The Great Seal of God, and an explanatory text in Ottoman Turkish. **(figure 26. 14)**

The *unvan* of f. 61 reads: "This is the image of the Great Seal." The text of f. 60v reads:

> "This is an explanation of a narration from Imam Ja'far [al-Sadiq]. It was narrated from Imam Ja'far that the Messenger of God,may the blessings of Almighty God be upon him, said: 'Anyone who looks at this Great Seal, God will protect them from being thrown into hellfire. Amen to that! They will see God's beauty. They will be protected from seventy thousand difficulties in this life, and never be destitute, and will have a long life. Allah will forgive them their sins. All this is due to the blessings of this noble seal. "

Surrounding the seal on f. 61 are four roundels bearing the Names of God: "O Living, O Eternal, O Lord of Majesty and Glory." The seal itself has five circles with text. The outer circle reads:

> "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. Adam is the Chosen of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the

---

[239]This word is *tilsim*. See above.
[240]27:30.

> Protected of God. There is no god but God, Abraham is the Friend of God. There is no god but God, Isma'il is the Sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God." The second circle reads: "There is no god but God, Moses is the One Who Spoke to God. [241] There is no god but God. He is One, no partner has He. To Him is the Kingdom and the praise. And He is above everything, All-Powerful."

The third circle consists of *tilsim: ha hum, ha hum, ha hum, alhajj, alhajj, alhajj, kafa, kafa."* The fourth circle consists os the Names of God: "O Ever-Living, O Eternal. God has power over all things. O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Just, O Glorious." The centre of the circle is inscribed with God's Name: "O Lord of Majesty and Glory."

f. 61v-62. The Hand of the Prophet and the Sandal of the Prophet. **(figure 26. 15)**

On f. 61v, a golden right hand is inscribed with text against a background of green leaves with red and blue flowers. The nails are visible, indicating that the artist meant this image to represent the actual hand of the Prophet, and not just his hand print. The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the *pence* of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him." The text on the hand is somewhat illegible, but appears to read: "(There is no god but) God, the King, the Truth, the Evident. Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the Truthful, the Honest, the Trustworthy."

On f. 62, the *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the sandal of the Messenger of God." The golden sandal appears upon the same floral background as that of the hand. The sandal is inscribed with white ink and reads: "O our Lord, open for us the clear evidence. Protect us, O Truth. And You are the Opener of goodness."

---

[241] To this point, the seal is very similar to Pertevniyal 43 f. 59v.

f. 62v-63. The *'Ayn 'ala Allah,* and the Rod of Moses, his Prayer Rug, and Prayer Mat. **(figure 26. 16)**

The *unvan* of f. 62v reads: "This is an image of an *'ayn* upon God. I put my trust in God." Two golden *'ayn* circle the word *Allah.*

The *unvan* of f. 63 reads: "This is an image of the staff of Moses, peace be upon him." A golden staff with a double-head and snake finials stands between a rug with a prayer niche, and a reed mat.

f. 63v-64. The Battle-ax of the Prophet, and the Prophet's Rose. **(figure 26. 17)**

The *unvan* of f. 63v reads: "This is the battle-ax of the Mohammad, peace be upon him." A golden, double-edged ax is inscribed with white ink: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God."

On f. 64, a pink rose with two buds rests against a spray of green foliage.

f. 64v-65. The Flag of Praise, and an image of Hell. **(figure 26. 18)**

The image on f. 64v is a three-panelled golden flag with a gold crescent finial. The *unvan* reads: "This is an image of the Flag of Praise of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him." The flag's panels are inscribed in white ink: "*In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds.*[242] There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God."

The *unvan* of f. 65 reads: "This is an image of Hell." Above the image, an ascending and decending line has been drawn and labelled as the bridge above Hell over which the believer must pass in order to enter Paradise. Below, the depths of Hell contain what appear to be two cauldrons, a tree (possibly the cursed Tree of Zaqqum, mentioned in the Qur'an 17:60; 36:62-66; 44:43-46; and 56:52), as well as snakes and scorpions.

---

[242]1:1-2.

f. 65v. An image of Paradise, and the Tree of Tuba. **(figure 26. 19)**

The *unvan* of f. 65v reads: "This is an image of the Highest Paradise." The blue sky is framed by an orange oval. Below the sky stretches an expanse of golden ground, interspersed with multi-coloured, dome-covered buildings (perhaps meant to represent tombs?) and trees.

On f. 66, the green and red leafed tree of Tuba grows upside down in Paradise.

f. 66v-67. The Noble Date Palm, and Abu al-Muslim's battle-ax. **(figure 26. 20)**

On f. 66v, bright green leaves and brown-red dates are hanging from the miraculous tree.

The golden, single-bladed axe on f. 67 is that of Abu al-Muslim.

f. 67v-68. The Scales of Good and Evil, and the Prophet's Relics. **(figure 26. 21)**

On f. 67v, the golden scales are perfectly balanced.

The images on the left are of the Prophet's cloak, prayer beads, comb, toothbrush, and ablution basin and ewer.

f. 68v-69. The Ka'ba and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. **(figure 26. 22)**

Oval-framed views of the holy places with very regular rows of surrounding houses. The *rawda* at Medina has flames extending skyward from its roof. The surrounding landscape in both images consists of indeterminate brown hills.

f. 69v-70. *Zülfiqar*, and the Prophet's Foot. **(figure 26. 23)**

The image on f. 69v is that of 'Ali's double-bladed sword displayed against a backround of green leaves and red flowers.

Each toe of the image of the Prophet's Foot (f. 70) has a well-defined nail, making this the first of these images to actually depict a foot, as opposed to a

footprint. The foot is inscribed in white ink with a hadith, "He [the Prophet Muhammad], peace be upon him said: '....?' The Messenger of God speaks the truth, the Beloved of God speaks the truth."

f. 70v-71. Three standards of the *sancaks,* and three standards of the *şerifs.* **(figure 26. 24)**

On the right are the three furled flags of the *şerifs,* or descendents of the Prophet, with crescent finials.

To the left, three green, rectangular *sancaks* are inscribed: "Victory is with God...O God!... O Muhammad!"

ff. 71v-79. Prayer shapes. **(figures 26. 25** and **26. 26)**

Various "shapes" filled with text consisting of *salawat* on the Prophet Muhammad.

ff. 80-143. Various *du'a* in Turkish and Arabic.

f. 143. colophon. **(figure 26. 27)**

Catalogue #27 - M&A Arab 22, New York Public Library

En'am-ı şerif, by an unknown calligrapher.
dated: 1291/1874.[243]

Dark cream coloured paper. 252 folios. 16 x 11 cm. 9 lines per page. *Nesih.* Red leather binding with stamped floral *şemse* **(figure 27.1).**

This manuscript is one of the last *En'am-ı şerif* to be found. In addition to the usual images of the Holy Places and the Prophet's relics, **M&A Arab 22** contains a series of images that relate to the geneologies of the Prophet and the Ottoman Caliph/Sultan, as well as the sources of orthodox Sunni law. **(figures 27. 20** to **27. 27)**

ff. 1v-2. *Du'a şerif.*

ff. 2v-3. *Serlevha Surah al-Fatiha* and *Surah Ya Sin* **(figure 27. 2).**

ff. 3v-75v. *Surahs al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nabaa, al-Nazia'at, al- Dhuha, al-Takwir, al-Nafatarat, al-Mutafifin, al-Nashaqqat, al-Burj, al-Tariq, al-'ala, al-Fashiat, al-Fajr, al-Balad, al-Shams, al-Lail, al-Duha, al-Inshira, al-Tin* to *al-Nas.* Qur'anic *du'a.*

ff. 76-158. *Tahlil al-Qur'an wa-al-ad'iyah,* followed by an *evrad,* the *'asma al-husna,* and various *du'a.*

---

[243]Published in B. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, pp. 49-50, figures 41 and 42. Schmitz has erroneously described this as manuscript as being bound with a Qur'an fragment.

ff. 158v-160. A *hilye şerif.*

The Ottoman Turkish text on f. 158v **(figures 27. 3)** offers a prayer and describes the purpose of this *hilye* (here referred to as a "seal").

> "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.
> This is the noble seal of honour.
> (O God) Make me shine like the sun in front of your servants.
> Make them always respect me.
> Whoever writes and keeps this seal close to their chest, God will cause people to respect His servant."

The *unvan* of f. 159 reads: "This is a most honourable and noble *hilye*, (of the Prophet Muhammad), upon him be blessings and peace." The text is in Arabic, and reads:

> "His complexion was luminous, lily-white. He had a high forehead. His beard was thick. He was middle-aged, with a bit of white in his beard. He had beautiful eyebrows. There were spaces between his teeth. His face was round. He had small ears and an aqualine nose. His was the highest station."

ff. 159v-160: **(figure 27. 4)**

> (f. 159v) He had broad shoulders. He was of medium height. His body was hairless, except for one line of hair that ran from his chest to his navel. Between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood. On the Seal was written, 'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God.'"
>
> (f. 160.) "He was a slim, white man. He had thin shoulders and was of an attractive height. His face was well-known. His *izar* would not stay wrapped about his waist because his stomache was so flat. He was generous, and knew the geneologies of all of the Arabs. His eyes were large. He used *henna* (in his beard)..."

f. 160v-161. The *hilye* of Adam and Noah. **(figure 27. 5)**

Adam:

> "This is the *hilye* of the Beloved of God, peace and blessings be upon him. He was a white man, and he was not tall. His complexion was ruddy. And they said he was from the Bani Asad. And they said he was Adam because he had skin like leather.[244] And he put *henna* in his beard, which was very thick. He was self-disciplined and reminded others of the inevitability of death."

Noah:

> "This is the *hilye* of God's 'Protected One', peace and blessings be upon him." He was a man who was neither short, nor tall. He had a serious face. His skin was very soft. His complexion was tawny. His build was heavy. His shoulders were broad. He had gold between his teeth. He had hair on his shoulders, arms and chest. He never smiled."[245]

f. 161v-162. The *hilye* of Abraham and another *hilye şerif.* **(figure 27. 6)**

Abraham:

> "This is the *hilye* of the Beloved Friend of God, may peace and blessings be upon him. He was a very powerful man. His stomache was large. The bone of his eyebrows were prominent. He was bald. His face was beautiful. His eyes were sunken. He could wrestle any man to the ground. He had a silver ewer. His nose was aqualine. His hands were powerful."

---

[244]I have translated *shadid al-adama,* literally "strong skin," to mean leather.

[245]The name Noah comes from the word *nuwaah* , meaning: crying. Noah is said to have lived to the age of nine hundred and fifty. As a prophet, he had spent many of those years calling people to submit to the One God, but it was to no avail. In despair, he prayed to God, asking that the earth be cleansed of those who disbelieved. God answered Noah's prayer, sending the Great Flood. From that day forward, the Prophet Noah ceased to smile and spent his time in tears, repenting his unfortunate prayer.

Muhammad:

> "This is the *hilye* of the Most Noble Creation of God, peace be upon him. (outside circle): You could see and feel the Seal of Prophethood, and between his shoulders was the Seal of Prophethood. 'Aisha said you could see and feel this seal, and, in another book by Bukhari, the seal was as big as his thumb. (middle circle) God is One, no partners has he. Any way you (the Prophet Muhammad) turn, you are victorious. It is narrated that the Seal [of Prophethood] was the size of a dove's egg.
> (centre) 'Aisha narrated that the Seal [of Prophethood] was written in flesh: 'There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God.'"

f. 162v-163. The Noble Seal of Prophethood and the Seal of the Seven Sleepers. **(figure 27. 7)**

f. 163v-164. Calligraphic roundels "Allah," and "Muhammad." **(figure 27. 8)**

f. 164v-165. The *sancak* of the Prophet and the *pence şerif.* **(figure 27. 9)**

f. 165v-166. The Prophet's footprint and the Prophet's sandal. **(figure 27. 10)**

f. 166v-167. *Zülfiqar,* and the Tree of Tuba. **(figure 27. 11)**

f. 167v-168. The battle-ax of the Prophet, and the Muhammadan Rose. **(figure 27. 12)**

f. 168v-169. The noble date palm, and the noble staff. **(figure 27. 13)**

f. 169v-170. The Prophet's scales; and the Prophet's relics, including a prayer rug, a prayer mat, prayer beads, *miswak,* and comb. **(figure 27. 14)**

f. 170v-171. The Prophet's cloak; and the Seal of Solomon. **(figure 27. 15)**

The Prophet's black cloak rests against a background of gold.

The Seal of Solomon is an inscribed, golden six-pointed star against a background of midnight blue and floral arabesques. The *unvans* read"This is the Seal of Soloman, peace and blessings be upon him." The star itself is inscribed with the Qur'anic phrase: "*It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be ye not arrogant against me, but come to me in submission (to the True Religion).*"[246]

f. 171v-172. Two *ta'viz,* or seals of healing. **(figure 27. 16)**

The *unvans* of f. 171v read: "This is the image of the seal of healing [of the Prophet] peace and blessings be upon him." The outer circle reads: *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unjust it causes nothing but loss after loss."*[247] The centre reads: "O Opener!"

The *unvans* of f. 172 read: "This is the image of the seal of healing [of the Prophet] peace and blessings be upon him." The outer circle reads: *O mankind! There hath come to you an admonition from your Lord and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts.* [248] The centre reads: "O Opener."

f. 172v-173. The Seal of *ayat al-kursi;* and the "Eye of 'Ali." **(figure 27. 17)**

The *unvans* of f. 172v read: "This is the image of the seal of the *ayat al-kursi."* The four corner roundels contain the Names of God: "O Most Tender! O Most Gracious! O Most Just! O Most Glorious! The outer and second of three circles contain the *ayat al-kursi.* The centre reads: "*And the unbelievers would almost*

---

[246] 27:30-31.
[247] 17:82.
[248] 10:57.

trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.""[249]

The *unvan* of f. 173 reads: "This is the figure *(shekl)* of 'Ali." This golden calligraphic design resembling an eye may be reads either as "an eye upon God," or as the "eye of 'Ali" with the word Allah representing the eye's pupil.

f. 173v-174. The Ka'ba; and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. **(figure 27. 18)**

ff. 174v-179v. The *salawat* of light.

f. 180-181. The *du'a* of the Messenger.

f. 181v- 194. *Du'a.*

f. 194v-195. *Du'a* and *ta'viz.* **(figure 27. 19)**

Two circular *ta'viz.* The centre of the top circle reads: "O Allah, O Glorious One." The outer ring consists of *tilsim*: *"la hum,"* (for them), and *"hum,"* (them). The centre of the bottom circle contains the *shahada*, the Names of God, Muhammad, Jesus and *Tangri Bir.*[250]

ff. 195v-199. *Du'a.*

f. 199v-200. A *ta'viz,* and the geneology of the Prophet. **(figure 27. 20)**

f. 200v-201. Roses and a *ta'viz.* **(figure 27. 21)**

---

[249] 68:51-52.

[250] *Tangri* is the pre-Islamic (shamanic) name of the Turkish deity. The word *bir*, one, Islamicizes the Name.

f. 201v-202. A *ta'viz,* and an "Eye" of the *seriat.* **(figure 27. 22)**

An eighteen petalled "eye" with the names of the four *imams* of Islamic law and their followers.

ff. 202v-203. The names of the imams of the four *madhhabs,* and the scales; and the names of the Ottoman sultans. **(figure 27. 23)**

ff. 203v-204. The *Liwa al-hamd,* or the Flag of Praise; and the ladder of the sources of *seriat.* **(figure 27. 24)**

On the right, the "Flag of Praise" is a winged banner soaring above the heavenly pool of *Kauthar* promised by God to the Prophet Muhammad as refreshment for his faithful followers on the Day of Judgement. Inscribed in golden circles under the banner are the names of the prophets, the rightly guided caliphs, those who have been promised heaven, their wives and children. The text describes the banner as having "wings" of white material from Paradise and a ruby finial.

On the left, this ladder-like image describes the sources or *silsila,* of religious knowledge. Beginning at the bottom "rung," we find listed those scholars who practice *taqlid,* they follow or imitate the four *imams* of the schools of Islamic law. The *imams* took their knowledge from the *sahaba,* the *sahaba* from the Prophet, and the Prophet from the angel Gabriel. Listed in ascending order, this sacred knowledge has come from: that part of *al-lawh al-mahfuz* (the Guarded Tablet) that is changeable in nature; then *al-lawh al-mahfuz* itself; *al-Qalam,* or the Pen; *al-Kursi,* the Footstool; *al-'Arsh,* the Throne; and, finally, *al-wahiy al-latiy la tukshaf,* the Revelation that is hidden, or has yet to be revealed.

f. 204v-205. The Tree of Tuba and the likeness of the "Bridge over the Fire." **(figure 27. 25)**

The bridge over the fire of hell must be traversed by all on the Day of Judgement. The bridge is said to be more slender than a hair and sharper than a sword.

f. 205v-206. An image of the Ka'ba with the names of the four imams and other scholars raising above it; and a *ta'viz.* **(figure 27. 26)**

f. 206v-207. The geneology of the Prophet and the names of the four imams in astrolabe-shaped figures. **(figure 27. 27)**

Catalogue #28 - IUL 5619, Istanbul University Library, Istanbul

En'am-i serif by an unknown calligrapher.
dated: 1292/1875-76.
No images available.

Thin, dark cream-coloured paper. 136 folios. 14.1 x 10 cm. 9 lines per page. Brown leather binding with flap.

This is the final manuscript in our study. The manuscript is identified as an *En'am-ı şerif* at the top of f. 1v.

ff. 1v-2. *Du'a.*

ff. 2-6. Passages from *Surah al-Baqara.*

ff. 6v-7. *Serlevha* with *Surah al-Fatiha* and *Surah Ya Sin* .

ff. 7v-51v. *Surahs al-Dukhan, al-Ahqaf, al-Fath, al-Rahman, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Nazati, al-Dhuha, al-Inshira, al-Tin, al-Iqra, al-Qadr, Lam Yakin, Zilzal* to *al-Nas.*

f. 52. *Du'a* .

ff. 52v- 53. Geneology of the Prophet Muhammad.

ff. 53v-54. The "Great Seal," with explanatory text in Ottoman Turkish.
The text on f. 52v reads:

> "Anyone who looks at this seal, morning or night, and rubs it over their face and eyes, Allah will forgive the sins of the past seventy

> years. Anyone who looks at this seal at the beginning of the month, Allah will protect them from difficulties that month. Allah will protect them from their enemies. This is a very great seal, with many secrets."

The centre of the circular seal repeats the phrase, *Ya Allah!* seventeen times, and again six or eight times each on the top, bottom, left and right sides of the circle. The names of the four Archangels are inscribed in the interstices. [251]

ff. 54v-55. Calligraphic roundels "Allah," and "Muhammad."

ff. 55v-60. *Hilyes* of Adam, Noah, *Rasul Allah*, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Hasan, and Hussain. The text of these *hilyes* is in Arabic, and identical to the texts of the *hilyes* found in Cat. 26, **Spencer Turk 9**, ff. 40v-45, **(figures 26. 5 to 26. 9)**.

f. 55v. *Hilye* of Adam.

"Adam, may God be send peace and blessings upon him, had a ruddy complexion. He had big eyes. He was sixty arms length in height. His hair was worn in two braids."

f. 56. *Hilye* of Noah.

"Noah, may God send peace and blessings upon him, had a ruddy complexion. His build was large. His face was open. His beard was long. He was very tall. He was 950 years old."

f. 56v-57. *Hilye* of Muhammad.

"The Messenger of God, may God send peace and blessings upon him, was large of head. He was of luminous, lily-white complexion. His eyes were

---

[251] Identical with Cat. #26, **Spencer Turk 9**, f. 38v-39, **(figure 26. 3)**.

jet-black. His forehead was high. And it was said that he was wide-eyed, aqualine-nosed. His face was round. His eyelashes were thick, and his eyebrows met in the middle. He was gap-toothed. His ears were small. His beard was thick with a few white hairs. He was of medium weight, with a graceful body."

f. 57v. *Hilye* of Abu Bakr.

"Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was thin. He had an open face. He was fair-skinned. His body was thin. His forehead was flat. His eyes were big. He was of medium height."

f. 58. *Hilye* of 'Umar.

"'Umar, may God be pleased with him, was fair-skinned and he was tanned. His face was unblemished, faultless. He had thin (?) shoulders. He was wide eyed. He had a normal beard. He was tall."

f. 58v. *Hilye* of 'Uthman.

"'Uthman, may God be pleased with him, was fair-skinned. His face was unblemished, faultless. His face was ruddy. He had refined hands and feet. He had a lot of hair. His shoulders were broad. He was of medium build."

f. 59. *Hilye* of 'Ali.

"'Ali, may God be pleased with him, had a tawny complexion. His eyes were jet-black. His beard was black. His face was unblemished, faultless. He had a lot of hair. He had a large stomache. He was of average height."

f. 59v. *Hilye* of Hasan.

"Hasan, may God be pleased with him, had a luminous, lily-white complexion. He had jet-black eyes. He had a high forehead. His eyebrows met

in the middle. He had a handsome and engaging face. His eyelashes were very long. His build was slim. May God be pleased with him."

f. 60. *Hilye* of Hussain.

"Hussain, May God be pleased with him, had a luminous, lily-white complexion. He had a round head. He was wide-eyed. He had a wide forehead and a broad chest. His arms were long. He had refined hands and feet. May God be pleased with him."

ff. 60v-71. Calligraphic roundels of the names of the *rashidun* caliphs: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali; those promised Paradise: Talha, Zubair, 'Abd Allah, 'Abd al-Rahman, Ibn 'Auf, Sa'd, Sa'id, Abu 'Ubaida, Hasan, Hussain; and the Seven Sleepers: Yamlikha, Makshalina, Mathalina, Marnush, Dabarnush, Shadnush, Kafashsatnush, Kalbuhum Qutmir.

f. 71v. The Seal of the Names of God.

"O Most Gracious, O Just, O Most Glorious, O Ruler, O Allah!"

f. 72. The Seal of *"Huwa 'ala' kulli shay'in qadir."*

f. 72v. A *ta'viz.*

The top *unvan* reads: "This is the seal of *Shifa' al-Qur'an.*" The bottom *unvan* reads: "In the Name of God, and I put my trust in God." The circlular text reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."*
> *"We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unjust it causes nothing but loss after*

> *loss.*[252] Almighty God speaks the Truth. *Who gives me food and drink, and when I am ill, it is He who cures me. Who will cause me to die, and then to live (again). And Who, I hope, will forgive me my faults on the Day of Judgement. O my Lord! bestow wisdom on me, and join me with the righteous.*[253]

f. 73. *Ta'viz* .

The top *unvan* reads: "This is the seal of *Shifa' al-Qur'an*." The bottom *unvan* reads: "In the Name of God, the Healer. O Sufficient, O Giver of Health." The text inside the circle reads:

> *"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful."*
> *"And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds."*[254] There is no power and no strength except with God, the Most High, Almighty. In the name of God nothing may harm you by His Name, either on earth, or in the heavens. And He is All-Hearing, All-Knowing."

f. 73v. The Seal of Prophethood.

f. 74. The Great Seal of Solomon.

f. 74v-75. The "Great Seal," and an explanatory text in Ottoman Turkish.

The *unvan* (f. 75) reads: "This is the image of the Great Seal. There is no power or might except with God the Highest, Almighty." The text (f. 74v) reads:

> "This is an explanation of a narration from Imam Ja'far (al-Sadiq). It was narrated from Imam Ja'far that the Messenger of God,may the blessings of Almighty God be upon him, said: 'Anyone who looks

---

[252] 17:82.
[253] 26:79-83. (Abraham's prayer.)
[254] 68:51-52.

> at this Great Seal, God will protect them from being thrown into hellfire. Amen to that! They will see God's beauty. They will be protected from seventy thousand difficulties in this life, and never be destitute, and will have a long life. Allah will forgive them their sins. All this is due to the blessings of this noble seal."

The seal has four surrounding roundels: "O Opener, O Provider, O Giver of Riches, O He Who is Rich." The seal consists of four circles with text:

> (The outer circle) "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God. Adam is the Chosen of God. There is no god but God, Noah is the Protected of God. There is no god but God, Abraham is the Friend of God. There is no god but God, Isma'il is the Sacrifice of God. There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God." (The second circle) "There is no god but God, Moses is the One Who Spoke to God. [255] There is no god but God. He is One, no partner has He. To Him is the Kingdom and the praise. And He is above everything, All-Powerful."[256] (The third circle) "He is the Master, and the Victor, and there is no power or might except with God the Highest, Almighty." (The centre) "By God's will."

f. 75v. The *pence*, or "Hand of the Prophet."

f. 76. *Zülfiqar.*

f. 76v. The Prophet's Footprint.

f. 77. The Prophet's Sandal.

---

[255]To this point, the seal is very similar to Cat. #138, **Pertevniyal 43,** f. 59v **(figure 18.11)**
[256]The explanatory text and the seal itself are identical to those found in Cat. #26, **Spencer Turk 9,** ff. 60v-61 **(figure 26. 14)**

f. 77v. The *'Ayn 'ala' Allah.*

f. 78. The rod of Moses.

f. 78v. The Prophet's ax.

f. 79. The Muhammadan rose.

f. 79v. The Flag of Praise.

f. 80. The Prophet's relics: his cloak, *tasbih,* ewer and basin.

f. 80v. The Ka'ba.

f. 81. The Prophet's Mosque in Medina.

f. 81v. The *Maqam Mahmoud,* or station of Muhammad, illustrated by the green dome of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina.

f. 82. *Dhikr*?

ff. 82v-83. *Sancaks.*

ff. 83v-87. *Du'a munajat şerif.*

ff. 87v-89v. *Du'a istaghfir kabir.*

f. 90. *Du'a barat şerif.*

f. 90v. *Du'a Ramadan.*

f. 91-96. *Du'a.*

ff. 97-98. *Salawat.*

f. 99. *Du'a sanati jadid.*

f. 99v. *Du'a hadrat 'Isa, alayhi salam.*

ff. 100-101v. *Du'a.*

ff. 102-106v. *Du'a salawat kabir.*

ff. 107-109v. *Du'a khatim al-Qur'an.*

ff. 110-111v. *Du'a.*

ff. 112-116v. *Du'a munajati şerif.*

ff. 117- 120v. *Du'a.*

ff. 121-124. *Du'a Ramadan şerif.*

ff. 124v- 126. *Du'a Mi'raj şerif.*

f. 126v. *Du'a* of Khidr.

ff. 127-133. *Du'a istaghfir.*

ff. 133-135v. *Du'a* of Shaykh Mehmed Ghawthi.

f. 136. Colophon.

APPENDIX II

Biographies of the Calligraphers, Patrons and Collectors of the *En'am-ı şerif*

> "And know, O, brother, that every human craftsman requires a teacher (*Ustadh)* from whom he learns his craft or his science, and that his teacher in turn requires a teacher before him, and so on until one is reached whose knowledge does not derive from any human being.[1]

The Calligraphers

Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede (d. 1001/1593)

Dervish Mehmed's father, Şeyh Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah (900-945/1494-95 - 1538-39) was the son of **Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.**[2] Mustafa Dede is known to have written over one thousand *En'ams* and *Kehf Suresi* [3] Dervish Mehmet's work is represented here by two manuscripts, both dated 956/1549: **TSM EH 307,** and **H. Husnu Paşa 103.**

Hafiz Osman (d. 1110/1698)

Hafiz Osman was born in 1052-53/1642, the son of 'Ali Efendi, *muezzin*[4] of Haseki Mosque in Istanbul. He acquired the cognomen Hafiz because he learned to recite the Qur'an at a very early age. His patron was the grand vezir, Mustafa Paşa, and his teachers Dervish 'Ali and Suyoluzade Mustafa Eyyübi. The first of the two manuscripts in our study written by Hafiz Osman was written prior to

---

[1]This passage is quoted from the *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa,* a collection of encyclopaedic epistles written in the 4th/10th century. The eighth epistle of the first series of the *Rasa'il* discusses the crafts. See, Bernard Lewis, "An epistle on manual crafts," in *Islamic culture* 12/2 (Hyderabad-Deccan) 1943, pp. 142-152. (especially p. 143) reprinted in *Studies in classical and Ottoman Islam (7th - 16th centuries),* Variorum Reprints: London. 1976.
[2]See entry below.
[3]MH, p. 207.
[4]A *muezzin* is the man appointed to make the call to prayer.

1090/1678, the year he abandoned the "Şeyh Manner" of Hamdullah Efendi and began working in his own style. Hafiz Osman was the first to write the *hilye* in the form of a *levha.*[5] He is known to have trained approximately fifty students, including Ottoman sultans Mustafa II (1106-1115/1665-1703) and Ahmed III (1115-1143/1703-1730). Sultan Mustafa held Hafiz Osman in such high esteem that he held the latter's inkwell for him as he worked.[6] Despite his lofty position, Hafiz Osman lived the simple life of a dervish, and when he died in 1110/1698, he was buried in the graveyard of the Sufi *dergah* (lodge) of Sünbül Efendi, in Kocamustafa-paşa, Istanbul.[7]

There are two manuscripts by the hand of Hafiz Osman in this study: **TSM EH 322**, and **TSM EH 324**.

Hasan Üsküdari (d. 1145/1732)

Hasan was born in Üsküdar (thus the cognem Üsküdari), but his date of birth is unknown. He was one of **Hafiz Osman**'s foremost pupils.[8] The manuscript **Yazmar Bagislar 245** is by the hand of Hasan Üsküdari.

Hasan al-Rashid (d. 1272/1855-56)

Hasan al-Rashid was *hafiz al-Qur'an.* He was a student of Mahmud Celaleddin, and he received his *icazet* from **Sayyid Mehmet Tahir.** Hasan al-

---

[5]*Levha,* according to Ugur Derman, were calligraphic compositions that were popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These *levha* were intended to be read as well as to serve a decorative function, and were most often framed and hung upon interior walls. (p. 53) Until this point, the *hilye* had simply been written on a piece of paper and carried as a *ta'widh,* or protective amulet. See also, Muhammad Zakariya, "Islamic calligraphy, a technical overview," in *Brocade of the pen: the art of Islamic writing,* ed. Carol Garrett Fisher, East Lansing, 1991, p. 9.

[6]Stories such as these are quite common and are a traditional way of expressing great respect for one's teacher.

[7]Uğur Derman, p. 82.

[8]Uğur Derman, p. 82.

Rashid was the calligrapher responsible for both **IUL 5197** and **IUL 5756.** His works were innumerable.[9]

Hocazade Mehmet (d. 1106/1695)

Hocazade Mehmet was of the same generation of calligraphers as **Hafiz Osman.** They shared the same calligraphy teacher, Suyolcuzade Mustafa Eyyübi (1028-1097/1619-1686).[10] Hocazade Mehmet was the original calligrapher of **TSM EH 365,** written in 1094/1682-3, and illuminated by **Salih** in 1144/1731-32.

Hüseyin Şah b. Abdullah (Hüsameddin) (d. after 965/1557-58)

Hüseyin Şah b. Abdullah (Hüsameddin) was the appointed successor of **Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.** The name Hüsameddin was a pen-name, and although a contemporary history[11] cites his father's name as Kamal Paşazade Halil Bey,[12] he has signed the *En'am-ı şerif* in this study ibn Abdullah. Uğur Derman has pointed out that the paternal name, ibn Abdullah, refers to Hüsameddin's status as a slave. [13] The master calligrapher brought his most favored pupil up as the elder brother of his own son, Mustafa Dede, and together taught the two calligraphy. As a mark of his high esteem, it is said that Şeyh Hamdullah took as much care of Hüsameddin as he did of his own eyes. It is also said that the master calligrapher used to sign Hüsameddin's finest work with his own name, another sign of great regard and respect. In 898/1492-93 he was employed as a *katip* in the *Divan-ı Humayun,* and in 911/1505-06, he was a *katip* in the *Hazine-i Amire.* In 917/1511-12, he became a *muhasip,* or accountant.[14]

---

[9]Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de 'orient musulman,* Paris, 1908, p. 195.
[10]Uğur Derman, p. 76.
[11]*Amasya Tarihi.*
[12]Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah,* Kubbealti Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfi: Istanbul, 1992, p. 63
[13]Uğur Derman, in *Sabanci Collection,* p. 72
[14]Serrin, p. 63.

Huseyin Şah's year of death is unknown, but we know that he lived at least until the year 965/1557-58, as that is the date of the *En'am* **TSM EH 355.**

Ibrahim Rodosi (d. 1201/1787)

Ibrahim Rodosi came from Rhodes. His father was a *qadi* in Rumeli, and they lived near Aksaray. He studied *sülüs* and *nesih* from Isma'il Zuhdi, and when the latter passed away, he took his *icacet* from Katibzade Mustafa Efendi. Ibrahim Rodosi himself became *qadi* in Bursa, where he took his *icazet* in *taliq* from Asim Seyyid Mustafa Efendi. He lived in Sultan Mahmud I's time (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754), and was a very famous calligrapher in his day.[15] Ibrahim Rodosi was the teacher of both **Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi**, the calligrapher responsible for the original *En'am-ı şerif* of which **UVic 95-014** is a copy, and **Mustafa Kütahi.**

Kadıasker Mustafa Izzet Efendi (d. 1293/1876)

Seyyid Mustafa Izzet (Izzet was a pen name) was one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century. He was born in Tosya in 1216/1801, and his father, Destan (or Bostan) Agazade Mustafa Aga, died when Mustafa Izzet was very young. His mother sent him to study in Istanbul at Fatih Medrese, and it was was then that his voice that attracted the attention of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1223-1255/1808-1838), who sent the young Mustafa Izzet to the Enderun school for three years. His calligraphy teachers were Cömez Mustafa Vasif *(sülüs-nesih)* and Yesarizade Mustafa Izzet (d. 1265/1849) *(ta'lik* and *celi ta'lik).* Mustafa Izzet Efendi,[16] spent a further three years of study at the Galatasaray, where he became a master *neyzen,* or reed flutist, as well as an accomplished composer and singer. Uğur Derman noted Mustafa Izzet's pre-eminence by saying that "just as no

---

[15]Uğur Derman, p. 96.
[16]Mustafa Izzet was the teacher of Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi, calligrapher of Izmirli I. Hakki 1509 and YY 874.

calligrapher ever achieved the same standing in music as Mustafa Izzet Efendi, so no musician reached such heights in calligraphy."[17]

Mustafa Izzet was said to have found palace protocol "irritating," and requested permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he became a member of the Naqshbandi order.[18] He returned quietly and unannounced to Istanbul, following a stay in Cairo. In 1247/1832 he angered Sultan Mahmud II when the latter, realizing that he had been avoided, discovered his protege had returned and was calling the *adhan* at Bayezid Mosque. During the subsequent reign of Abdülmecid, Mustafa Izzet held a number of high religious and judicial positions, including serving as Sultan Abdülmecid's *imam* and as the *imam* of *Eyyüb* mosque. Mustafa Izzet served as a member of the Supreme Court, as the kadıasker of Rumeli (the head of the *ulema* second only to the *seykhülislam),* and as the representative of the *şerif* of Mecca in Istanbul.

Mustafa Izzet was the calligrapher responsible for the famous circular *levhas* found in the Ayasofya, containing the names, "Allah," "Muhammad," the four rightly guided caliphs, and the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Hussain. He wrote eleven Qur'ans, eleven *Dala'il al-khayrat,* more than thirty *En'am-ı şerif,* more than 200 *hilye serif*, and many *kitas* and *murakkas.* His usual forms of *ketebehu* indicated his mystical leanings: "Hak-pay-ı evliya, Seyid Izzet Mustafa" and "Bende-i Al-i Aba, Sayyid Izzet Mustafa." Mustafa Izzet died in 1293/1876, and was buried in the graveyard of the Kadiri lodge in Tophane.[19]

Mustafa Izzet was the teacher of Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi, calligrapher of **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509** and **TSM YY 874.**

---

[17]Uğur Derman, p. 118.
[18]Sevket Rado, pp. 216-7.
[19]The information for this entry has been taken from Uğur Derman, p. 116-118 except where noted.

Mahmud Raci (n.d.)

Mahmud Raci was a student of **Mustafa Kütahi.**[20] He is the calligrapher responsible for **TSM EH 371.**

Mehmed Rasim (d. 1169/1755-56)

Mehmed Rasim is mentioned as an important link in the *silsila* of **Şeyh Hamdullah: Dervish Mehmet** (988/1580-81), Hasan Üsküdari (1023/1614-15)[21], Halid Erzurumi (1040/1630-31), Dervis Ali (1084/1673-74), Mustafa Suyolcuzade (1097/1685-86), **Hafiz Osman Efendi** (1110/1698-99), Yedikuleli Seyyid Abdullah Efendi (1144/1702), and finally Hoca Mehmed Rasim (1169/1755-56).[22]

Mehmed Rasim was born in 1099/1687-88 in Istanbul, the son of Yusuf Efendi, a calligrapher and imam of the Molla Aski Cami at Egrikapi. Mehmed Rasim was also known as Egrikapılı Çelebi. His earliest works are signed Imamzade, or son of the Imam, and at forty he began to sign his work Mehmed Rasim.[23] He began studying calligraphy with his father, and eventually became the most noted pupil of Hafiz Osman's renowned student, Yedikuleli Seyyid Abdullah Efendi. Mehmed Rasim was an accomplished scholar with *icazet* in seven styles of calligraphy by the age of eighteen. In 1126/1714 the *sadrazam* (grand vezir) Sehit Ali Paşa, who was also a Bayrami-Melami shaykh,[24] appointed Mehmed Rasim to teach calligraphy at Galatasaray and at the Topkapı Palace where he trained some one thousand pupils. Mehmed Rasim died in the year 1169/1755-56 and was buried next to the city gate where he had been born. He is known to have written over sixty Qur'ans, and many *En'am-ı şerif,*[25] including **TSM EH 395** in our study.

---

[20]Derman, p. 96.
[21]This is not the same Hasan Üsküdari who wrote **Yazma Bagislar 245.**
[22]Serrin, p. 48.
[23]Uğur Derman, p. 90.
[24]Cemal Kafadar, ""The new visibility of Sufism in Turkish studies and cultural life," in *The Dervish Lodge,* p. 308.
[25]Uğur Derman, *The Sabanci Collection,* p. 90.

Mehmed Vasfi Efendi (d. 1248/1832-33)

Mehmed Vasfi Efendi, known as Kebecizade, was the chief calligrapher under Sultan Mahmud II (1223-1255/1808-1839). He is known to have written twenty Qur'ans, approximately one hundred and fifty *Dala'il al-khayrat* and *En'am-ı şerif*, two hundred and fifty *hilye serif*, over one thousand prayer books and thousands of *kit'a* and *murakka*.[26] Mehmed Vasfi was the teacher of **Mustafa Hilmi Efendi**, the calligrapher responsible for **Spencer Turk 9**.

Mehmed Tahir Efendi (d. 1262/1845)

Mehmet Tahir was the most renowned pupil of Mahmud Celaleddin, and teacher of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1255-1277/1839-1861).[27] Another of his pupils, **Hasan al-Rashid**, was the calligrapher of both **IUL 5197** and **IUL 5756.**

Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi (no dates)

Copied an *En'am-ı şerif* (**UVic 95-014**) from **Musa Efendi ibn Hasan Efendi**, a student of **Ibrahim Rodosi**.

Mustafa Hilmi Efendi (n.d.)

Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, the calligrapher responsible for **Spencer Turk 9**, was a student of **Mehmet Vasfi Efendi** (d. 1248/1832-33).

Mustafa Kütahi (d. 1197/1783)

Mustafa Kütahi, born in Kütahya, was the foremost calligrapher of the last half of the eighteenth century. He was also known as *Şeyhzade*, because of his uncle, a Sufi shaykh. A student of **Ibrahim Rodosi**, Mustafa Kütahi studied in Istanbul and taught in the *madrese* system. He died in 1197/1783, and was

---

[26]Sevket Rado, p. 202.
[27]Derman, p. 104, 112,

buried in Usküdar.[28] His student, **Mahmud Raci**, was the calligrapher responsible for **TSM EH 371.**

Mustafa Mir (d. 1175/1761)

Mustafa Mir's father was Rami Paşa, a former grand vezir. Mustafa Mir's teachers were Namdash Abu Kasim and **Mehmet Rasim** (d. 1169/1755-56). His father-in-law was the former *şeyhülislam*, Pir-zade Mehmet Sahib Efendi. He worked in the upper levels of government, eventually becoming a *muhasib*. His *murshid*, or Sufi shaykh, was mentioned in his will as Nur al-Din Efendi, who was the Helveti-Sünbüli shaykh of the Kocamustafa Paşa *khanaqa*. He was buried in this *khanaqa* when he died in 1175/1761.[29] He is the calligrapher responsible for writing **TSM EH 394**, in 1144/1731-32, at the request of Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1143-1168/1730-1754). The binding of this manuscript was produced by Ahmed Altuni (the goldsmith).

Mustafa Paşa b. Mehmed Paşa (d. 1176/1763)

Mustafa Paşa was the son of a former grand vezir *(sadr-ı esbak)* under Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1115-1143/1703-1730) known as *teber-dar* (the axe-wielding) Mehmed Paşa (1071-1124/1660-1712). One of Mustafa Paşa's teachers, Omer Efendi-zade, was a well-known painter *(ressam)* in the *Humayun*, or Royal Academy. His calligraphy teacher was Mehmed Efendi. Mustafa b. Mehmet Paşa was particularly well-known for his *hilye serif* as well as a number of *levhas* which were hung over the main entrance and the outer vestibule of the Ayasofya, and the *ayat al-kursi* at the tomb of Eyyüb Sultan. He died in 1176/1763 in the city of Dimtoka,[30] several years after he wrote **Halet Efendi 5.**

---

[28]Derman, p. 96.
[29]Mustakim-zade, p. 541.
[30]Ibid.

Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (833-926/1429-1520)

Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi also known as the *qibla* of calligraphers, was born in Amasya, in north easternTurkey. His father, Mustafa Dede, was an elderly man with no children when he married a young orphan girl. It was said that a saint who prayed for the couple to have children predicted that they would have a son who would achieve greatness, and told them to name him Hamdullah, or praise be to God.[31] Mustafa Dede was a shaykh of several Sufi orders, including the Zeyniye and Helveti *tarikats* under Şeyh Zeynuddin Ebu Bekir Muhammad el-Hafi' (d. 838/1435), as well as the Suhrawardi and Rifa'i orders.[32] Şeyh Hamdullah was renowned for his deep understanding of *tasawwuf*, [33] and frequently signed his work, *ibn as-şeyh*, or the son of the shaykh. The governor of Amasya at that time (1455-1481) was Bayezid, the eldest son of Sultan Mehmed II, who would ascend the throne of the Ottomans in 1481 as Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512). It is known that Bayezid visited and probably followed the teachings of Mustafa Dede.[34] At some time during those visits Şeyh Hamdullah became Bayezid's calligraphy teacher, and the two developed a lasting and very close relationship. It is said that even after Bayezid became sultan he continued to sit with his teacher and carefully place a pillow against the latter's back to insure his comfort.[35]

At his father's death, Şeyh Hamdullah was appointed his *khalifa*, or successor as shaykh. When Şeyh Hamdullah arrived in Istanbul to teach calligraphy at the Imperial Palace,[36] he began to follow the Naqshbandi shaykh Ahmed Efendi. [37] Şeyh Ahmed Efendi also gained the favour of Şeyh Hamdullah's most illustrious pupil, Bayezid II, serving as the patron of three

---

[31]Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah*, Kubbealti Akademisi Kültür ve San'at Vakfi: Istanbul, 1992. p. 28.
[32]Ibid. p. 31.
[33]Ibid. p. 29.
[34]Serrin, p. 28.
[35]Ibid. p. 32.
[36]Uğur Derman, p. 70
[37]Serrin, p. 28.

Naqshbandi *tekkes*, one near Fatih Cami, the second near Ayvansaray, and the third at Edirnekapı.[38]

When Bayezid II became sultan, he specifically asked his teacher to write him an *evrad*, or Sufi litany, and *ezkar*, or book of *dhikr*, and to do this in a new and beautiful way.[39] Under the patronage and encouragement of the sultan, Şeyh Hamdullah developed a new style known as the "Şeyh Manner." With the exception of a brief but brilliant revival by Ahmed Karahisari during the sixteenth century, the "Şeyh Manner" brought the Yakut period of Ottoman calligraphy to an end.[40] Şeyh Hamdullah's life work consisted of forty-seven complete Qur'ans, as well as innumerable *mushaf cuz'u*, or sections of Qur'an, *En'ams* prayer manuals, and calligraphic albums. Upon his death in 926/1520, he was buried in Karacaahmed Cemetery in Istanbul.

There are several *En'ams* by the hand of Şeyh Hamdullah in this study: **Ayasofya 19/1 M**, and **Nuri Arlasez 245** from the Süleymaniye library; and the Fateh Millet library's **Ali Emiri A. 10.**

Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi (n.d.)

Seyyid Mehmet Hilmi was one of the foremost students of **Kadiasker Mustafa Izzet Efendi.**[41] He wrote two of the manuscripts in this study, **TSM Izmirli I. Hakki 1509** and **TSM YY 847.**

Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 697/1298)

Yaqut al-Musta'simi was known as both the *qibla*,[42] and the Sultan of calligraphers.[43] He was the last of the great calligraphers at the Abbasid court,

---

[38]Algar, p. 18.
[39]Ibid. p. 31.
[40]Uğur Derman, p. 28
[41]Mustakim-zade, p. 217.
[42]Anthony Welch & Stuart Cary Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book*, Ithaca & London, 1982, p. 29.
[43]Martin Lings, *The Qur'anic art of calligraphy and illumination*, p. 54.

serving the caliph al-Musta'sim (thus the cognem al-Musta'simi) until the latter was put to death in the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 656/1258.

The principles of the *khatt al-mansub,* or proportioned script, had been established and developed earlier in the tenth century with the work of first Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940) and then Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 413/1022). During that period, the angular script of the early *kufic* Qur'ans was replaced with cursive scripts such as *nesih* allowing for easier reading and the production of smaller and therefore more easily portable manuscripts.[44] Yaqut developed the *aklam-ı sitte,* or six traditional styles of writing: *sülüs, nesih, muhakkak, reyhani, tevki,* and *rıka.* Yaqut, it was said, had developed these styles to perfection. Ottoman calligraphers measured their work according to his standards, and his work was considered to be the foundation upon which Ottoman calligraphy was built.[45]

The earliest manuscript in this study, **TSM R 70,** dated 690/1291, is by the hand of Yaqut. The treasury seal names the owner as Sultan al-Musta'sim, who was assasinated in 656/1258.

---

[44]Lings. p. 54.
[45]A. Welch and S. C. Welch, pp. 27-28.

The Patrons and Collectors

Ali Emiri Efendi

Ali Emiri Efendi was born in Diyarbakır. His father was Seyyid Mehmed Serif Efendi, a grand-son of the poet Saim Seyyid Mehmed Emiri Celebi. His early education was in the *medrese* system, supplemented with later courses in Arabic, Persian and other subjects from a number of scholars, including Ahmed Hilmi Efendi. In 1878 he served as a secretary to Abidin Paşa, who had come to Diyarbakır with the Committe of Reform. In 1879, he became a telegraph operator, and served in several official positions in the following years. He voluntarily retired in 1908. Considered an average poet and a masterly critic, Ali Emiri's greatest contribution was as a collector of important and rare books and manuscripts, all of which he donated to Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi. Half of his library of sixteen thousand books were manuscripts.[46] He or an earlier owner may have been responsible for including *du'a* for the sighting of the moon and *Ashura* in red ink in the sixteenth-century *En'am* known as **Ali Emiri Arabı 10.**

Halet Efendi (1174-1238/1760-1823)

Mehmed Sa'id Halet Efendi was born in 1174/1760-61. He was a self-made man, intelligent and hard working; the "most influential and long-lived among the conservative leaders of the time...a member of the ulema and closely attached to the Galip Dede *mevlevi* dervish lodge of Galata."[47] Halet Efendi was one of Sultan Mahmud II's chief administrators, serving as ambassador to France from 1802 to 1805-6.[48] His long service in that country strengthened his opposition to Westernization in the Ottoman Empire, evidenced by his participation in the conservative coalition that overthrew Selim III in 1203/1789.

---

[46]Islam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 2, pp. 390-391.
[47]Shaw, 1977, vol. II, p. 8.
[48]Shaw, 1971, p. 519.

Halet Efendi's role in establishing direct Ottoman rule in Iraq earned him the sultan's favour and the position of steward of the sultan's court and *nisancı* of the Imperial Council, becoming Mahmud II's close military and political advisor. Halet Efendi was responsible for building a coalition of conservative leaders aimed at opposing any attempt at modernization. He drew his support from the Janissaries and the *'ulema.*[49]

In Istanbul Halet Efendi met the Mevlevi Şeyh Galib Dede from whom he took *bayat* , or initiation. Halet Efendi built his library (now a police station) as part of the Galata Mevlevi *tekke*. The *tekke* library collection consisted of nine hundred and twenty-two books, eight hundred and twenty-one of them manuscripts including some important and very rare works of history, literature and Sufism. As a result of internal dissent, Halet Efendi was sent first to Bursa, then Konya where he was strangled in 1238/1823. His body was buried at Konya, but his head was decapitated and sent for internment to the Galata *Mevlevihane* he had helped to build. As **Halet Efendi 5** is dated 1173/1759-60, it is impossible for Halet Efendi to have been the manuscript's original patron.[50]

Hasan Husnu Paşa (1832-1903)

Hasan Husnu Paşa was the first admiral of the navy under Abdülhamid II (r. 1293-1327/1876-1909). He built a mosque, *tekke* and library in Eyyüb, as well as a mosque in Kadiköy. His library consisted of 1,468 books, 1052 of them manuscripts. Hasan Husnu Paşa died in 1903 and was buried in his complex at Eyyüb. **Hasan Husnu Paşa 103** is dated 956/1549 and is by the hand of **Dervish Mehmet**, the grandson of **Şeyh Hamdullah.** It was undoubtedly considered a rare and excellent purchase by its owner, and a valuable addition to his collection, but he was obviously not the original patron.[51]

---

[49]Shaw, 1977, vol. II, p. 8.
[50]Halit Dener, *Süleymaniye Ümümi Kütüphanesi* , Istanbul, 1957, pp. 44-45.
[51]Dener, pp. 74-75.

Husrev Paşa (1756-1855)

Husrev Paşa was a captain in the army during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1223-1255/1808-1839), and grand vezir under Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1255-1277/1839-1861) from July 3, 1839 to June 8, 1840. He built his library on Bostan Island at Eyyüb in 1255/1839. His collection consisted of 1159 books, 714 of them manuscripts.[52]

Ismail Hakki Bey (1869-1946)

Ismail Hakki Bey was born in the city of Izmir in 1869. He moved to Istanbul and attended teachers' school where he studied literature, graduating in 1894. He taught Arabic, *usul al-fiqh* (legal sources), history, Islamic philosopy and religious history in the *medrese* system, eventually becoming a university professor. Ismail Hakki Bey worked as a journalist, publishing some forty books. He was very well known for his piety, and for his work as a writer and teacher. He collected an extensive library of four thousand, three hundred and eighty-five books, many of them expensive works from India and Egypt. Most of his collection consisted of printed texts, but two hundred and sevnty-five were manuscripts. In 1921 the collection was made *vakf* to the Süleymaniye, including **Izmirli I. Hakki 1509**. Ismail Hakki Bey died in 1946.[53]

Mehmed Emin Paşa Kibrısh (1831-1881)

Mehmed Emin Paşa served as grand vezir under Sultan, in 1854, 1859, 1860-61. He entered into palace service at an early age, introduced by an uncle who was chief of Mahmud II's private treasury. He studied in France from 1833-1835, and rose rapidly through the army. In 1848 he became vezir and served as ambassador to London. As governor of Aleppo (1850-51) he brutally suppressed

---

[52]Dener, pp. 71-72.
[53]Dener, pp. 57-58.

bedouin revolts. In 1851 he was based in Syria as the field marshal of the Imperial army in the Arab provinces. From 1854 to 1855 he served as grand admiral. His three appointments as grand vezir occured during periods when the Men of the Tanzimat were out of power and gained him "the reputation of being the most stupid and pompous of all the politicians of the era," and at times it seemed that he was being appointed to high positions in order to "baffle and confuse his enemy."[54]

Mehmed Emin may have commissioned Mustafa Hilmi, a student of Mehmet Vasfi Efendi, to write an *En'am-ı şerif*, **Spencer Turk ms. 9**. dated 27 Rabi' II 1289/5 July 1872, possibly to commemorate a visit to the holy city of Medina.[55]

Nuri Arlasez (1910-)

Nuri Arlasez is considered one of Turkey's foremost manuscript collectors. He was born in Istanbul, in the district of Osmanbey, in 1910. His father, Husnu Selim Bey, was considered by many to be the most famous lawyer of his day. Arlasez attended one of the most highly regarded institutions of its kind in Turkey, the Galatasaray High School, which had been established in the nineteenth century to allow Turks access to Western knowledge. He went on to study law, but left school when introduced to the works of Romain Rolland he began living "like an Indian 'fakir'." He was acquainted with Arnold Toynbee and Heisenberg, the theoretical physicist.

His interest in collecting manuscripts began in high school, following the Romanization of the Turkish alphabet. Once, when strolling along a street, he came across a manuscript that, upon closer examination, turned out to have been penned by Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi. (Perhaps it was **Nuri Arlasez 245**!) He embraced collecting with a passion, and never sold anything, although he

---

[54]Shaw, 1977, vol. II, p. 70.
[55]Barbara Schmitz, p. 48.

sometimes lived in near poverty. His manuscripts (including a second century vellum Qur'an in Kufic script), *firmans*, *vakfiyes*, etc. were donated to the Süleymaniye library; photographs and printed books to IRCICA, and other items to the Topkapı Sarayı museum.[56]

Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1300/1883)

With the ascension of her son Abdüleziz to the Ottoman throne in 1277/1861, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan became the most powerful woman in the empire, and one of the most important patrons of nineteenth century Istanbul. A five hundred and eighty-nine page *vakfiye*, or endowment deed, dated the second of Cemaziyülevvel 1279 (27 October 1862) - 18 Rebiyülevvel 1294 (2 April, 1877), offers us tangible evidence of this lady's many activities as patron. Pertevniyal Valide Sultan endowed a number of hospitals, public fountains and waterworks. She also provided for the upkeep of saint's tombs, mosques and dervish lodges, as well as ensuring the recitation of Mevlut at Eyyüb Mosque, Istanbul's most holy site and Qur'anic recitations in Mecca for the Prophet, her husband (Mahmud II- r. 1223-1255/1808-1839) and Abdüleziz, her son.[57]

As early as the sixteenth century, a high proportion of libraries had been endowed by Ottoman women. [58] In the eighteenth century, the number of endowments focussing on education, especially that of girls, rose significantly.[59] Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's most significant contribution as patron was undoubtedly her 1871 endowment of the mosque complex at Aksaray, where she was buried upon her death in 1300/1883. The complex consisted of a mosque,

---

[56]Translated from an interview in the monthly review *Dergah*, September 1995, no. 67, pp. 12-13, 16.

[57]A catalogue description of the endowment deed has been published in, *9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman: Woman in Anatolia*, Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture - General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, Istanbul, 1993, p. 240.

[58]G. Baer, "Women and Waqf: An analysis of the Istanbul Tahrir of 1546," *Asian and African Studies*, 17, pp. 9-27.

[59]Filiz Çağman, "The Power and Patronage of Imperial Women," in *9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman*, p. 222.

tomb and fountain, as well as a school, library and rooms for the staff. At the same time some eight hundred and twenty-eight books (many of them manuscripts), many of them quite precious with exquisite bindings, calligraphy and illuminations, were donated to the library. The endowment deed contains a list of these books, divided according to subject. In 1945, three hundred and twenty-nine manuscripts were transferred to the Süleymaniye Library, including **Pertevniyal 43.**[60] Some nineteen manuscripts considered to be of "outstanding artistic merit," also made their way into the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, including the sultan's illustrated copy of Sayyid Lokman's *Zübdet'üt-Tevarih*, and a copy of Darir's *Siyer-i Nebi*, a later copy of the fourth volume of the famous version commissioned by Sultans Murad III (r. 982-1003/1574-1595) and Mehmet III (r. 1003-1012/1595-1603), now located in Dublin's Chester Beatty Library. [61]

---

[60]Dener, pp. 55-56.

[61]See the catalogue entry C77 "The Meeting of Gabriel and Muhammad," a miniature from the *Siyer-i Nebi*, published in *9000 Years of the Anatolian Woman: Woman in Anatolia*, p. 240.

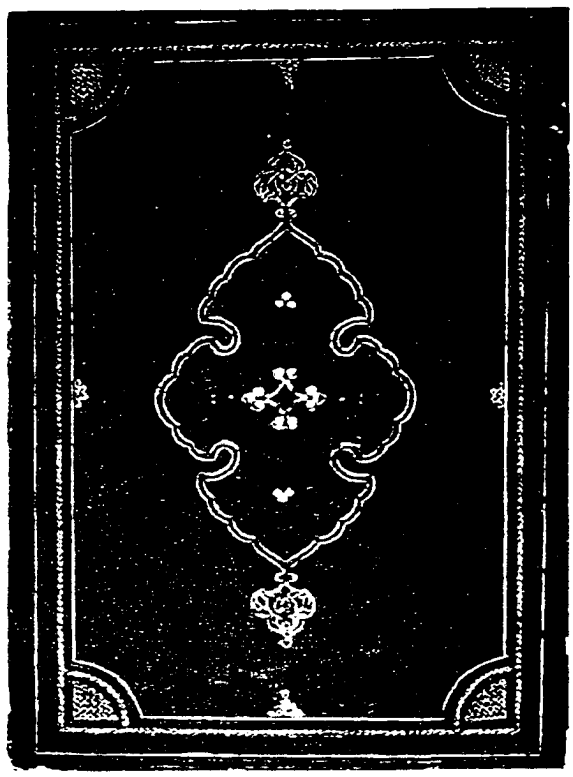


figure 1.1. TSM R70, cover

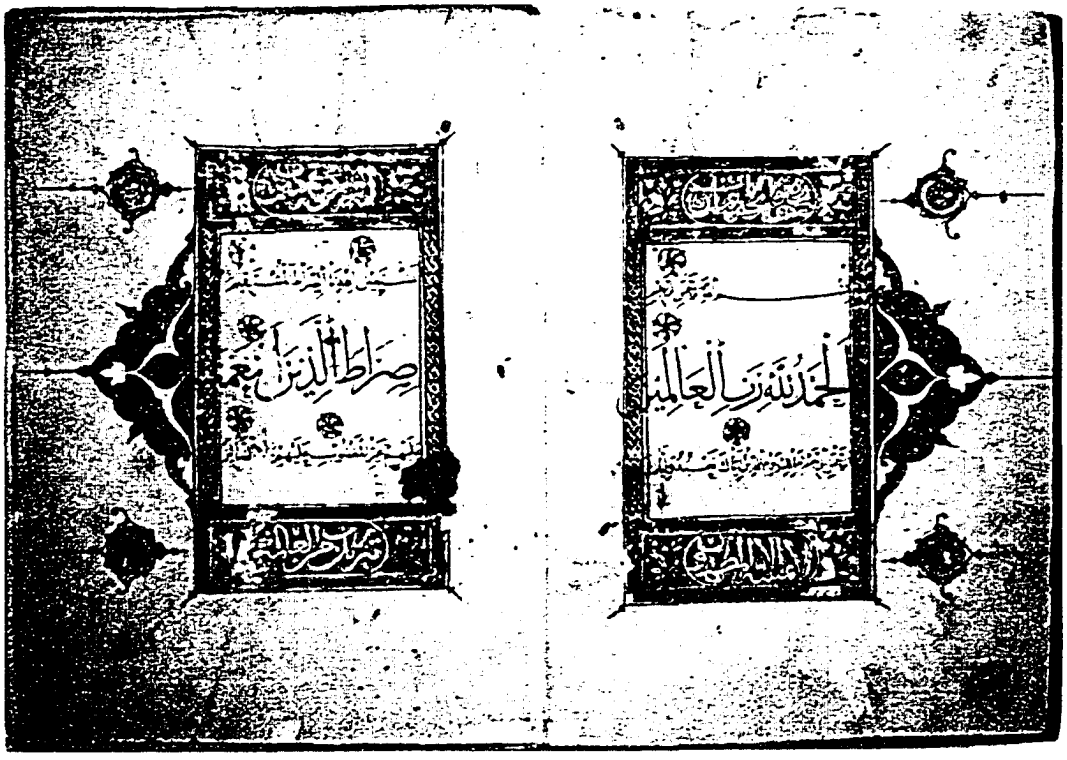


figure 1. 2. TSM R70, ff. 1v-2.



figure 1.3. TSM R70, f. 1.



figure 1.4. TSM R70, ff. 70v-71.

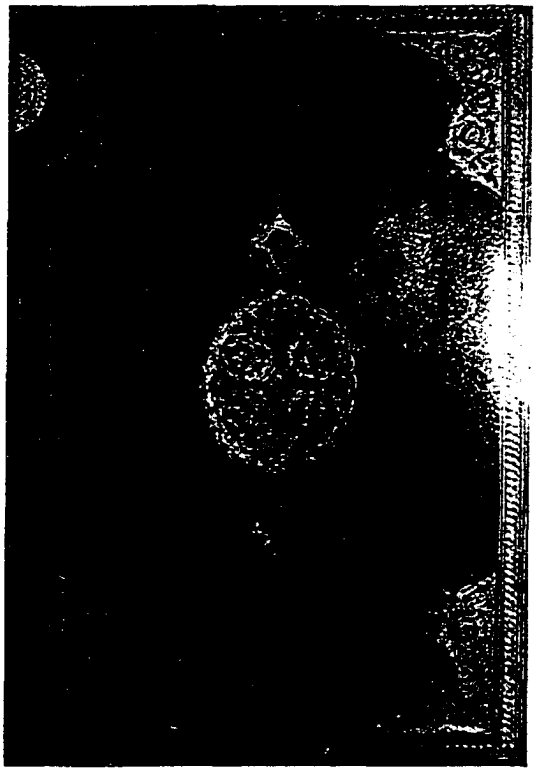


figure 2. 1. Nuri Arlasez 245, cover

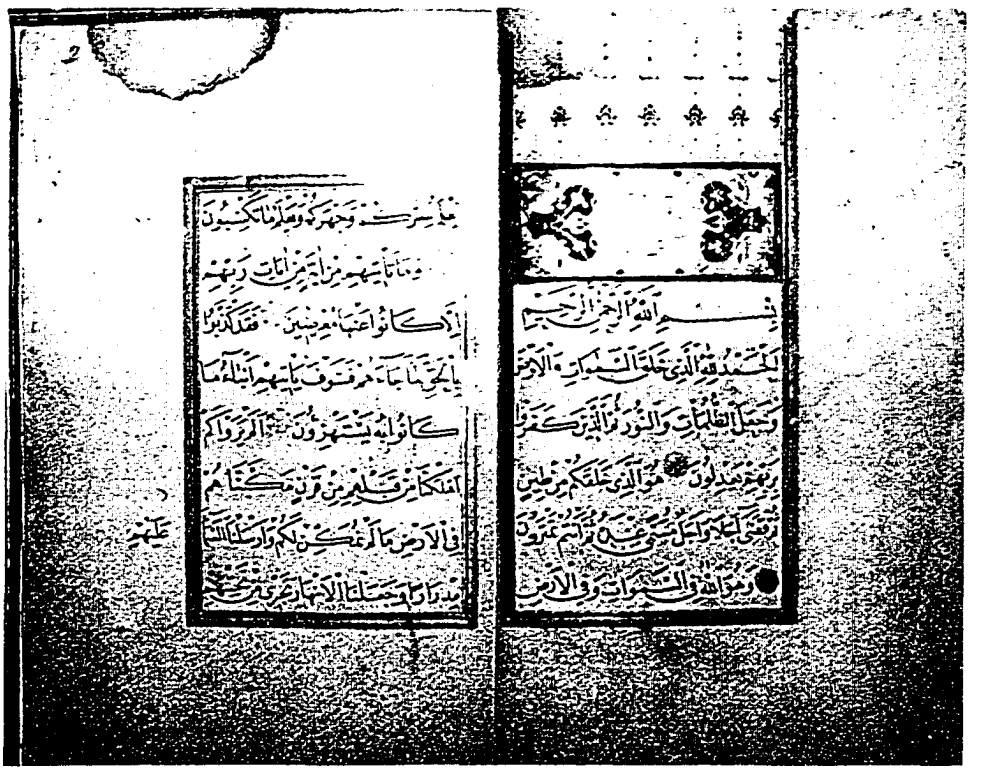


figure 2. 2. Nuri Arlasez 245, ff. 1v-2.

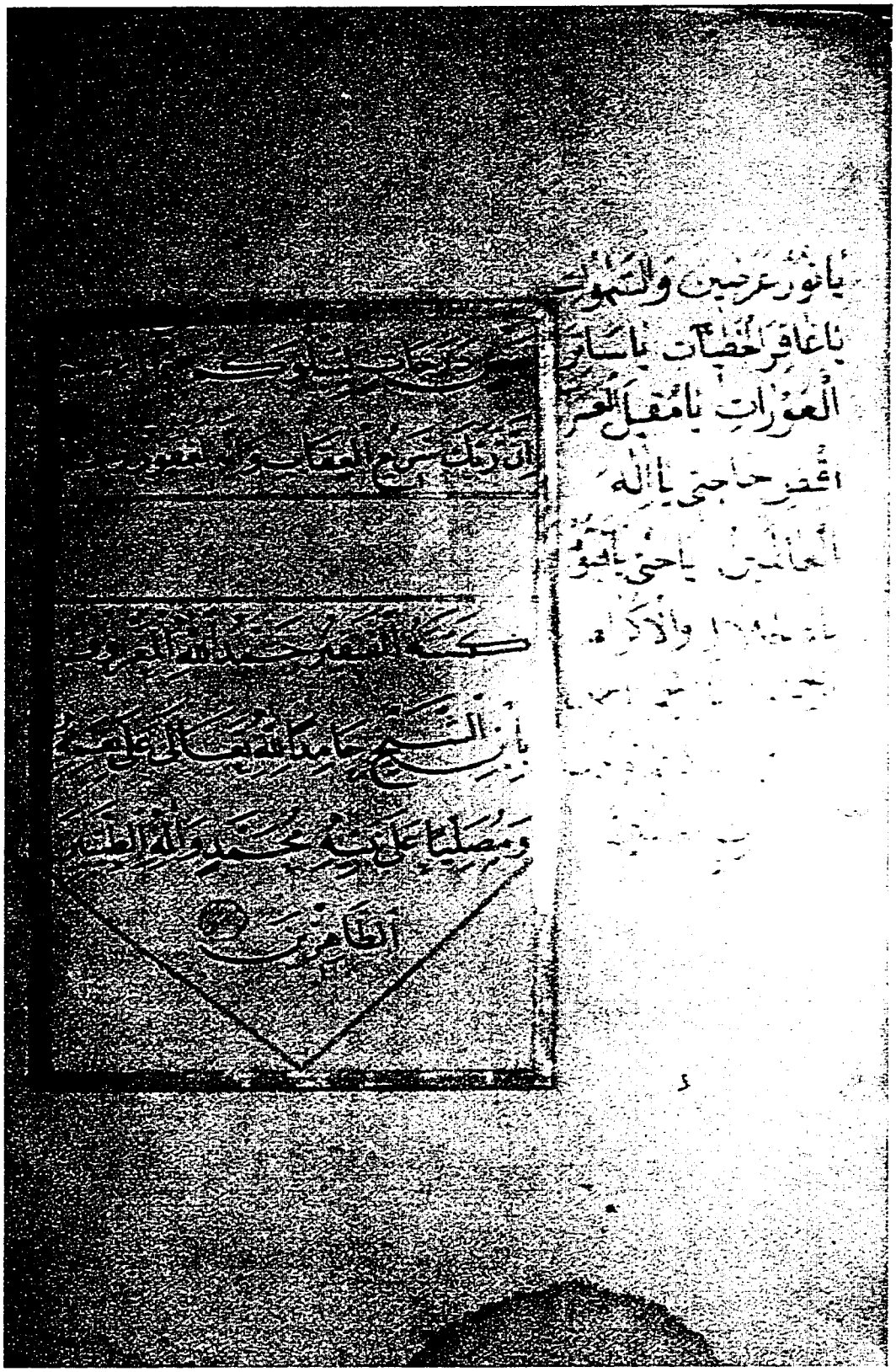


figure 2. 3. Nuri Arlasez 245, f. 29v.

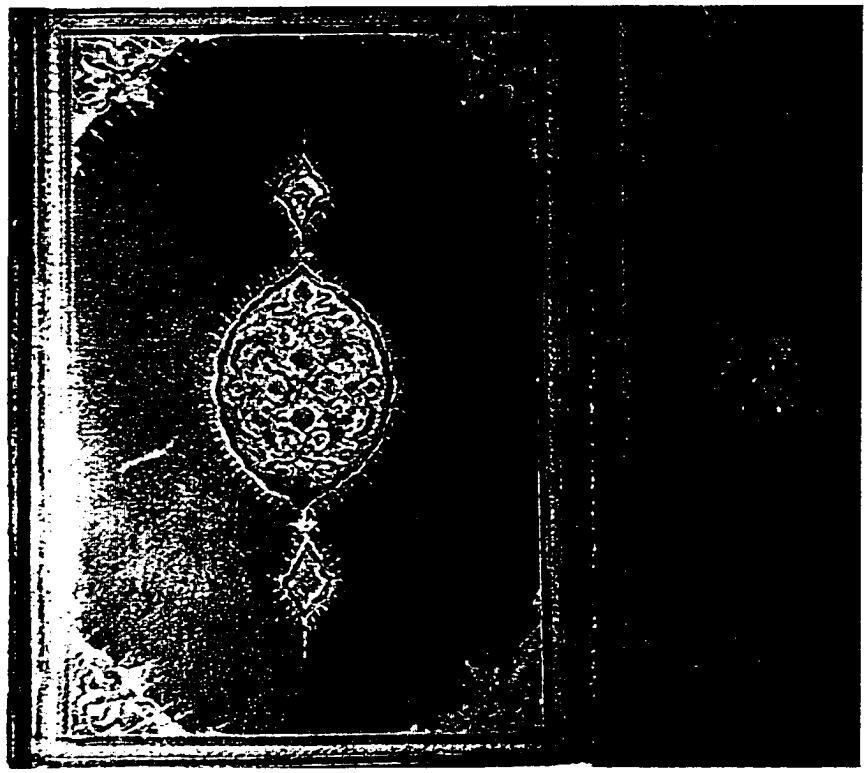


figure 3. 1. Ayasofya 19/1 M, cover



figure 3. 2. Ayasofya 19/1 M, ff. 1v-2.

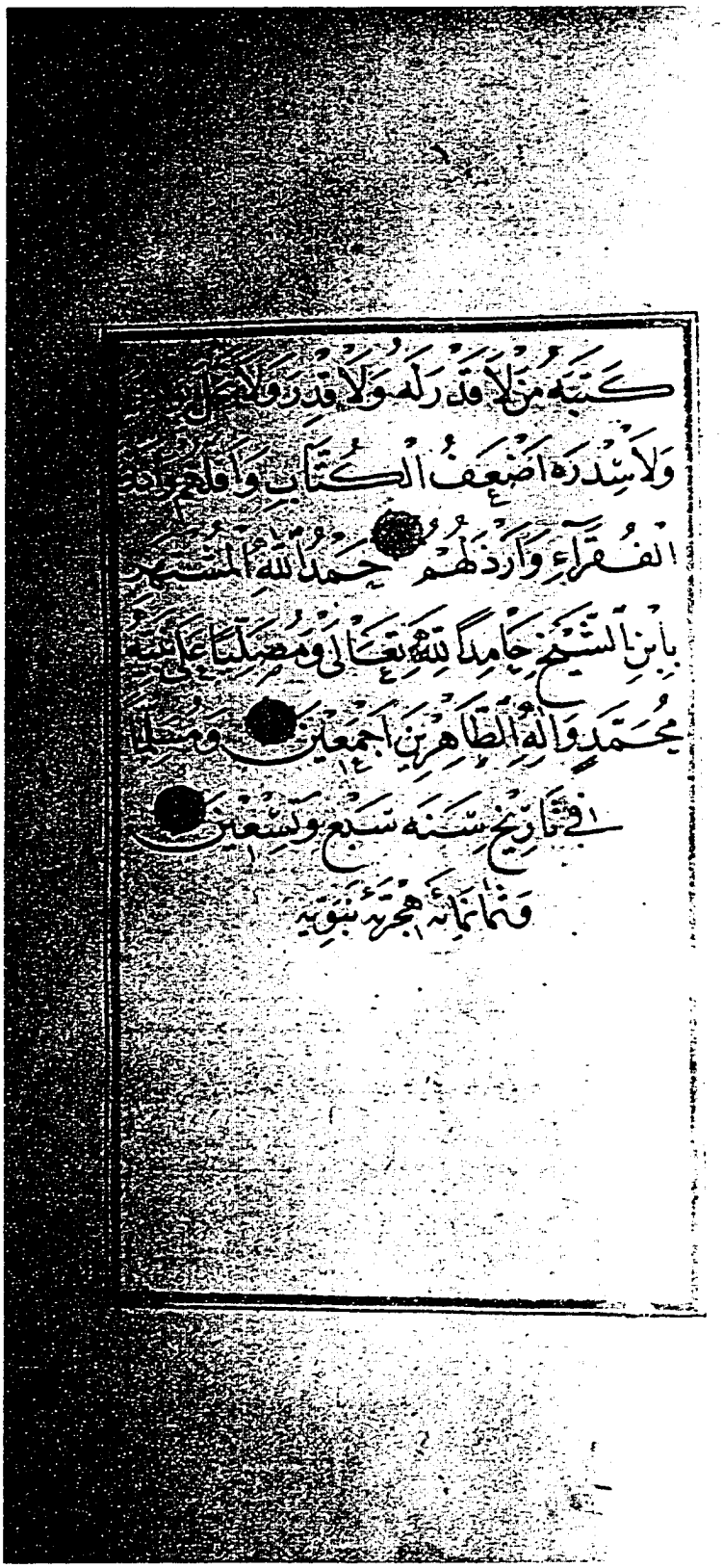


figure 3. 3. Ayasofya 19/1 M, f. 21v.

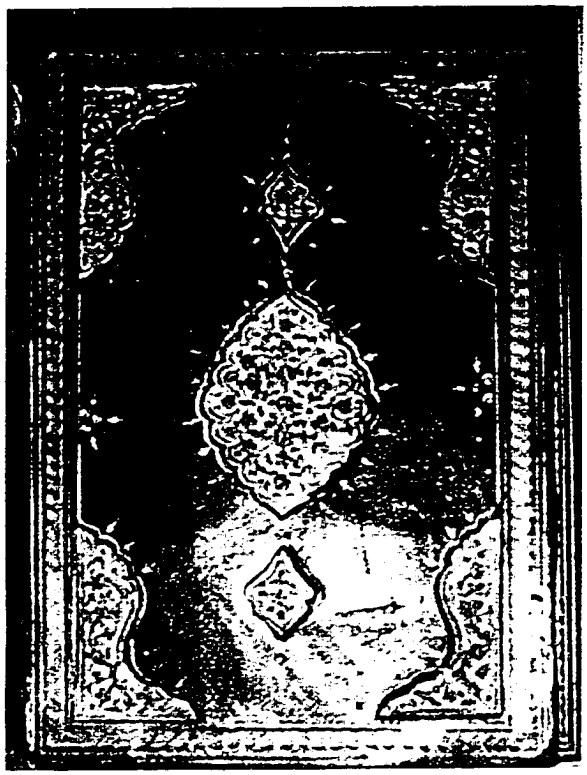


figure 4. 1. Ali Emiri Arabi 10, cover

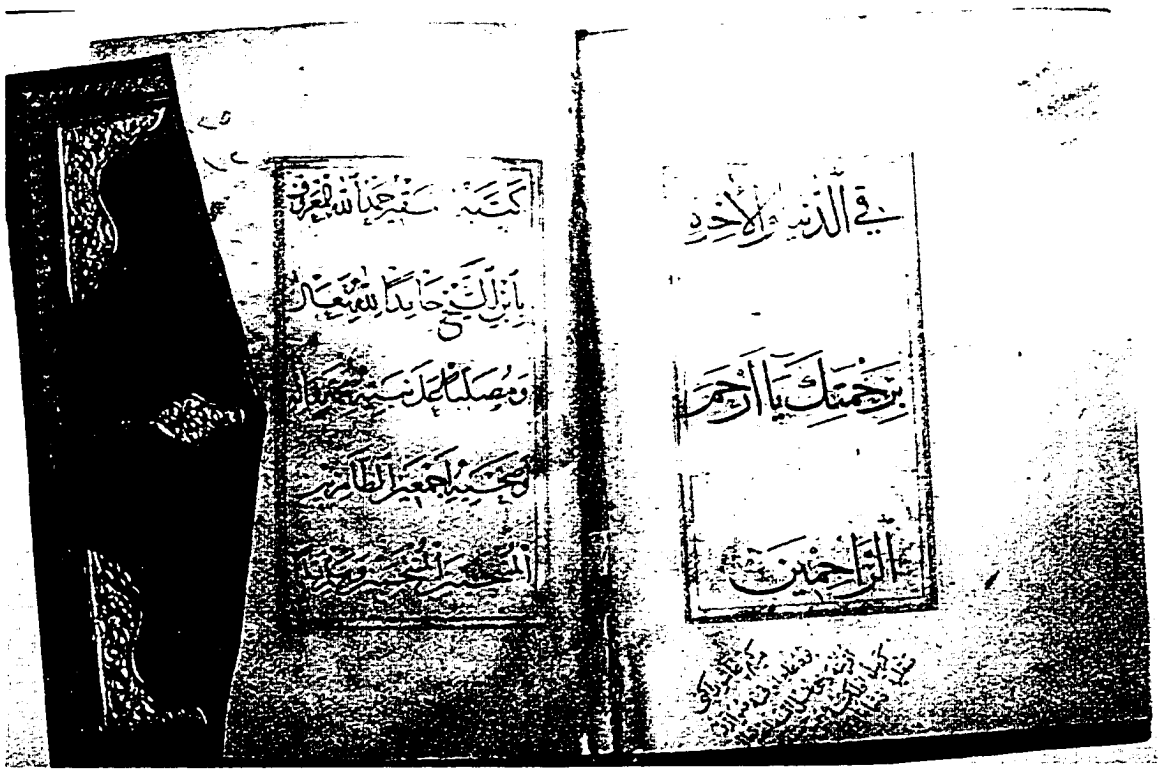


figure 4. 2. Ali Emiri Arabi 10, ff. 129v-130.

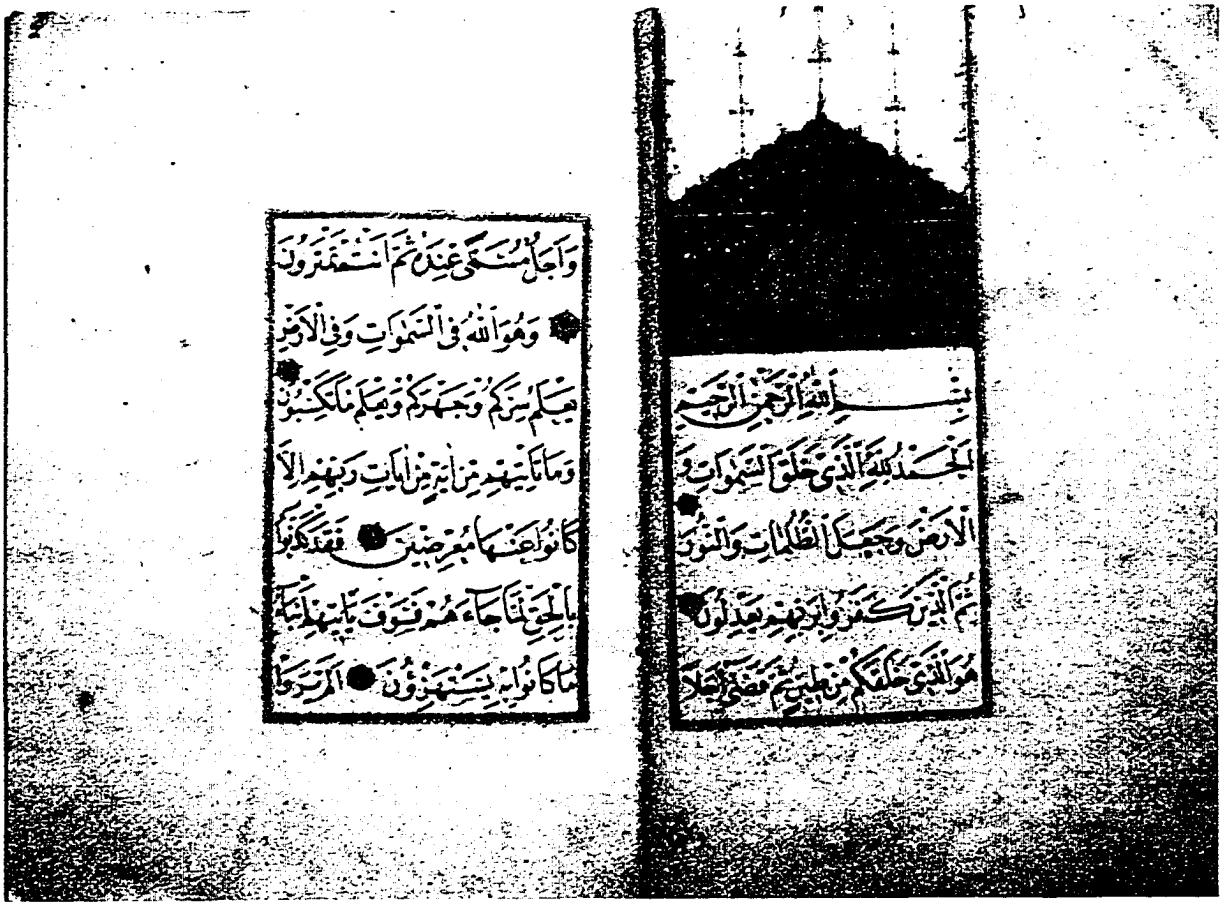


figure 5. 1. TSM EH 307,
ff. 1v-2.



figure 6. 1. H. Husnu Pasa 103, cover



figure 6. 2. H. Husnu Pasa 103, ff. 1v-2.

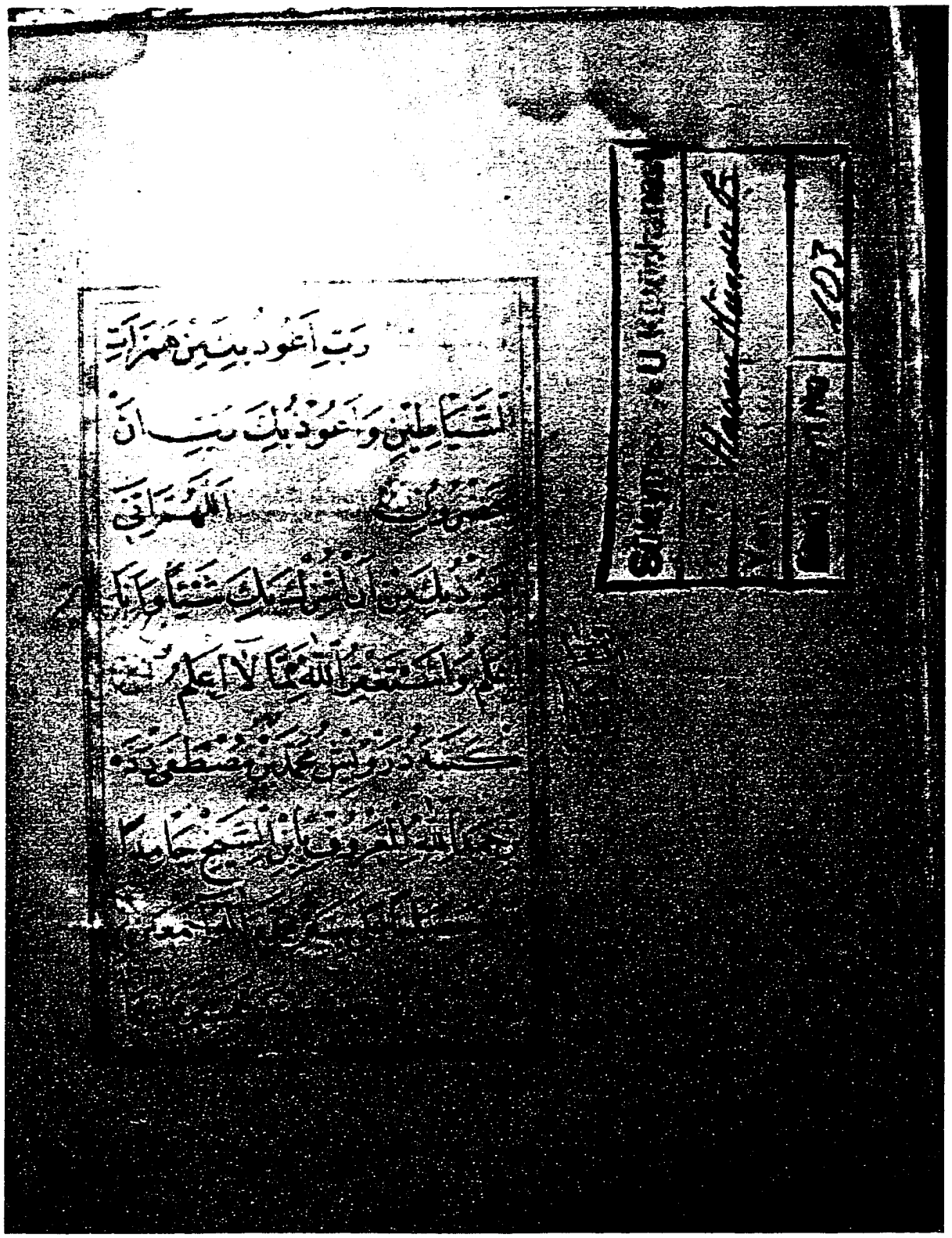


figure 6. 3. H. Husnu Pasa 103, f. 120.

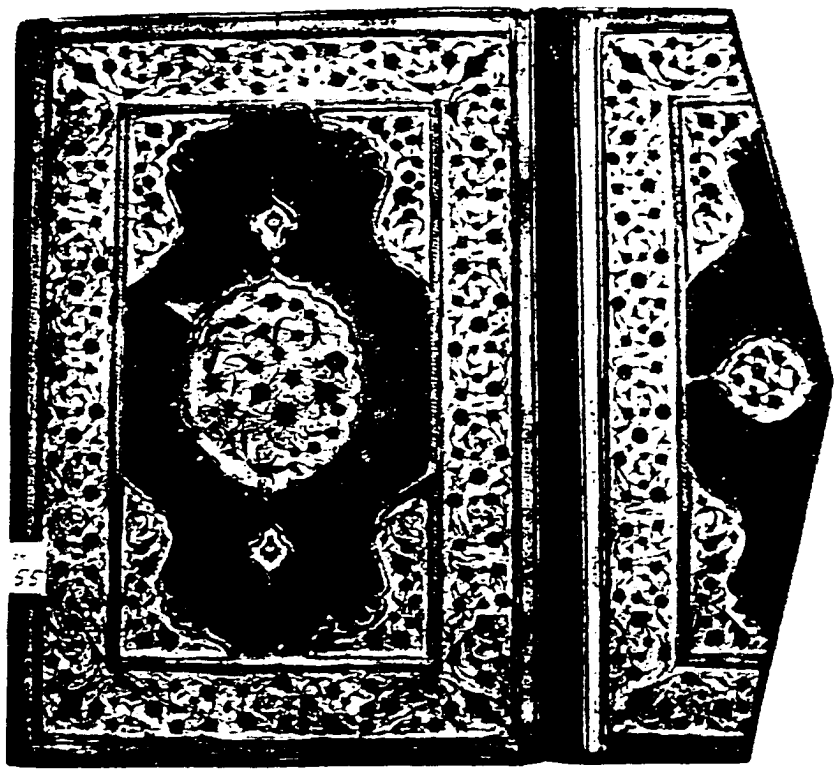


figure 7. 1. TSM EH 355, cover

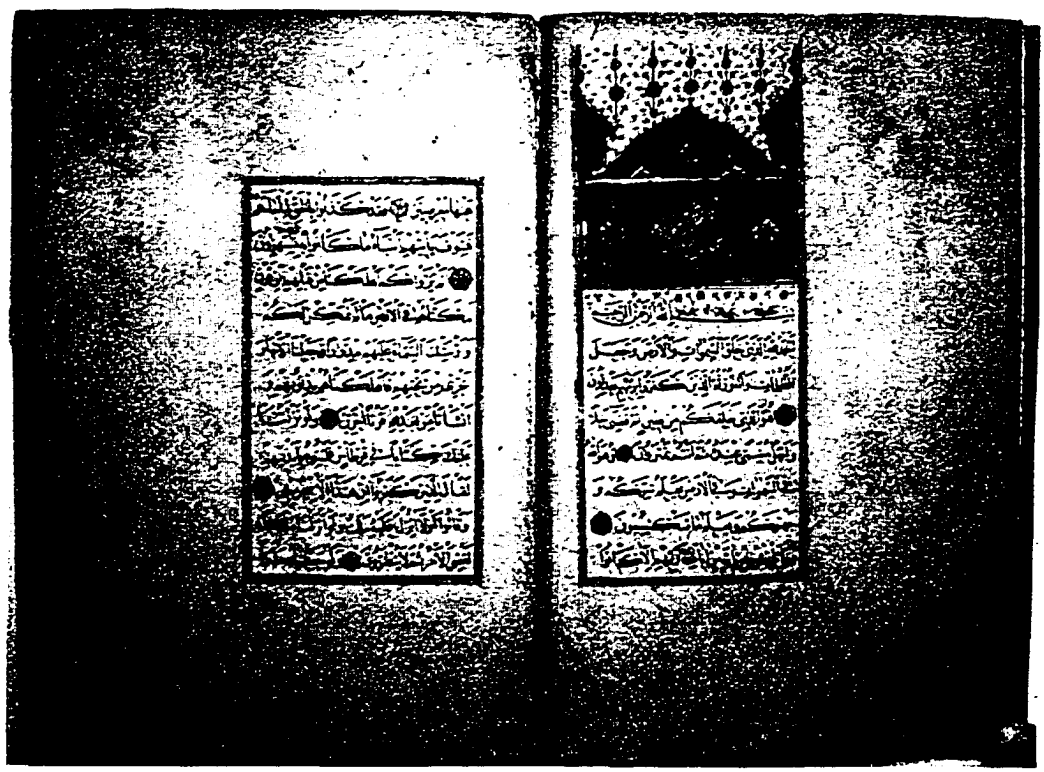


figure 7. 2. TSM EH 355, ff. 1v-2.

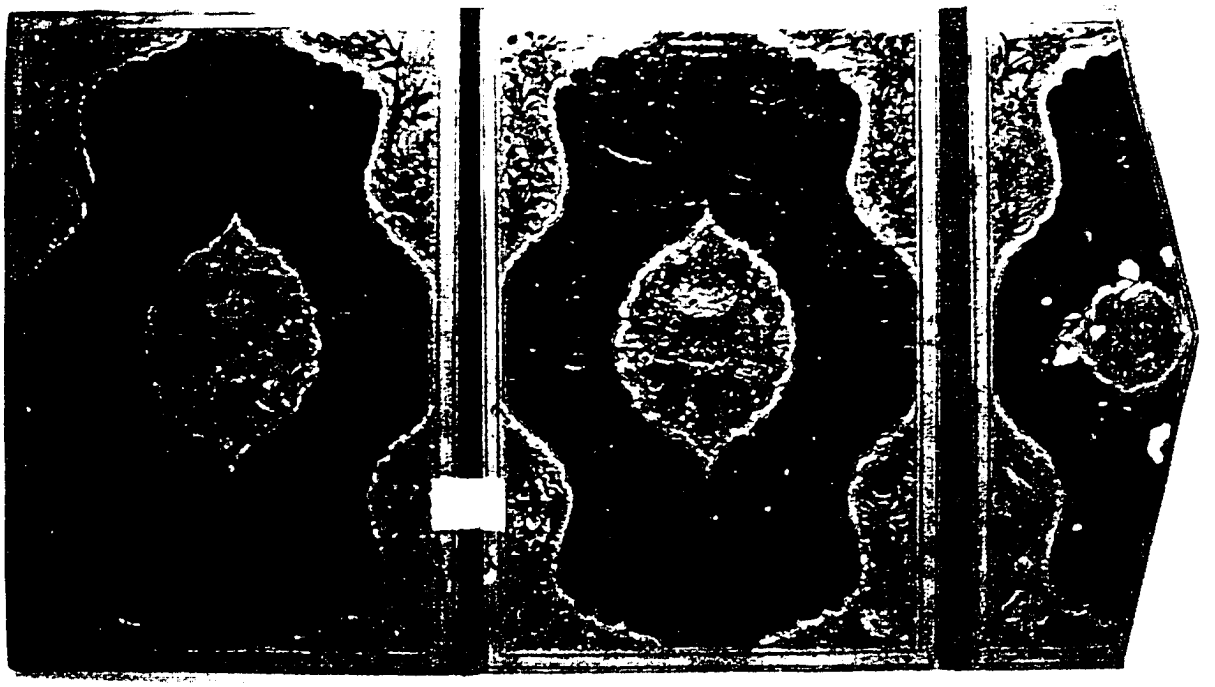


figure 8. 1. TSM EH 324, cover

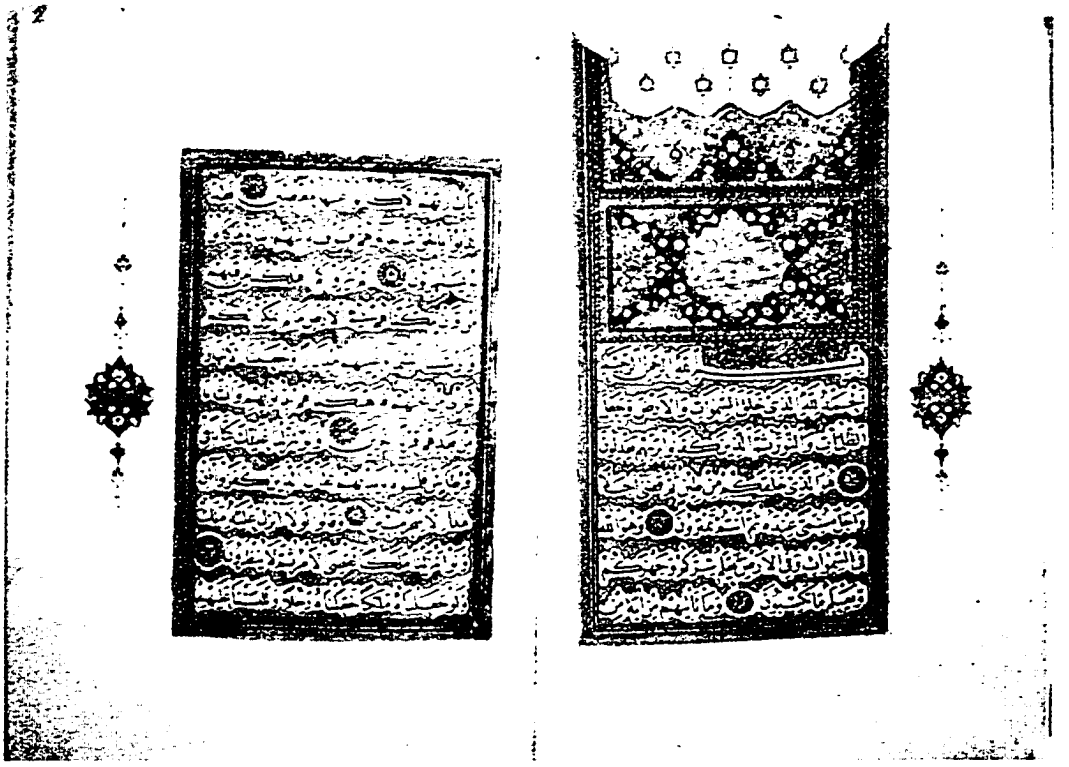


figure 8. 2. TSM EH 324, ff. 1v-2.

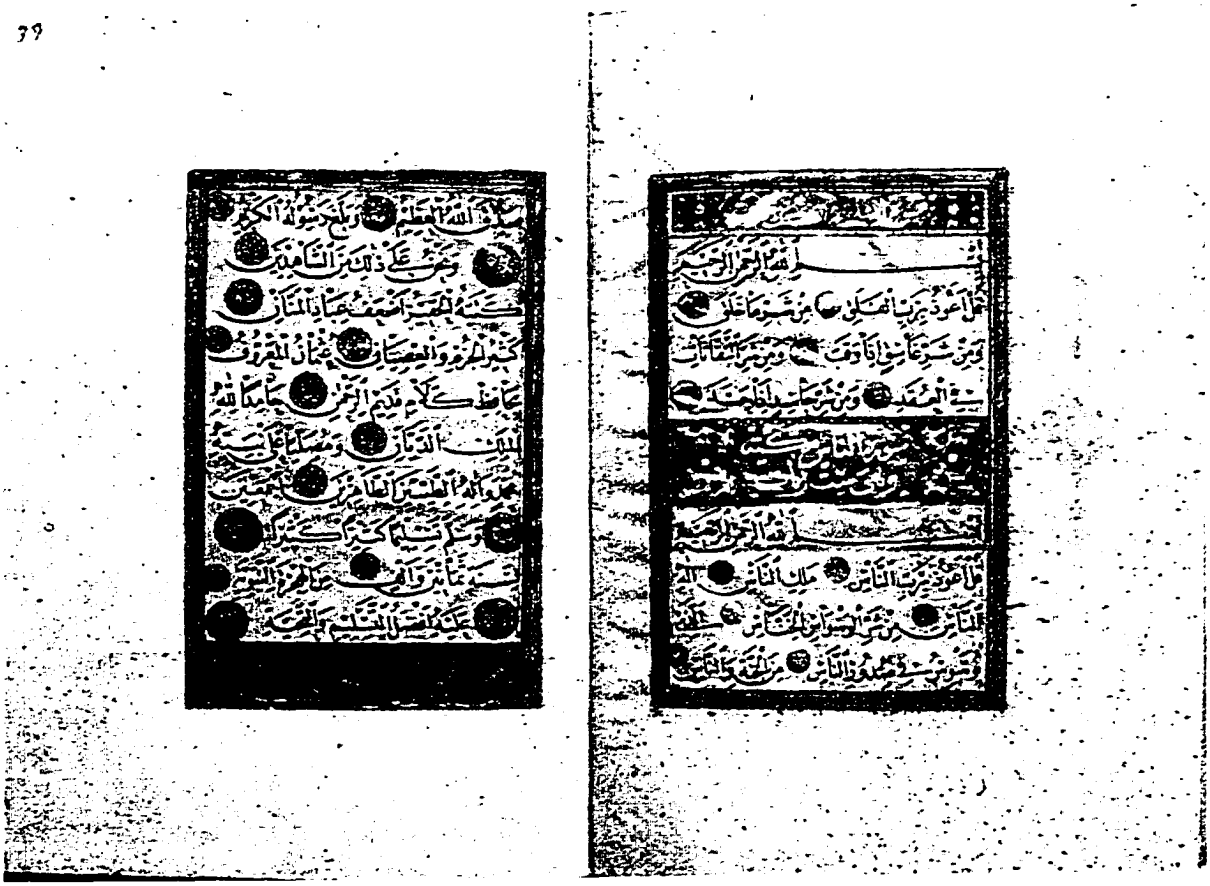


figure 8. 3. TSM EH 324, ff. 38v-39.

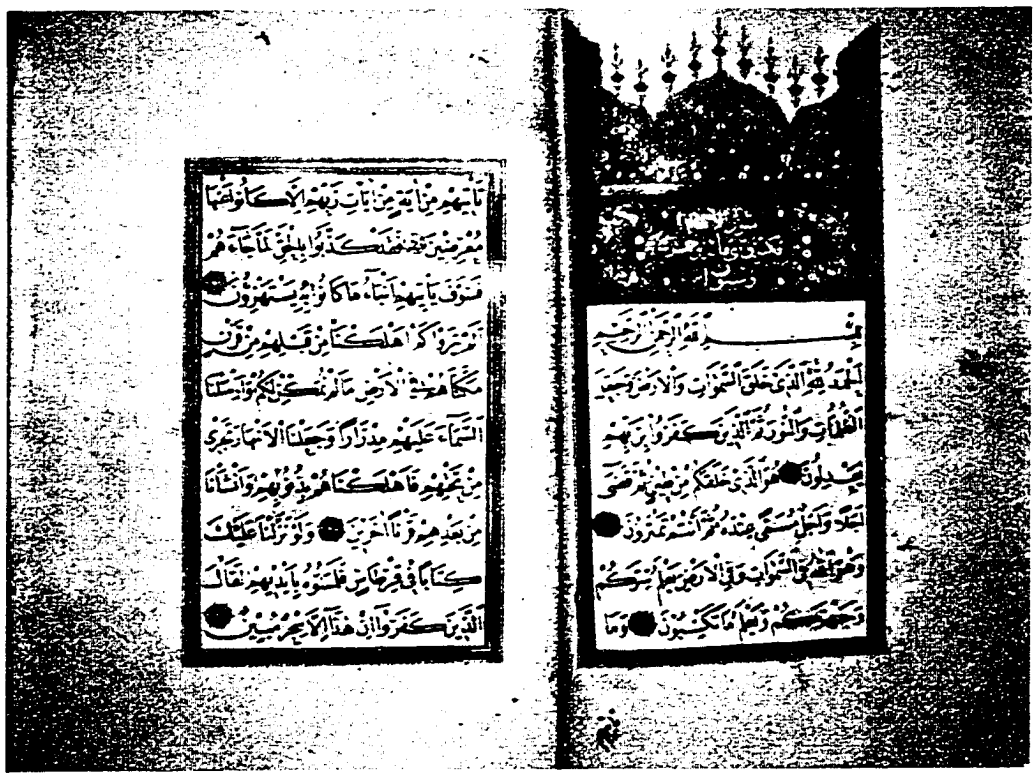


figure 9. 1. TSM EH 322, ff. 1v-2.



figure 9. 2. TSM EH 322, ff. 60v-61.

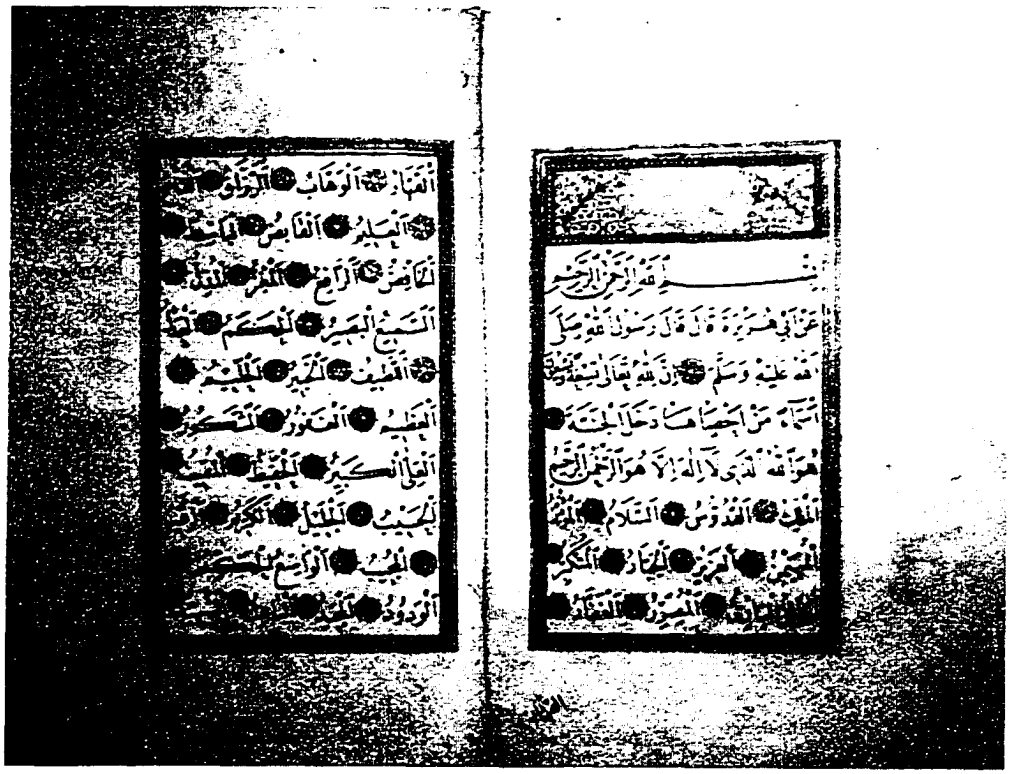


figure 9. 3. TSM EH 322, ff. 61v-62.

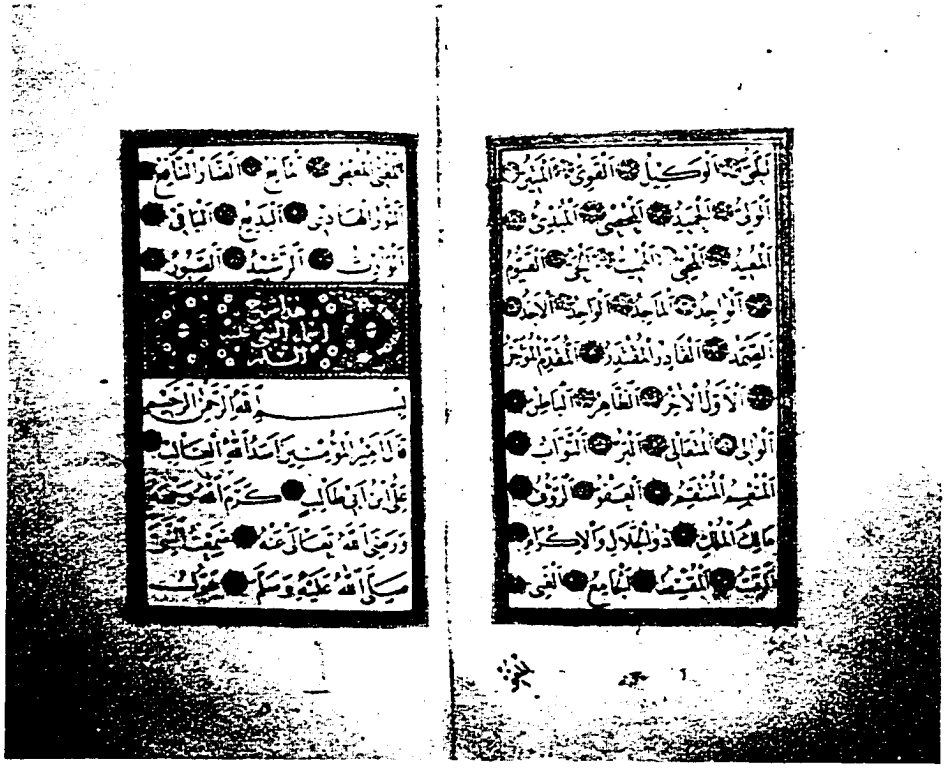


figure 9. 4. TSM EH 322, ff. 62v-63.

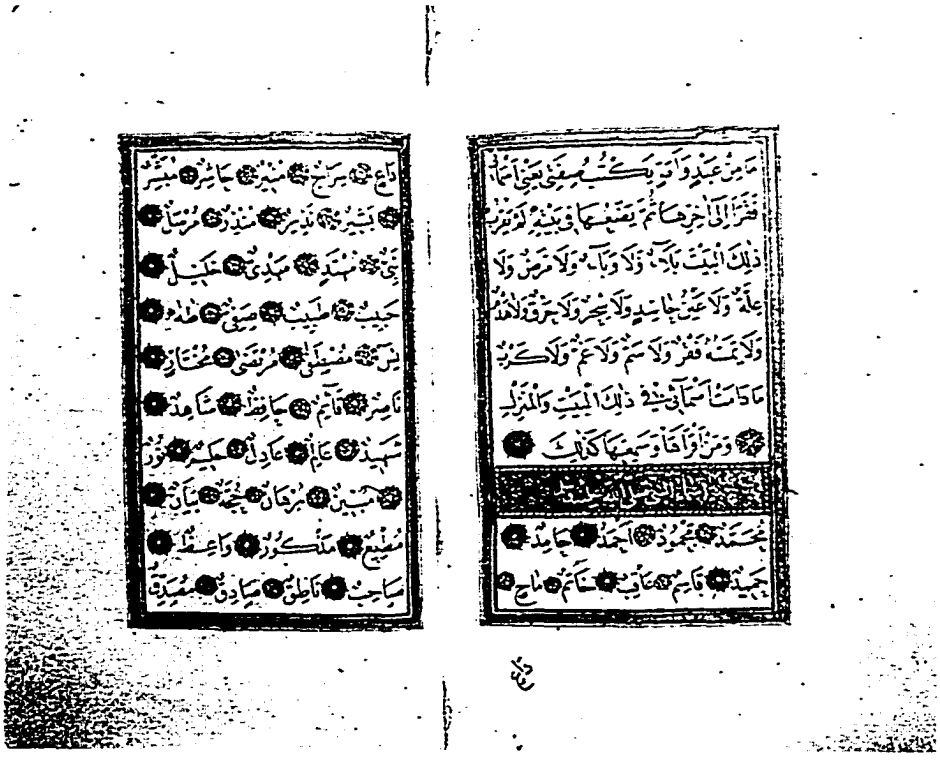


figure 9. 5. TSM EH 322, ff. 63v-64.

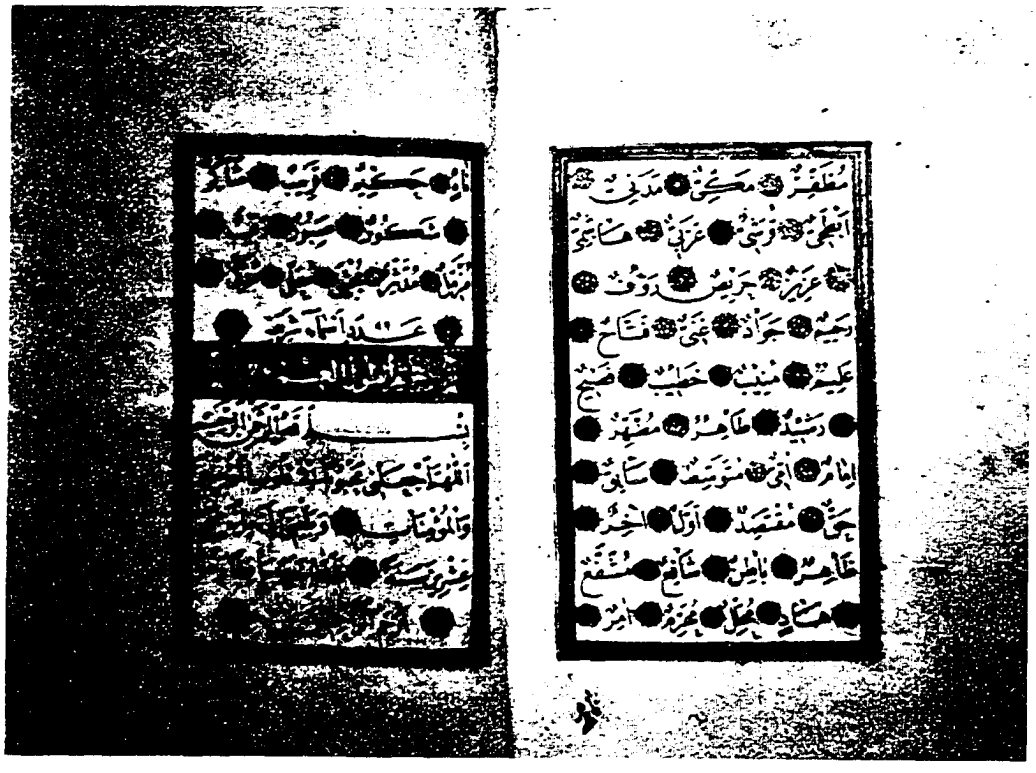


figure 9. 6. TSM EH 322, ff. 64v-65.

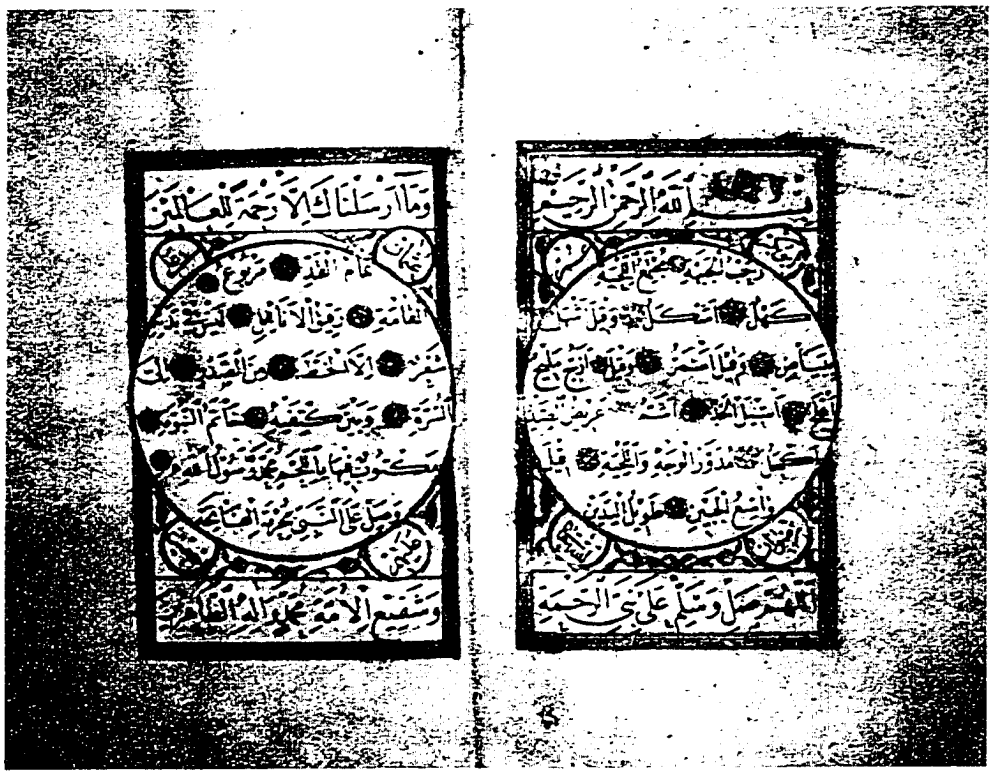


figure 9. 7. TSM EH 322, ff. 65v-66.



figure 10. 1. Yazma Bagislar 265, ff. 1v-2.

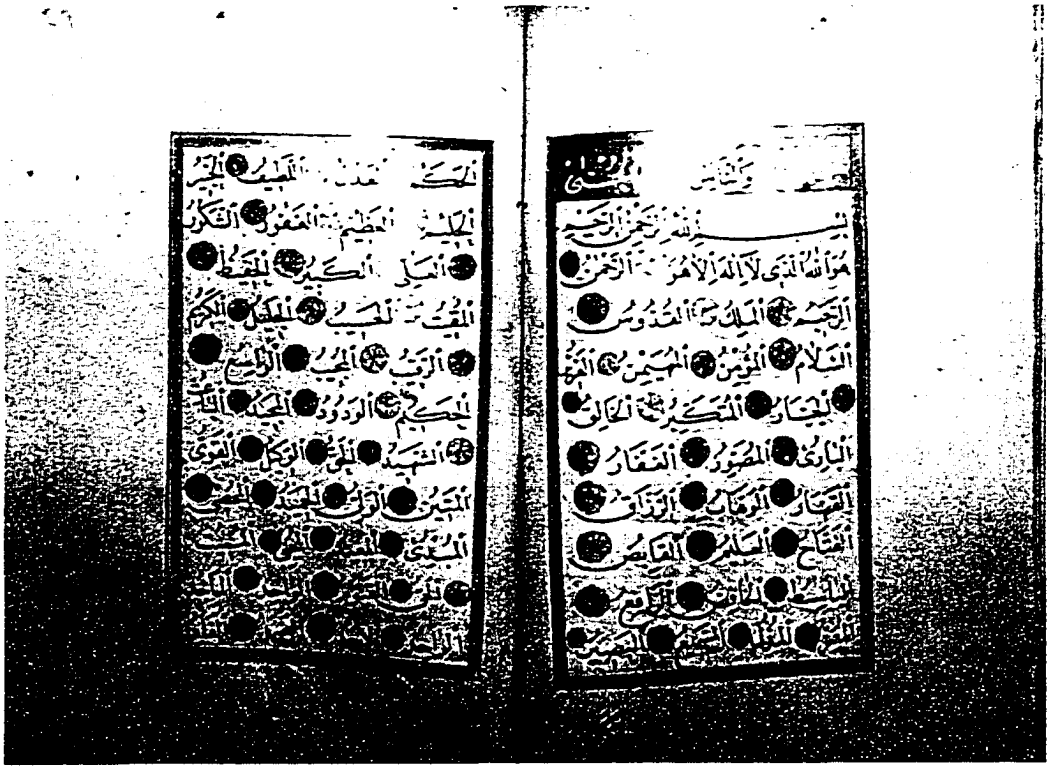


figure 10. 2. Yazma Bagislar 265, ff. 48v-49.

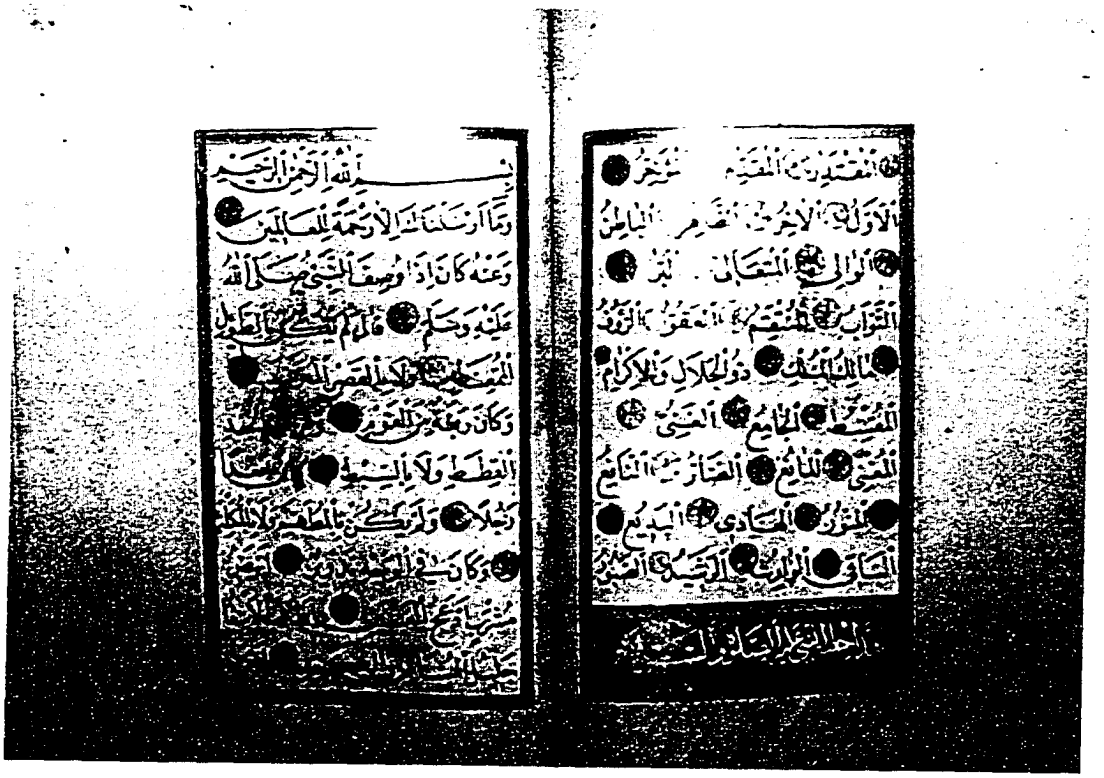


figure 10. 3. Yazma Bagislar 265, ff. 49v-50.



figure 10. 4. Yazma Bagislar 265, ff. 49v-50.

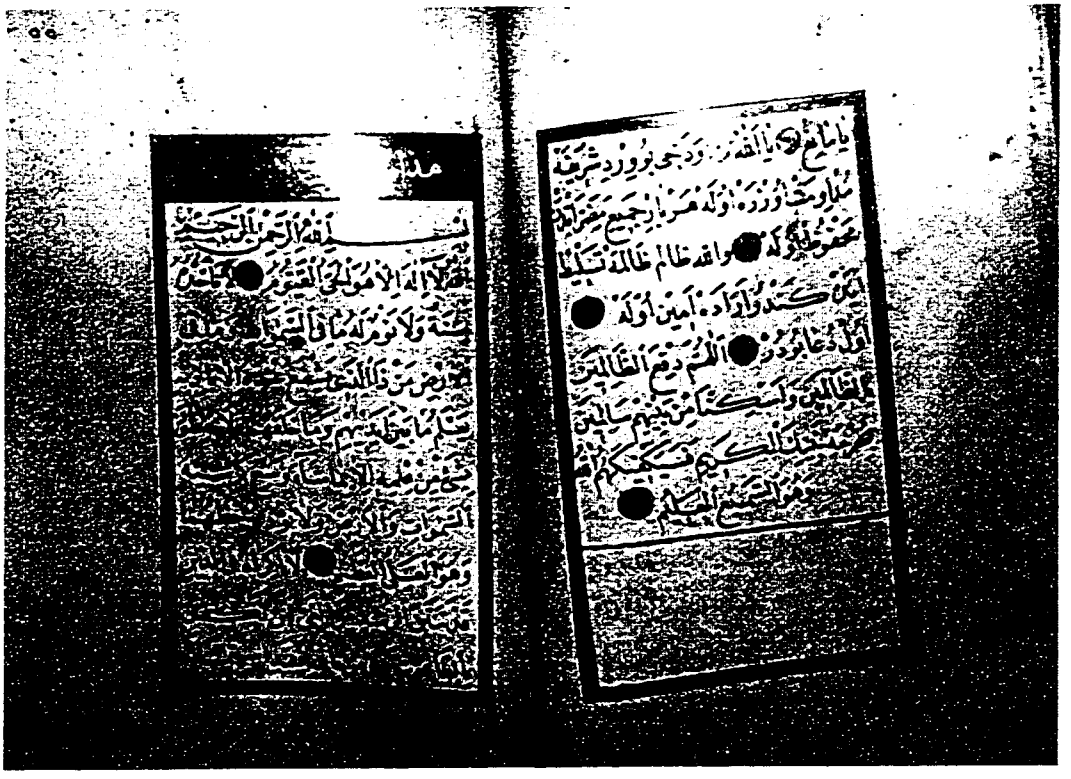


figure 10. 5, ff. 54v-55.



figure 10. 6, ff. 62v-63.

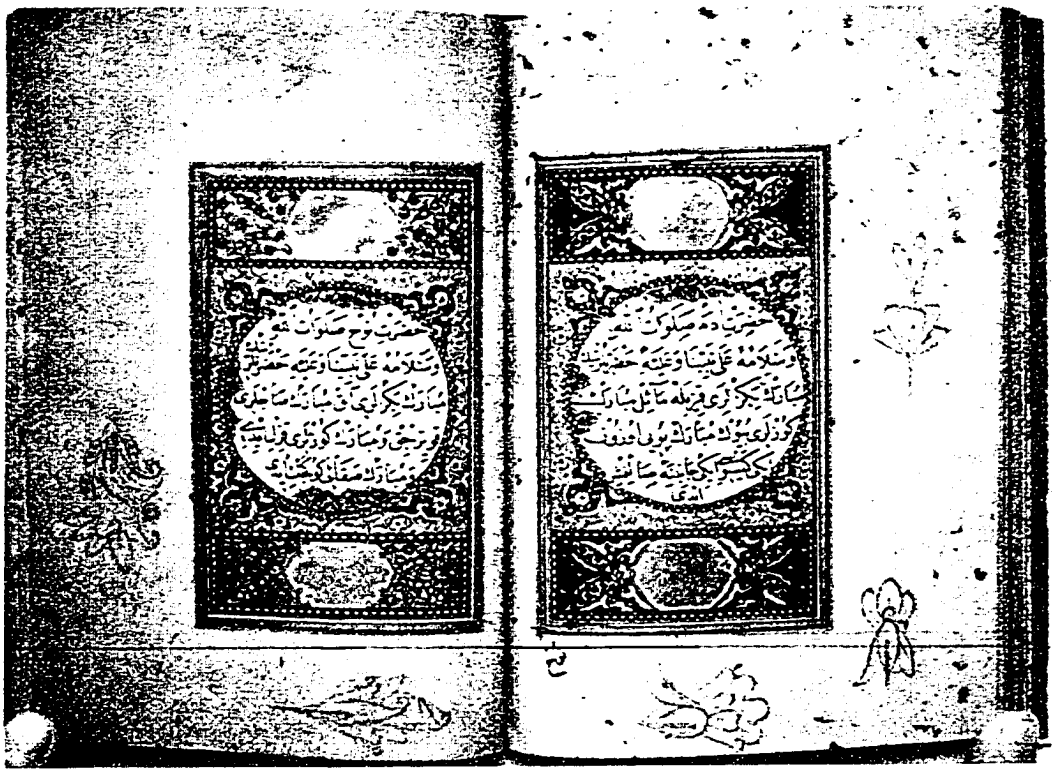


figure 11. 1. TSM EH 365, ff. 69v-70.

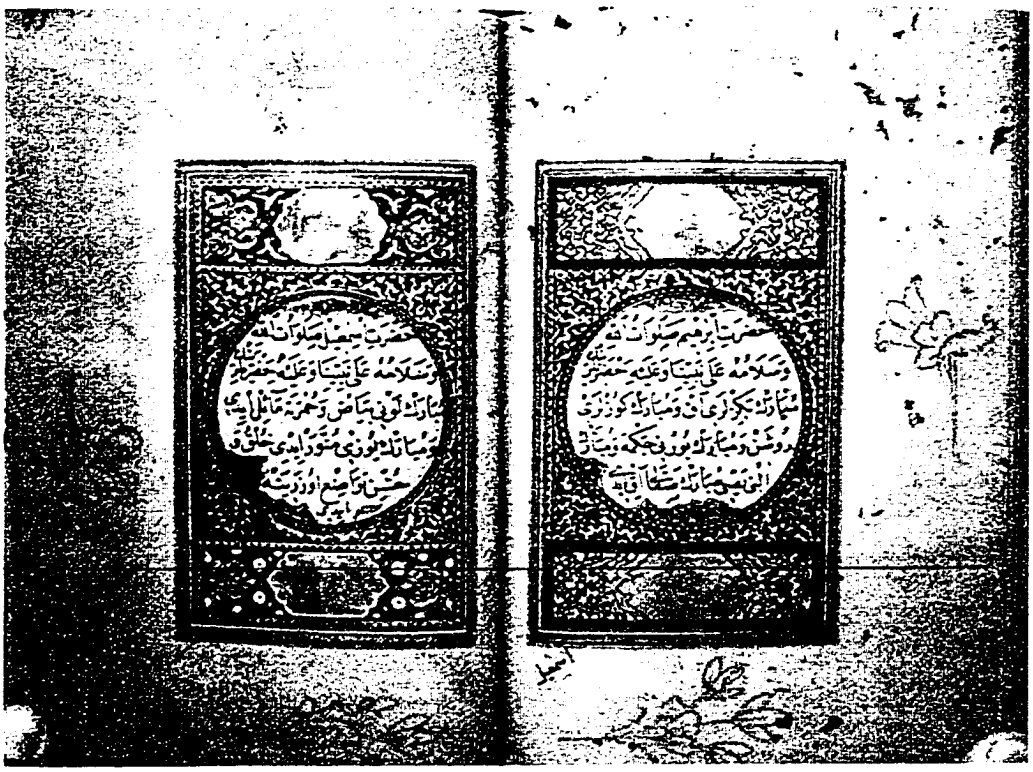


figure 11. 2. TSM EH 365, ff. 70v-71.

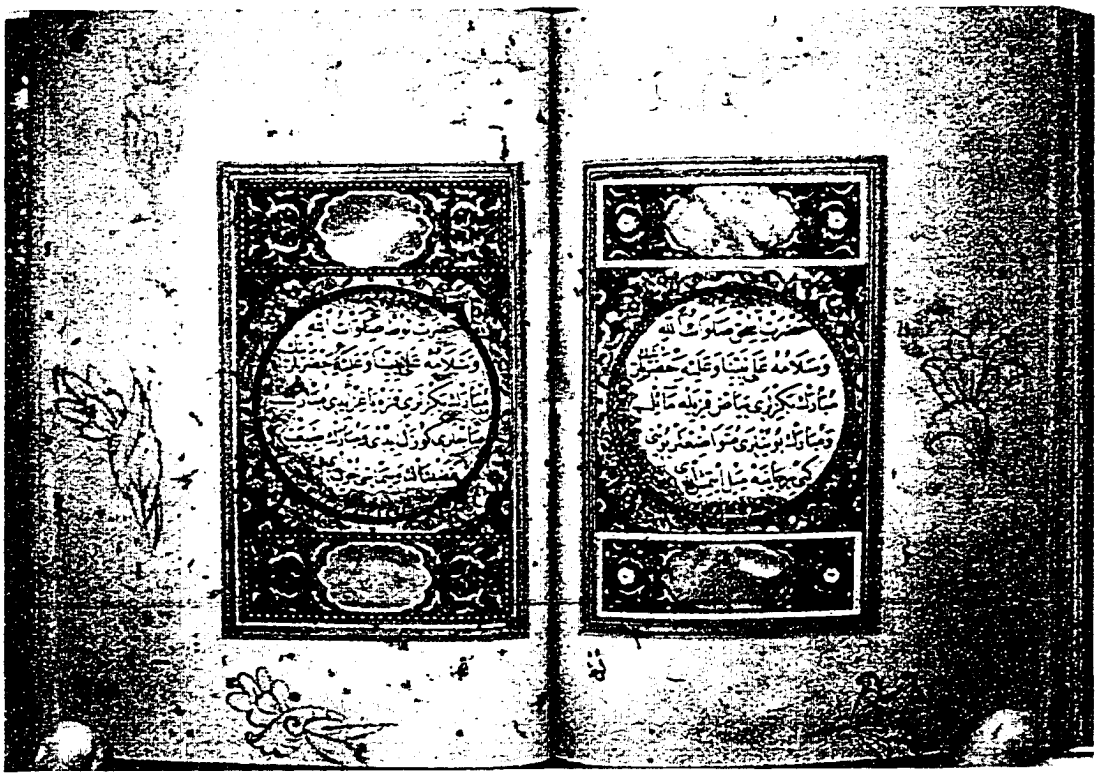


figure 11. 3. TSM EH 365, ff. 71v-72.

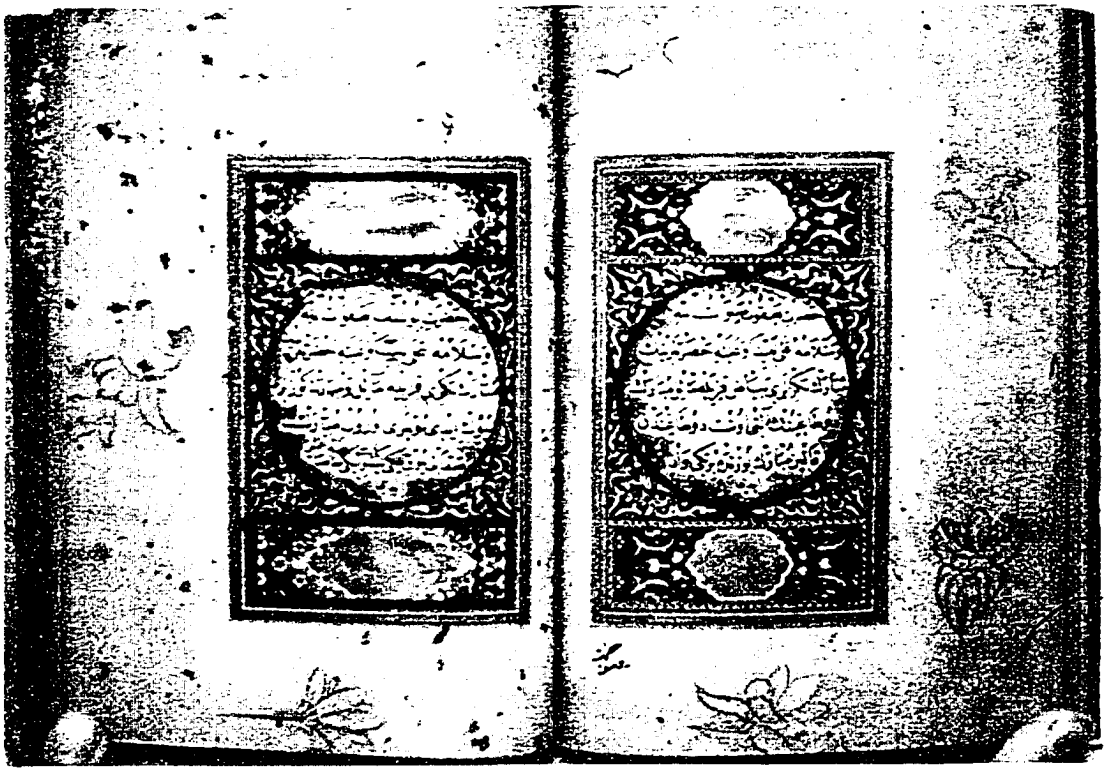


figure 11. 4. TSM EH 365, ff. 72v-73.

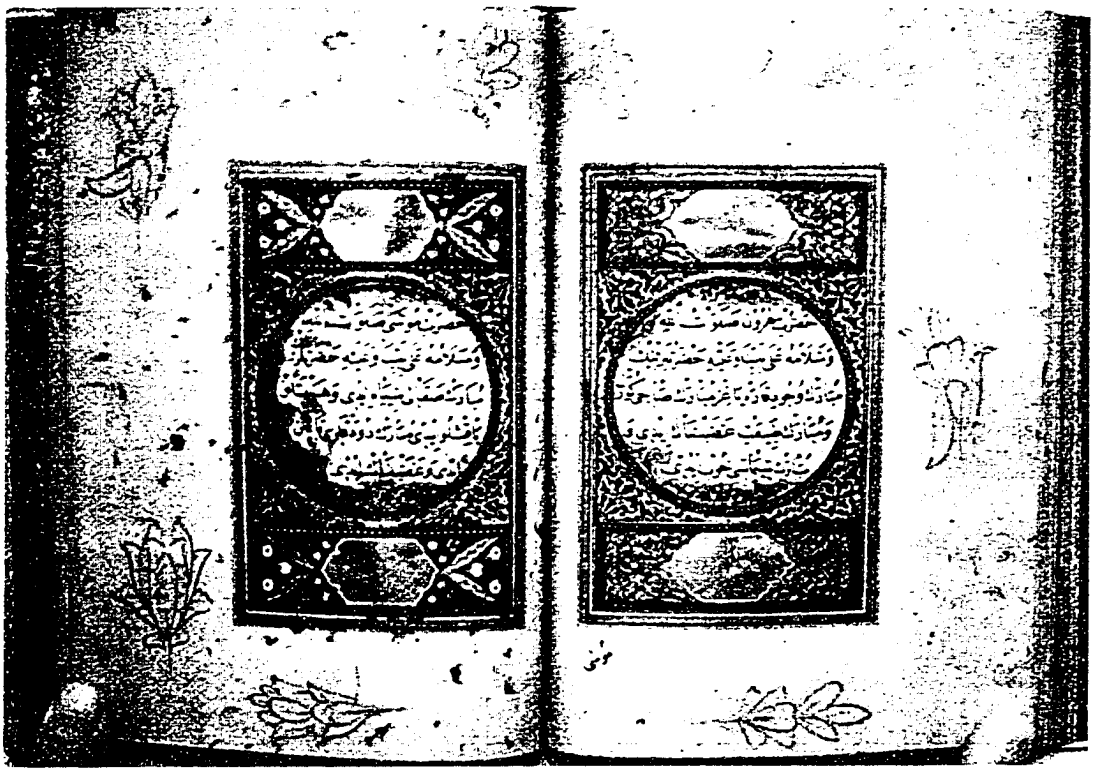


figure 11. 5. TSM EH 365, ff. 73v-74.

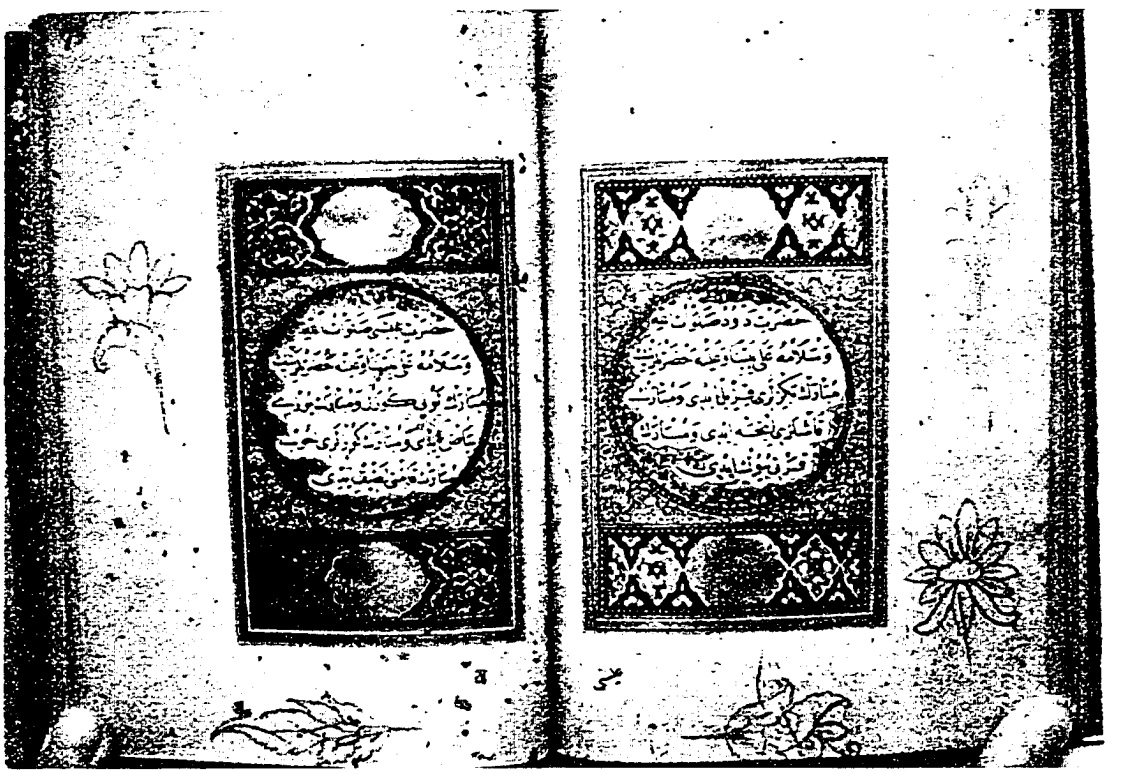


figure 11. 6. TSM EH 365, ff. 74v-75.

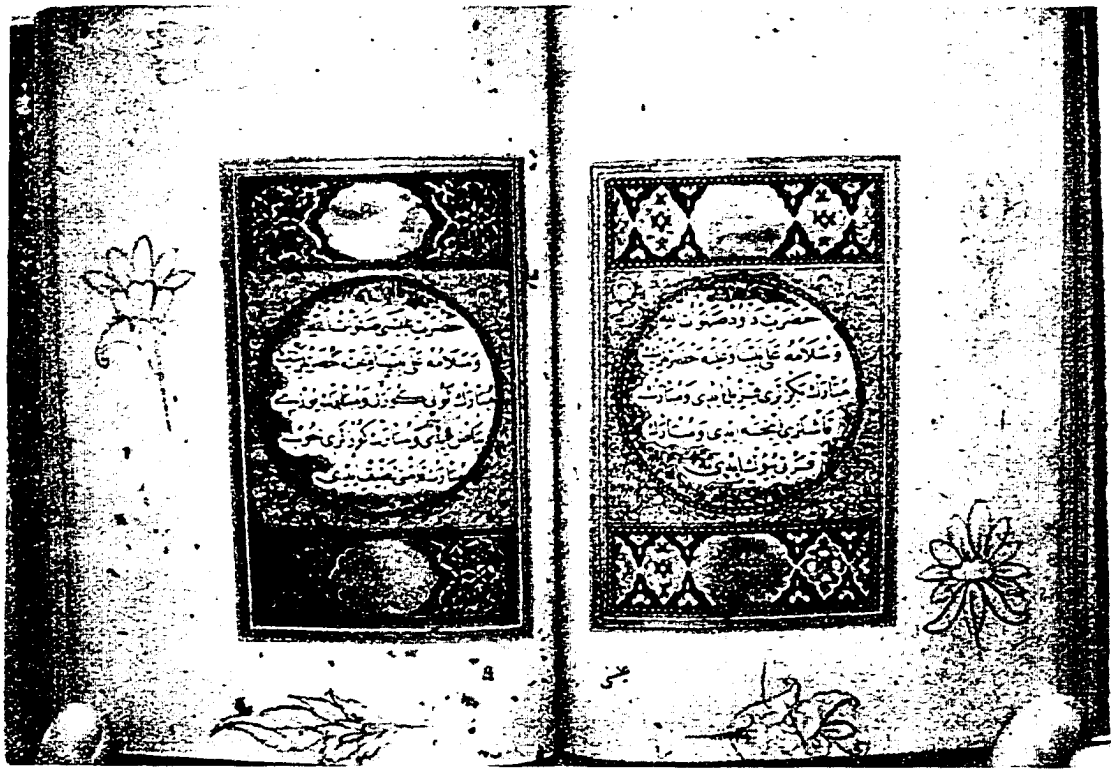


figure 11. 7. TSM EH 365, ff. 75v-76.

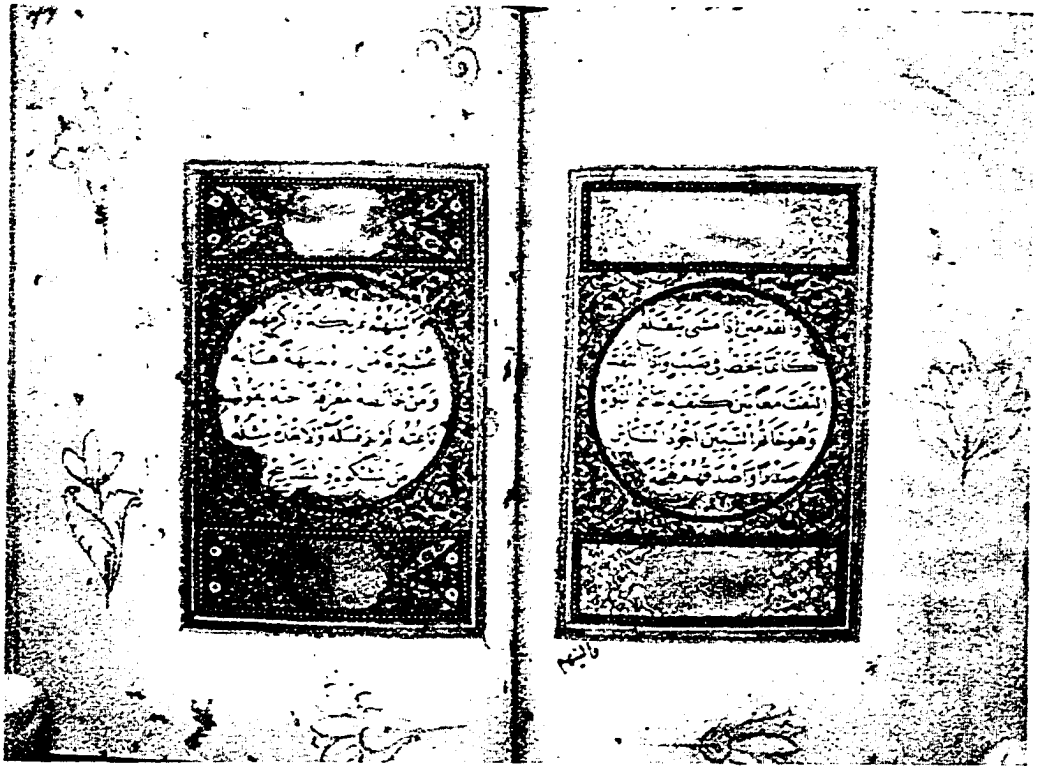


figure 11. 8. TSM EH 365, ff. 76v-77.

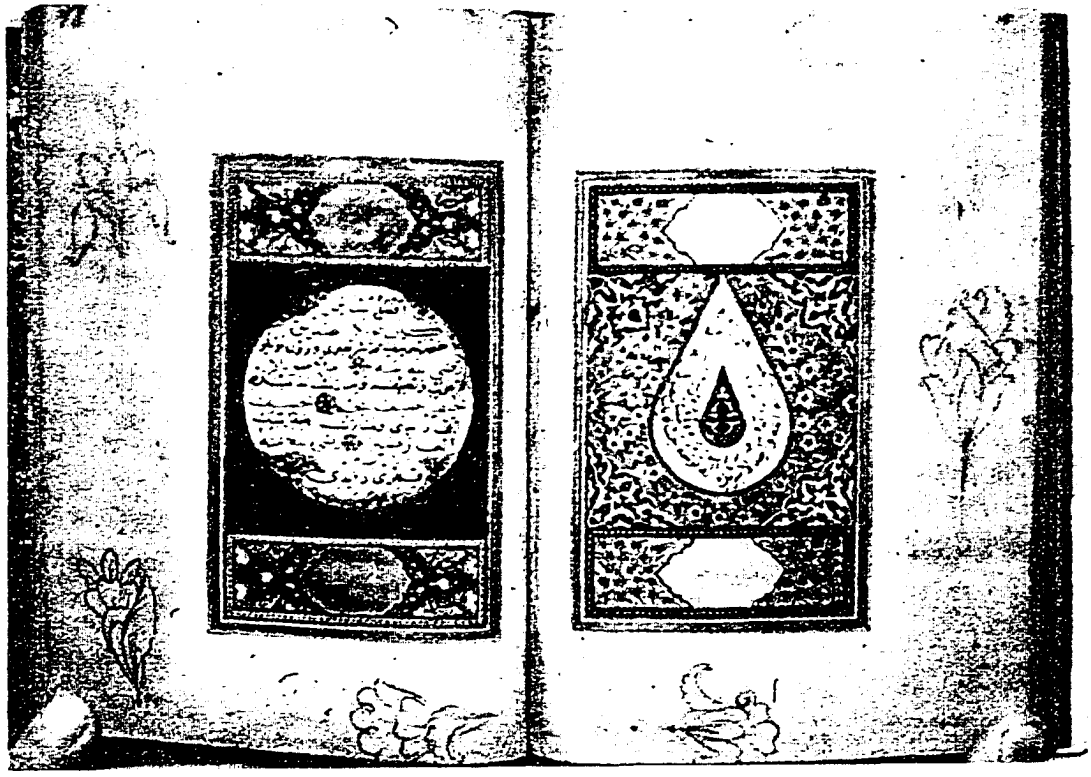


figure 11. 9. TSM EH 365, ff. 77v-78.

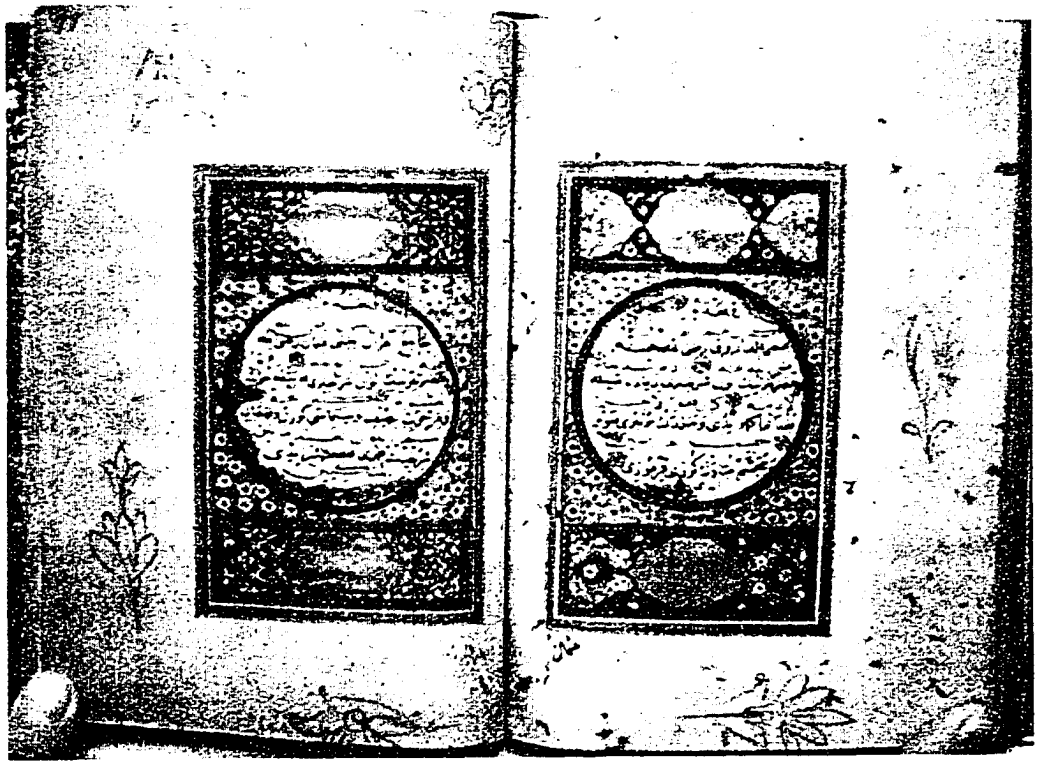


figure 11. 10. TSM EH 365, ff. 78v-79.

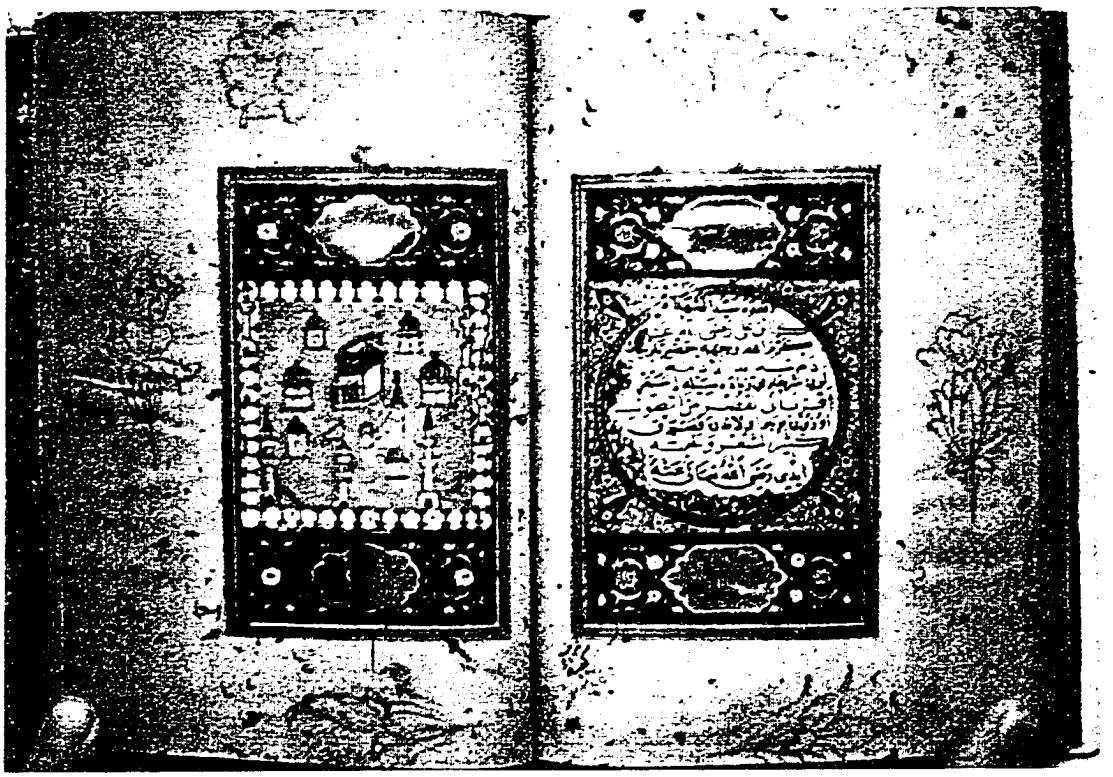


figure 11. 11. TSM EH 365, ff. 79v-80.



figure 11. 12. TSM EH 365, ff. 80v-81.

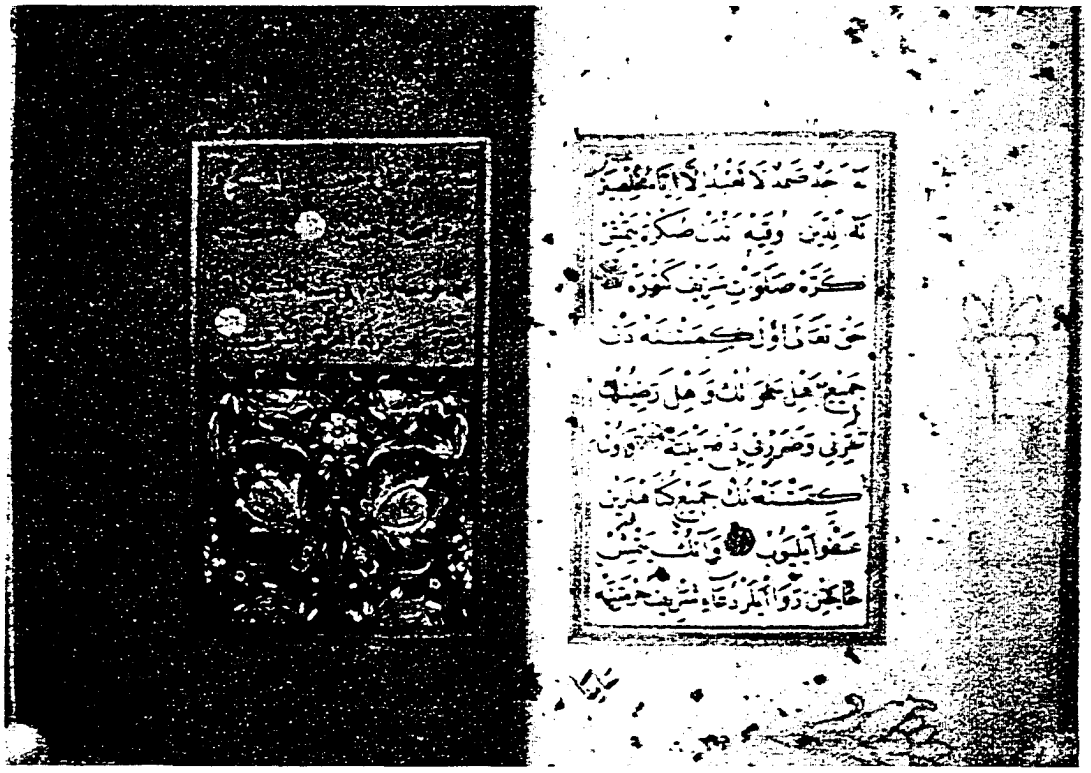


figure 11.13. TSM EH 365, ff. 106v-107.

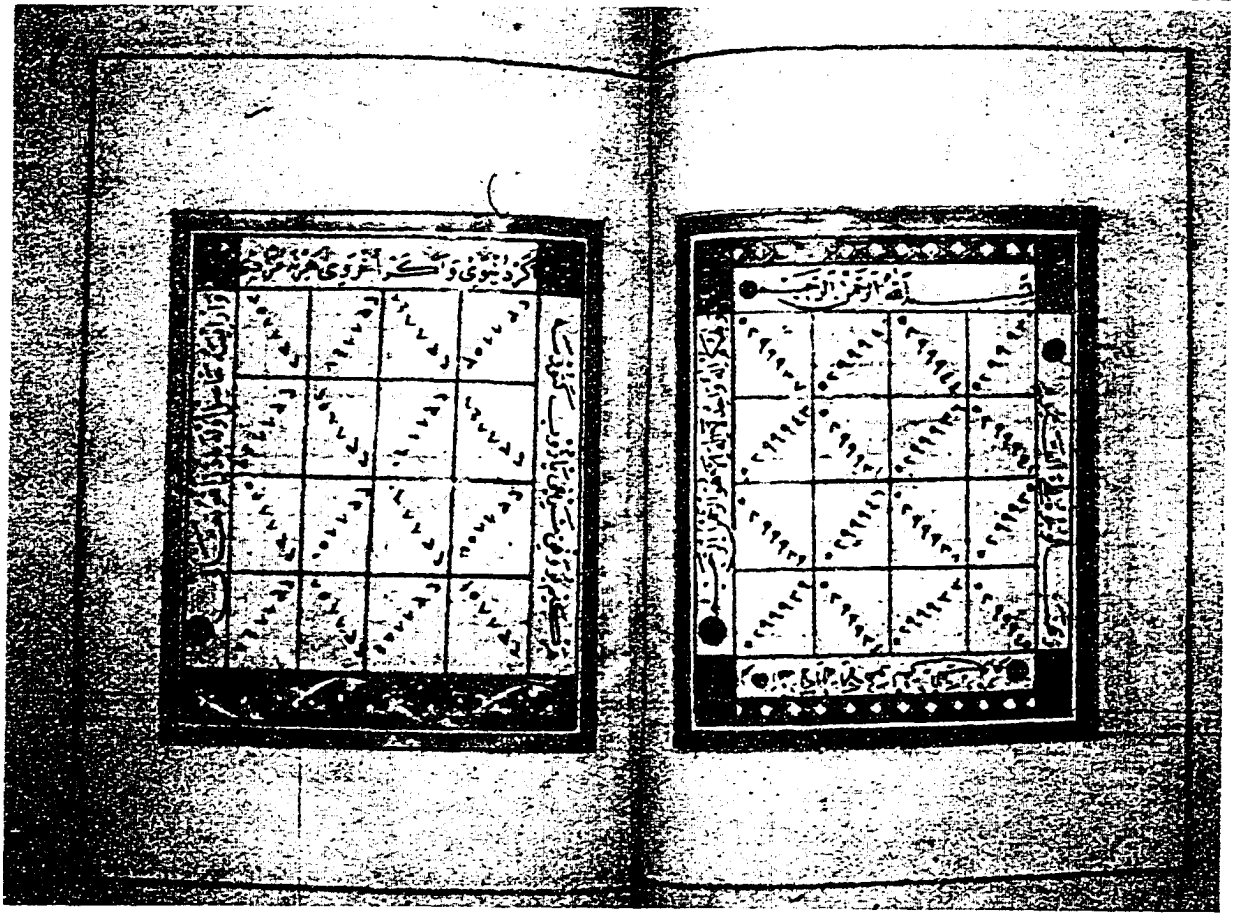


figure 12. 1. TSM EH 394, ff. 56v-57.



figure 13. 1. TSM EH 395, ff. 1v.



figure 13. 3. TSM EH 395, ff. 78.



figure 13. 2. TSM EH 395, ff. 77v.

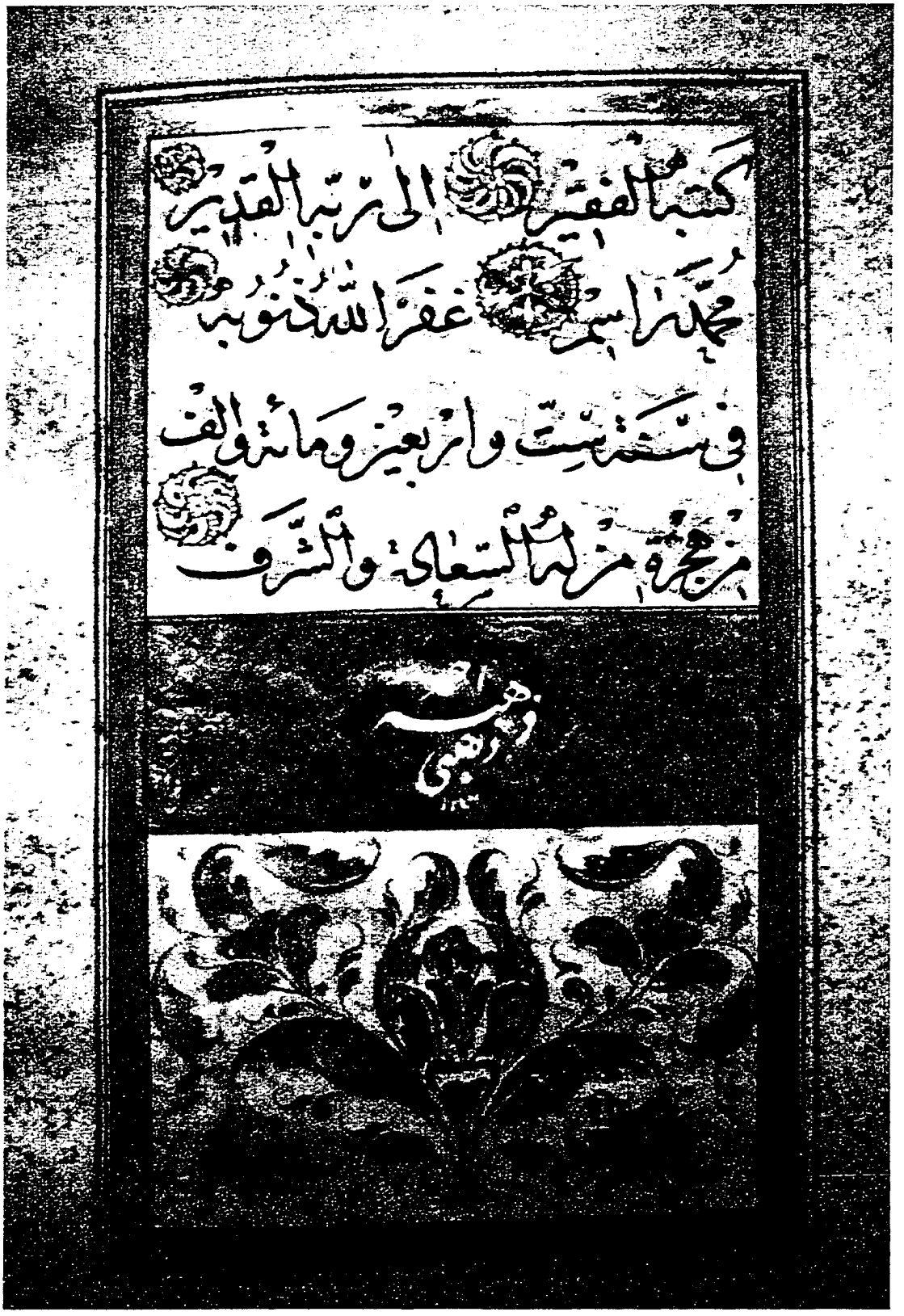


figure 13. 4. TSM EH 395, ff. 96v.

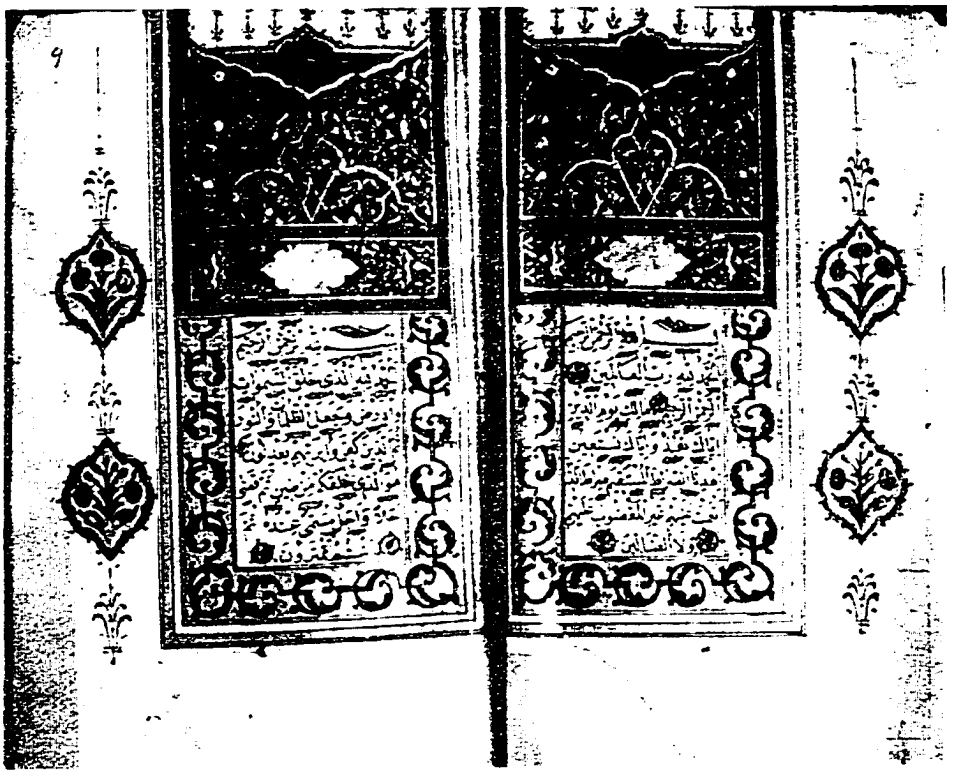


figure 14. 1. OR 4251, ff. 8v-9.

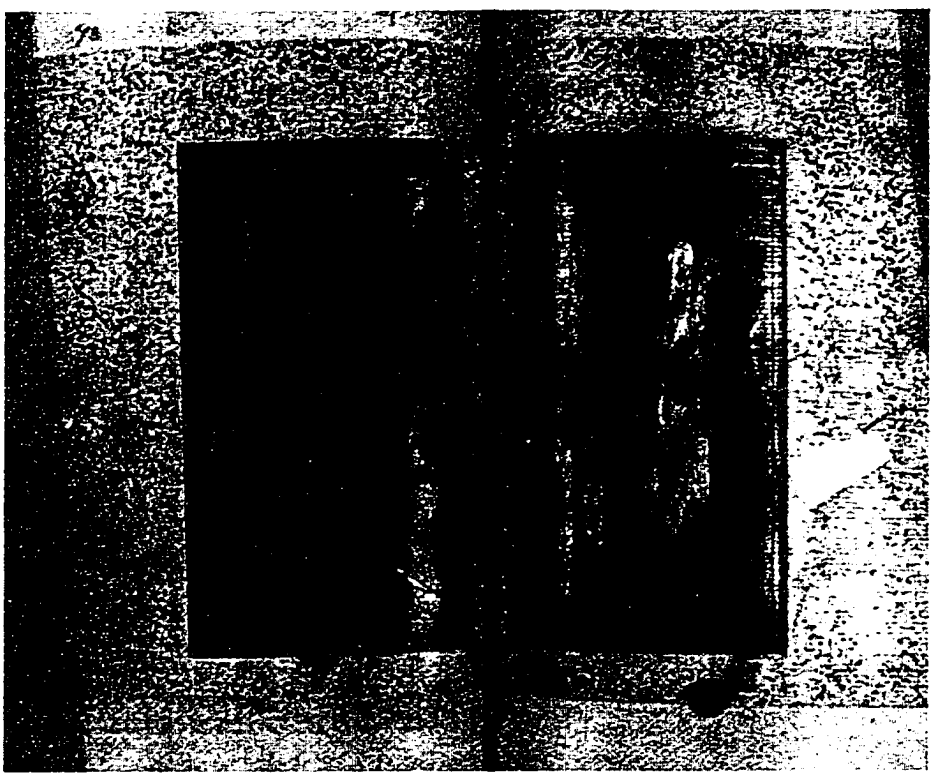


figure 14. 2. OR 4251, ff. 72v-73.

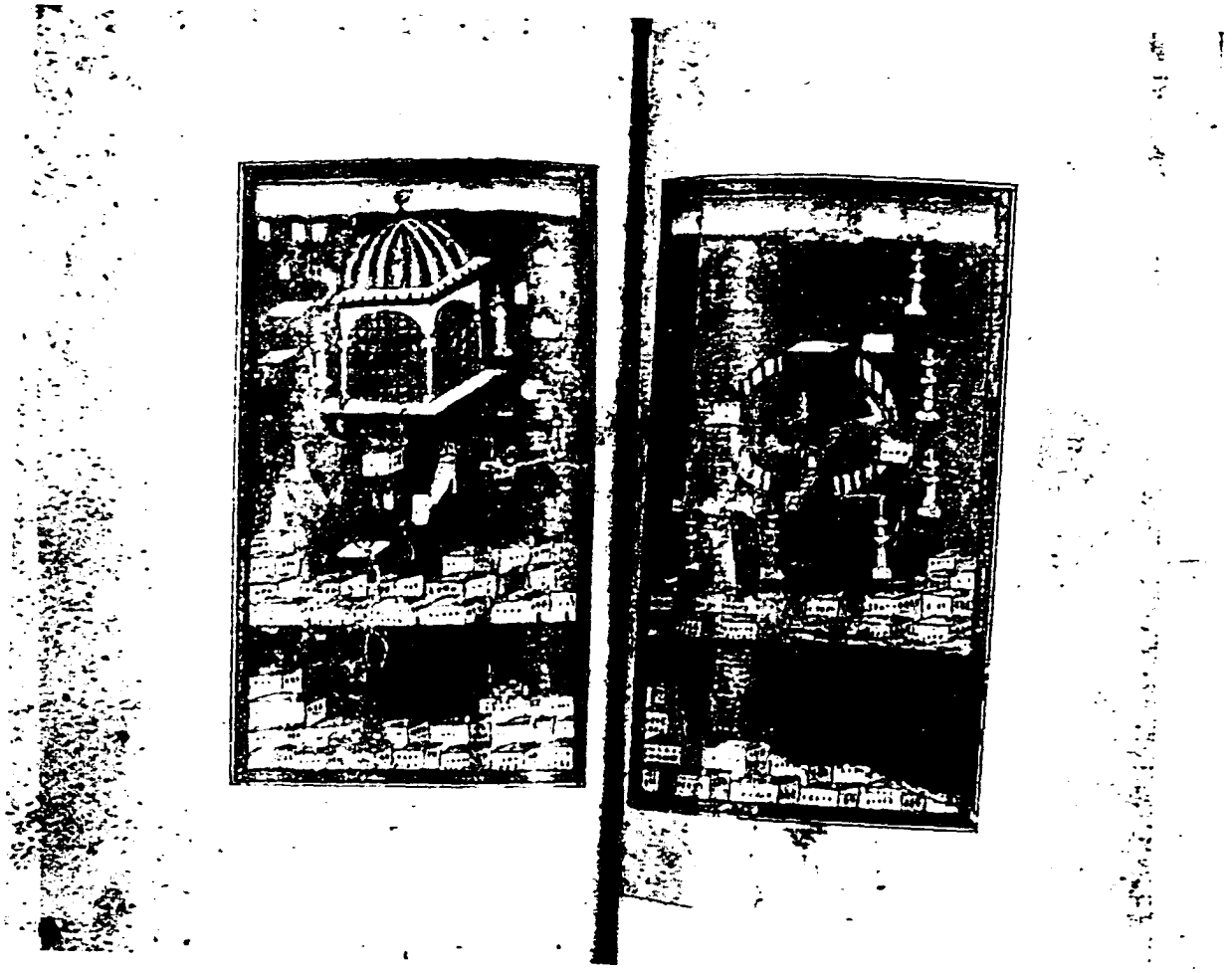


figure 14. 3. OR 4251, ff. 73v-74.

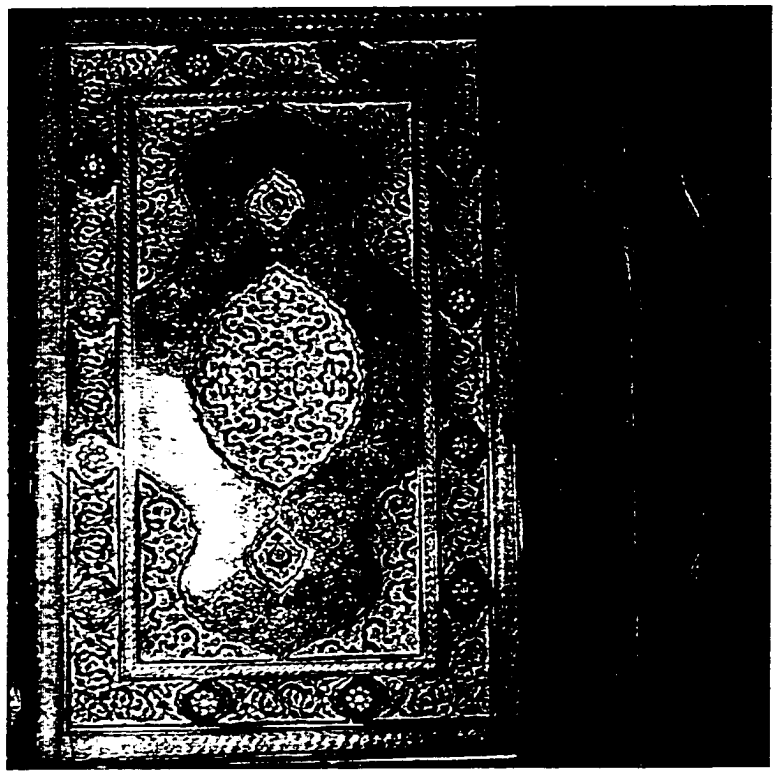


figure 15. 1. Halet Efendi 5, cover (exterior).

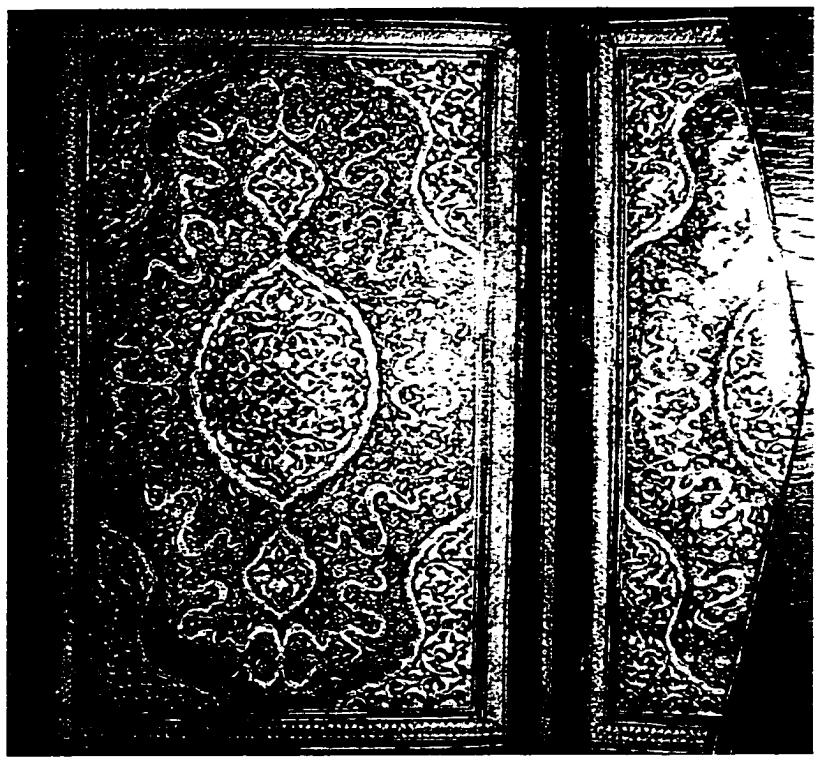


figure 15. 2. Halet Efendi 5, cover (interior).

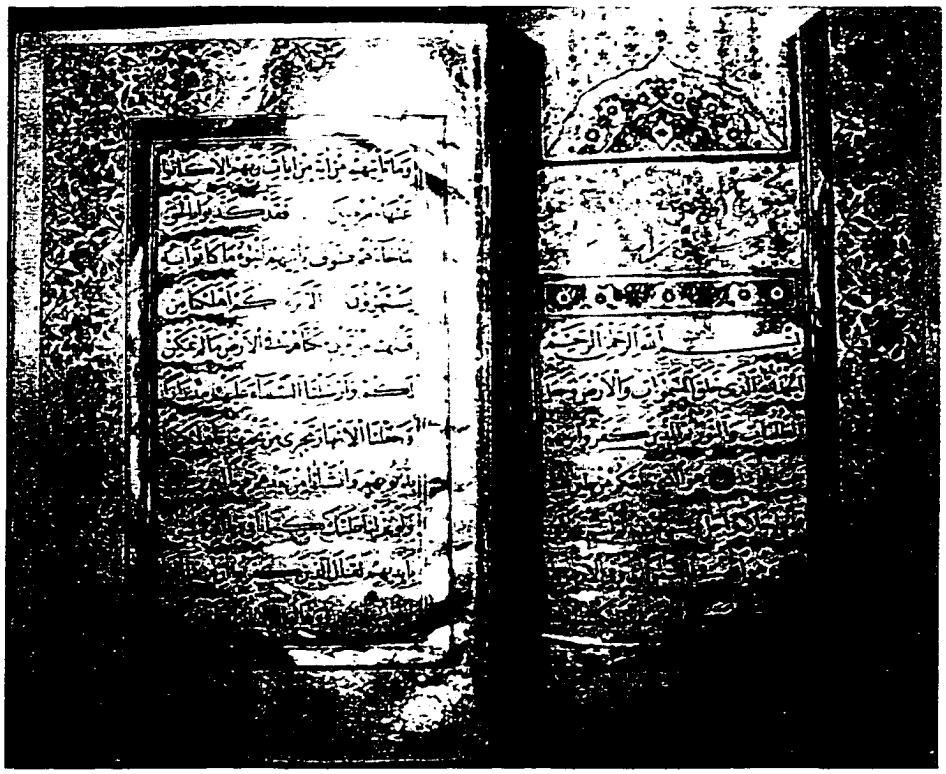


figure 15. 3. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 1v-2.



figure 15. 4. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 43v-45.

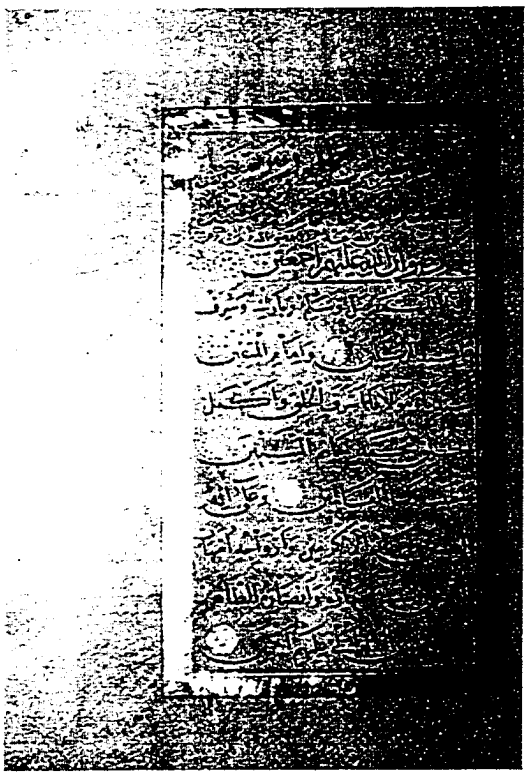


figure 15. 6. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 45.



figure 15. 5. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 44v.

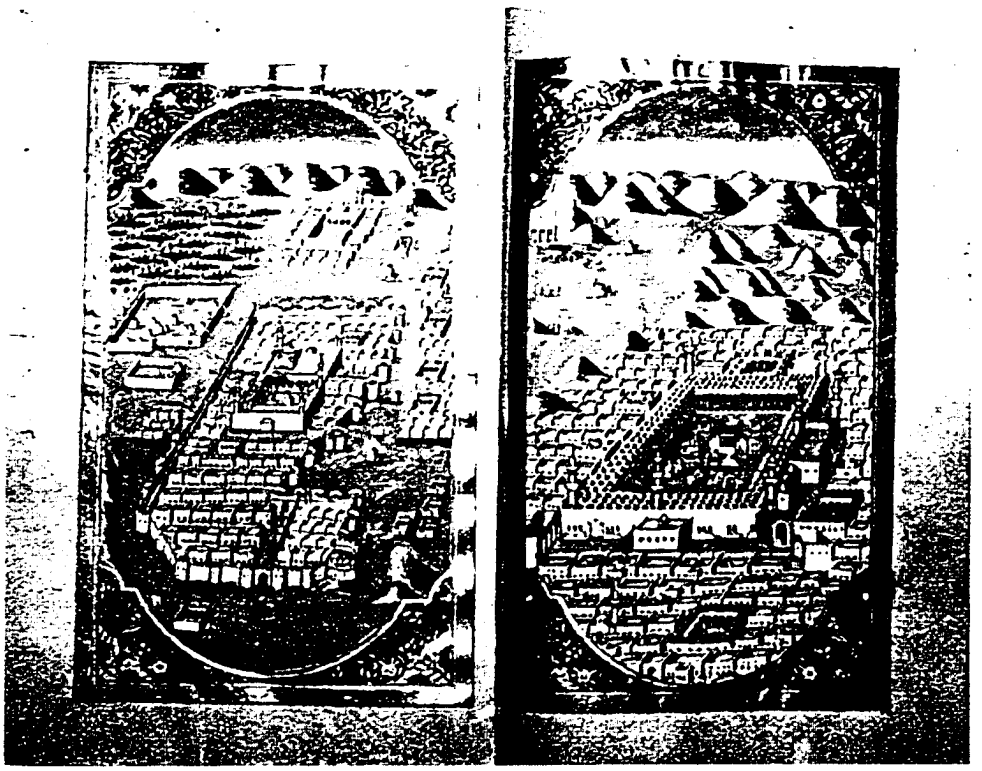


figure 15. 7. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 45v-46.

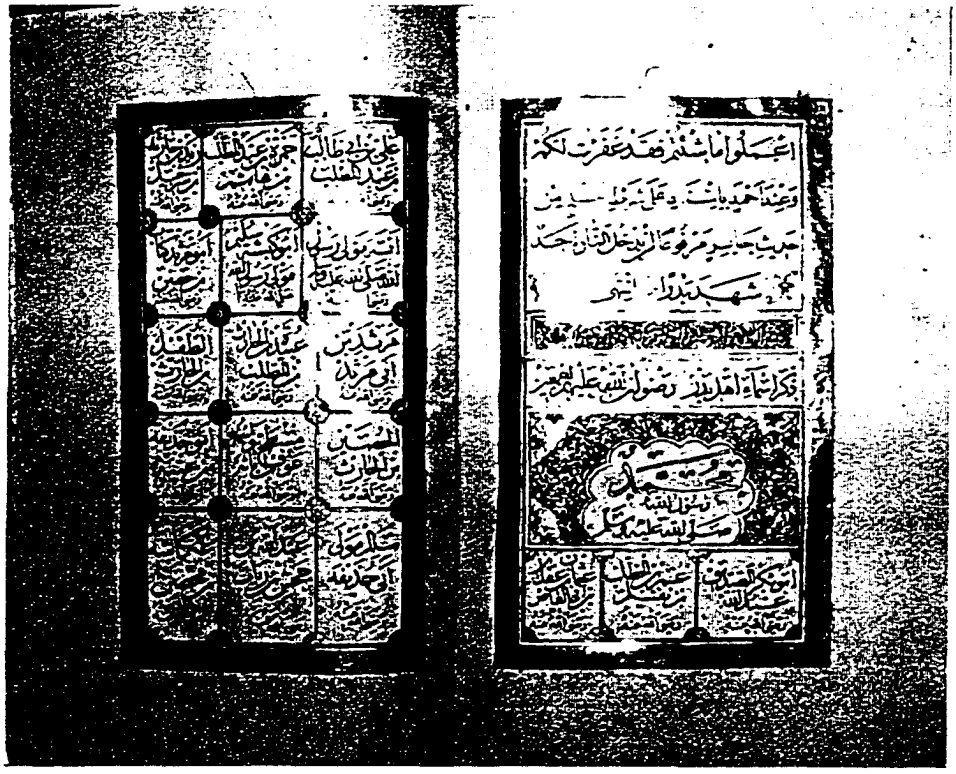


figure 15. 8. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 109v-110.



figure 15. 9. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 120v-121.



figure 15. 10. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 135v-136.

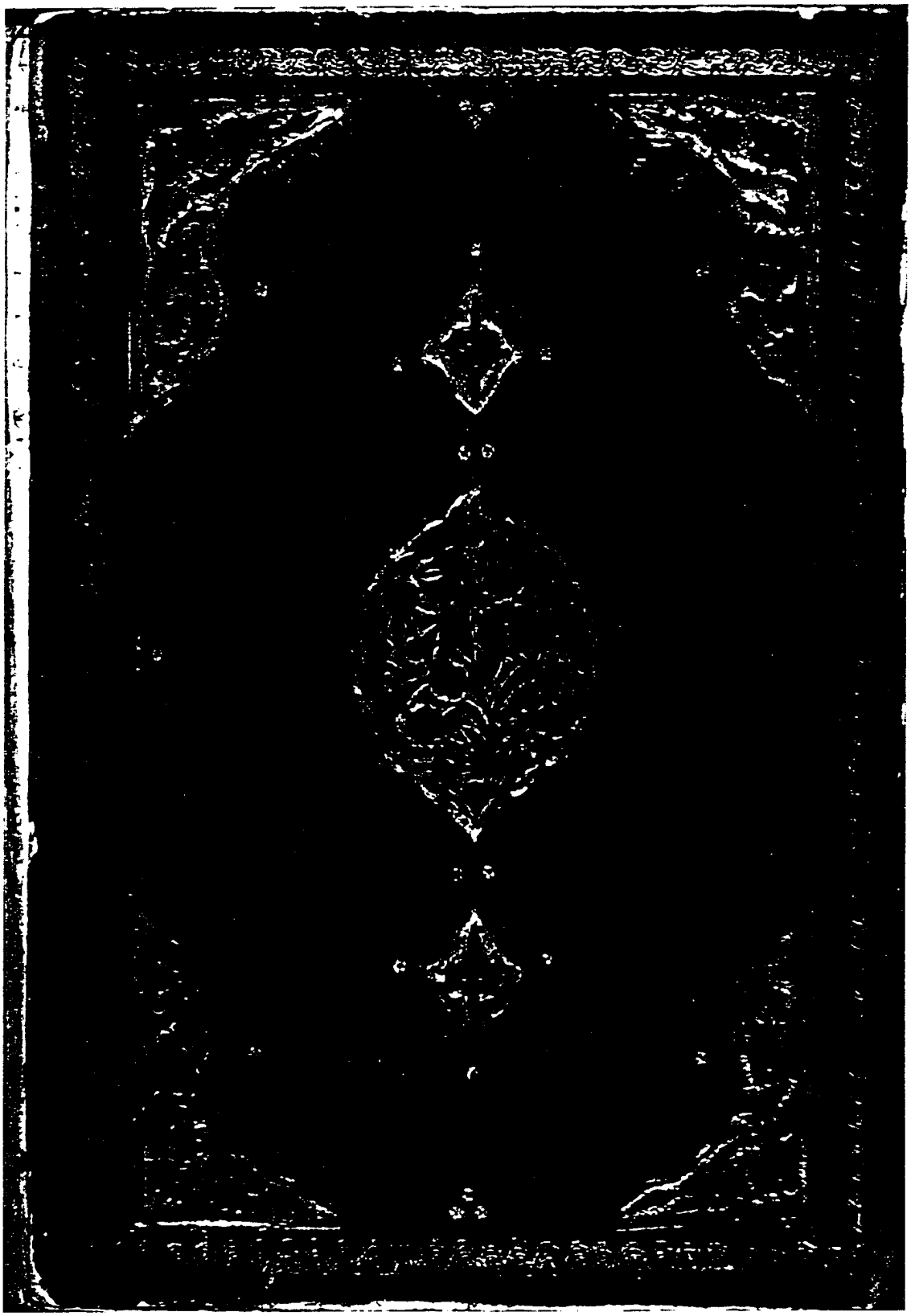


figure 16. 1. UVic 95-014, cover.

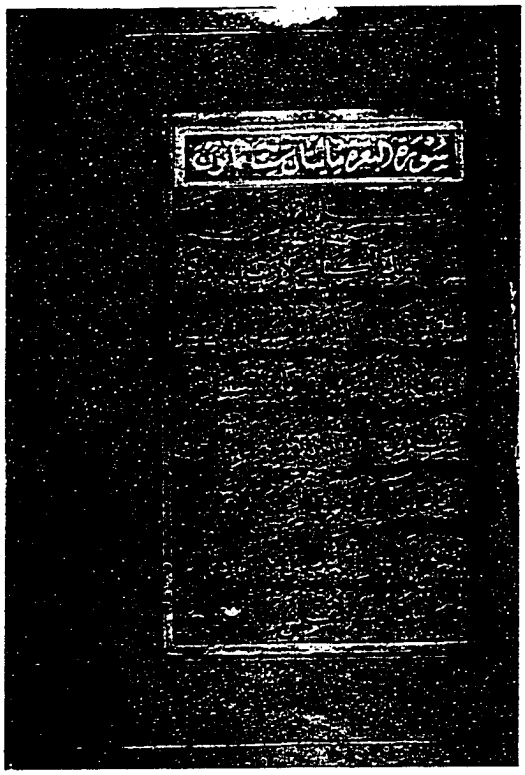


figure 16. 3. UVic 95-014, p. 5.

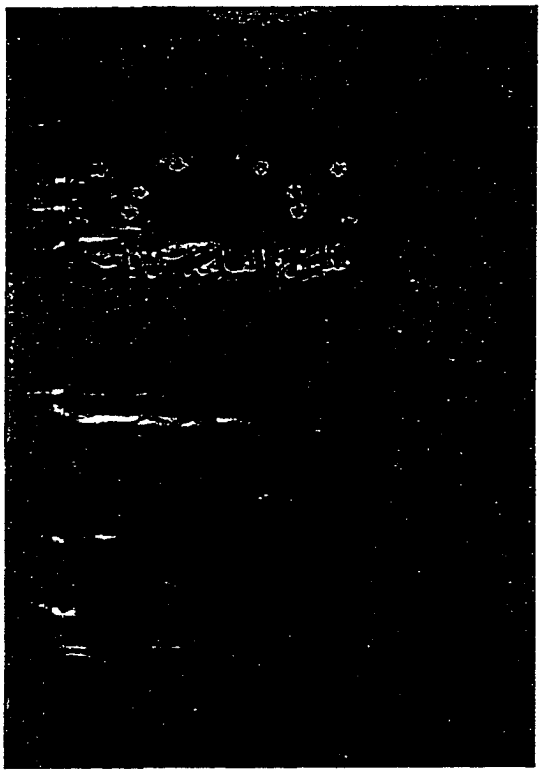


figure 16. 2. UVic 95-014, p. 4.

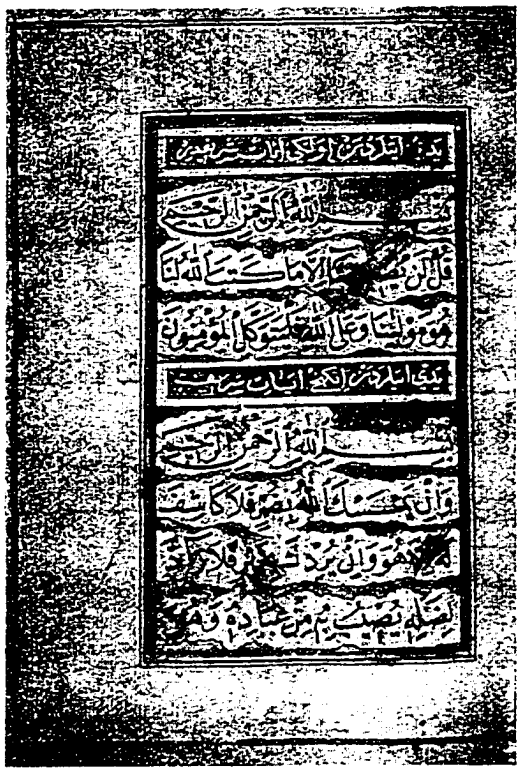


figure 16. 5. UVic 95-014, p. 187.

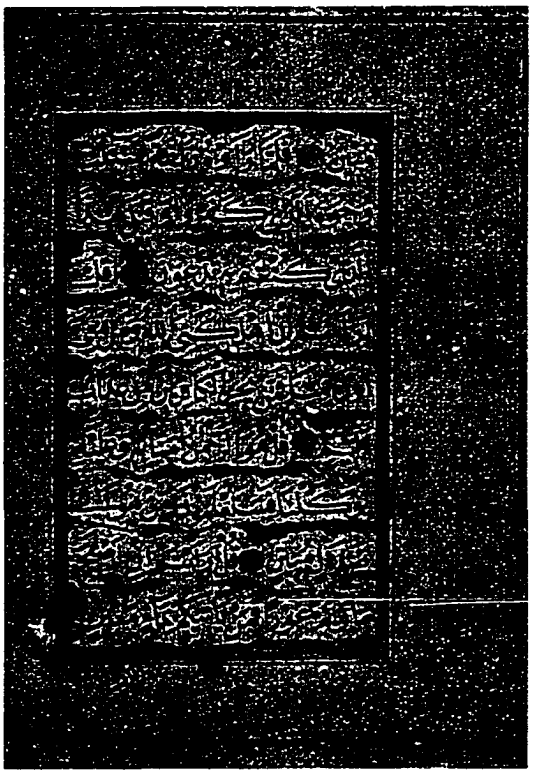


figure 16. 4. UVic 95-014, p. 186.

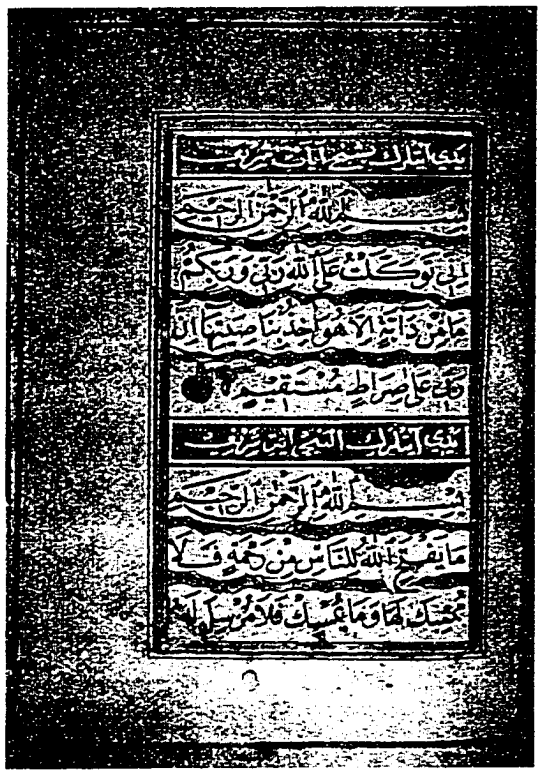


figure 16. 7. UVic 95-014, p. 189.



figure 16. 6. UVic 95-014, p. 188.



figure 16. 9. UVic 95-014, p. 191.

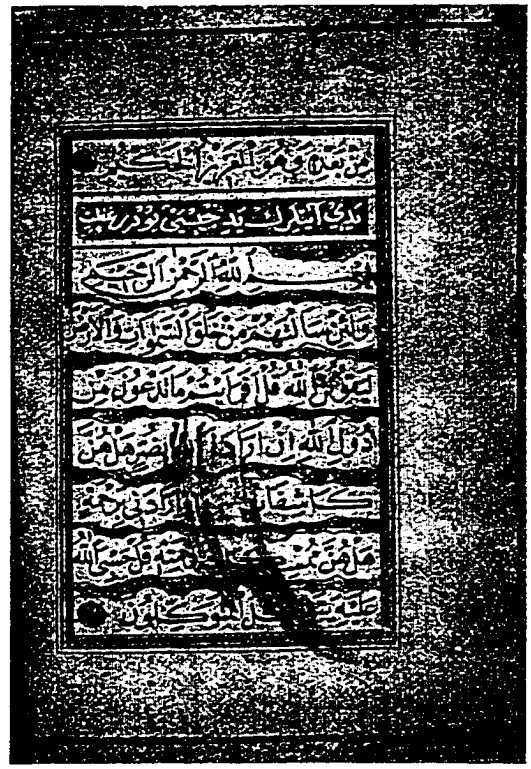


figure 16. 8. UVic 95-014, p. 190.

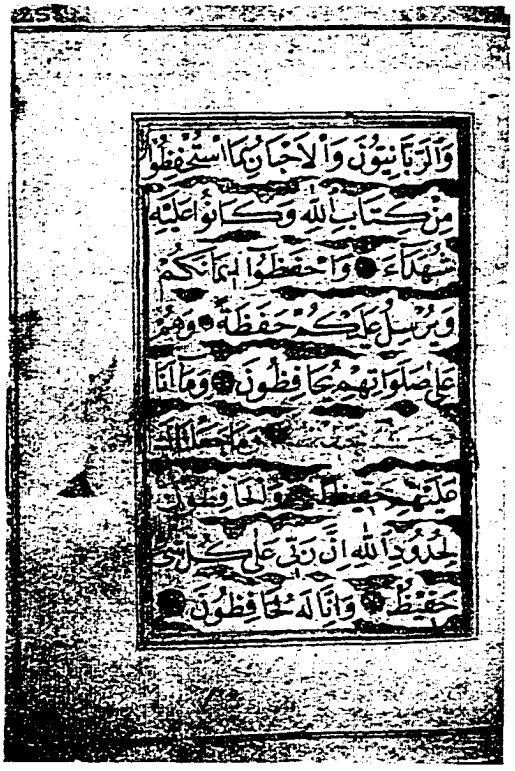


figure 16. 11. UVic 95-014, p. 263.



figure 16. 10. UVic 95-014, p. 254.

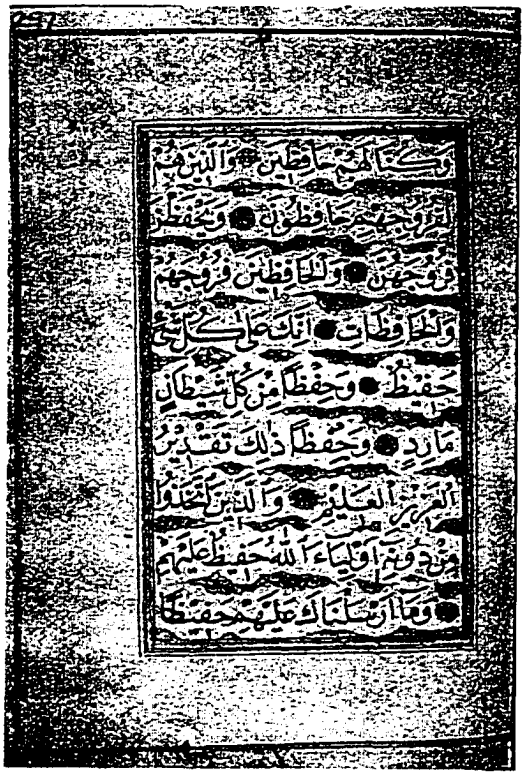


figure 16. 13. UVic 95-014, p. 257.

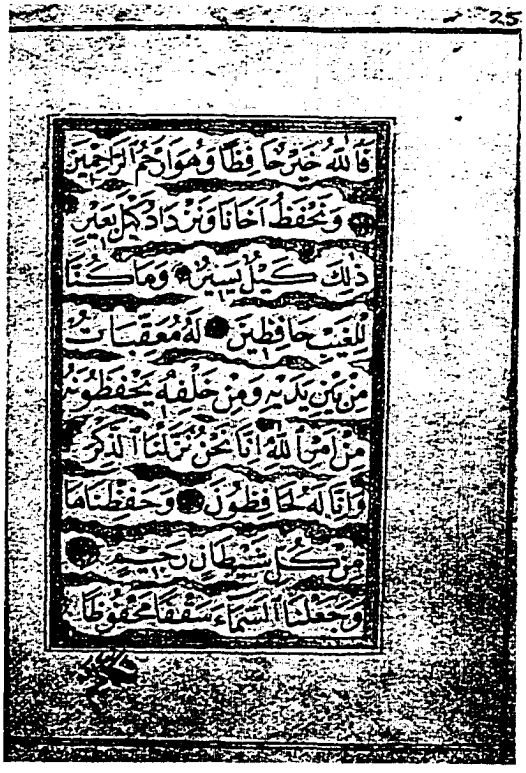


figure 16. 12. UVic 95-014, p. 256.

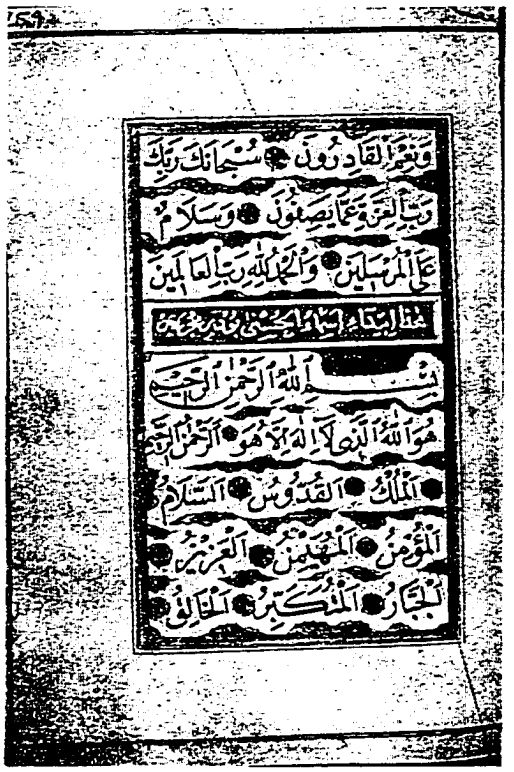


figure 16. 15. UVic 95-014, p. 259.



figure 16. 14. UVic 95-014, p. 258.

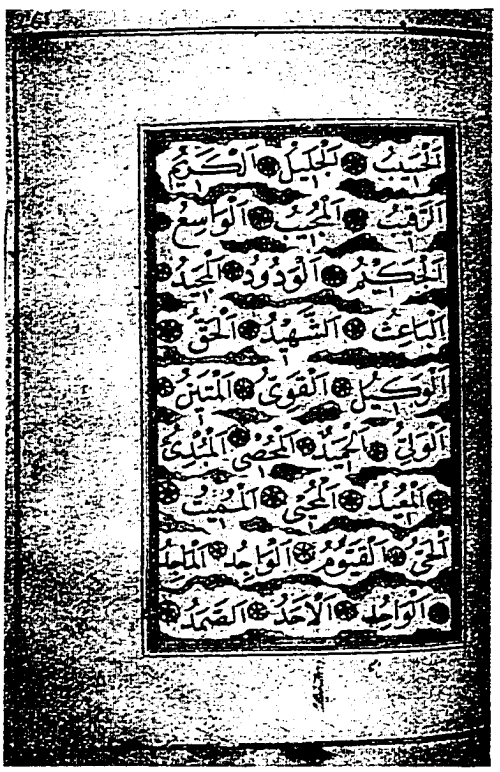


figure 16. 17. UVic 95-014, p. 261.

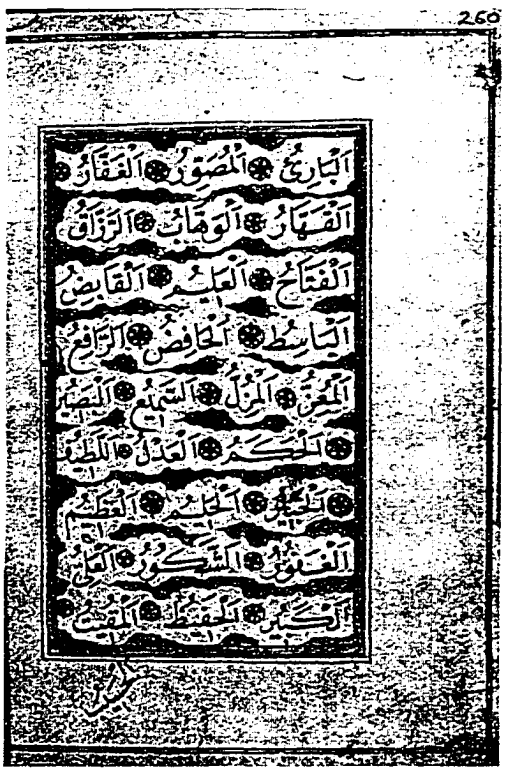


figure 16. 16. UVic 95-014, p. 260.

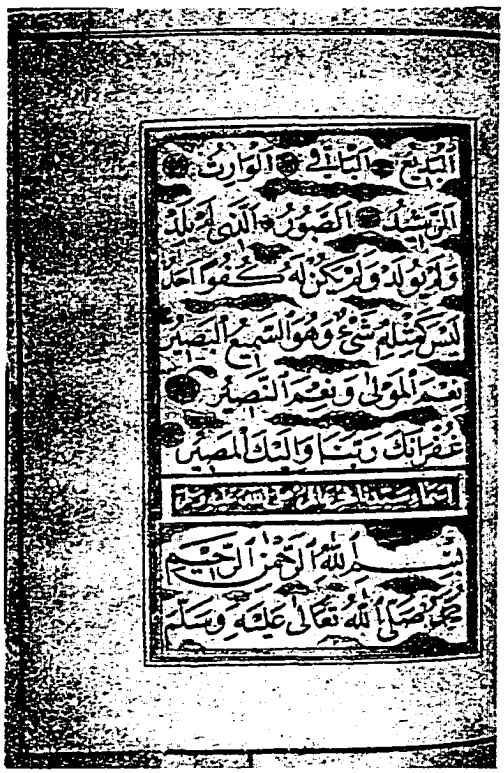


figure 16. 19. UVic 95-014, p. 263.

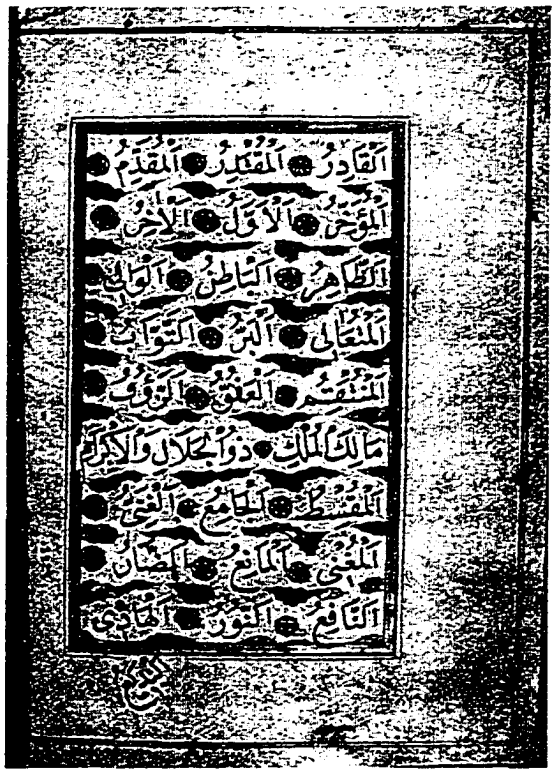


figure 16. 18. UVic 95-014, p. 262.

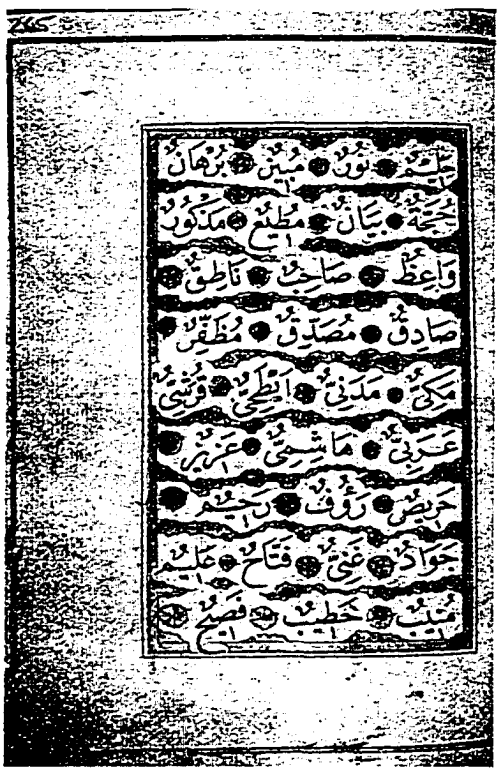


figure 16. 21. UVic 95-014, p. 265.

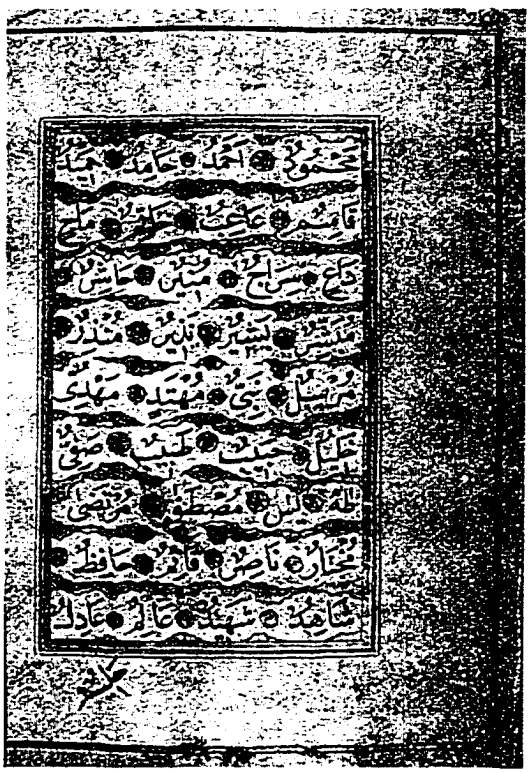


figure 16. 20. UVic 95-014, p. 264.



figure 16. 23. UVic 95-014, p. 267.

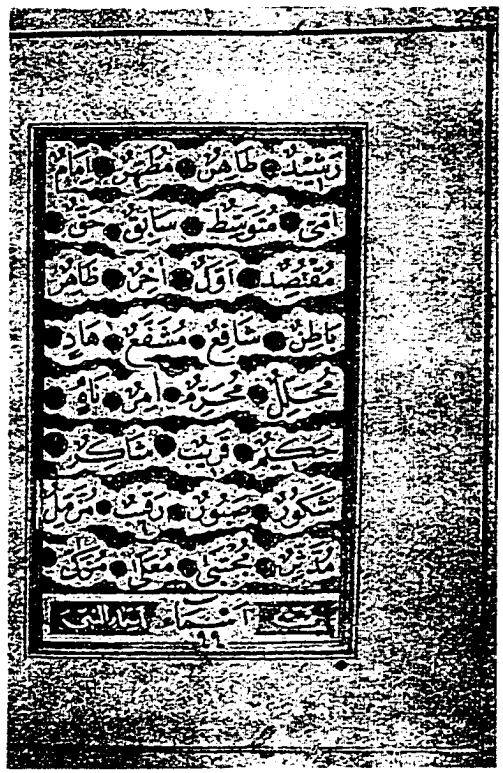


figure 16. 22. UVic 95-014, p. 266.



figure 16. 25. UVic 95-014, p. 269.

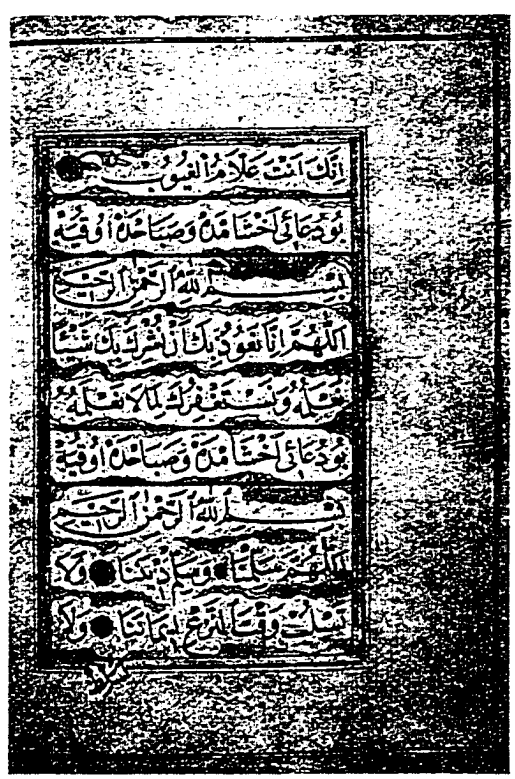


figure 16. 24. UVic 95-014, p. 268.

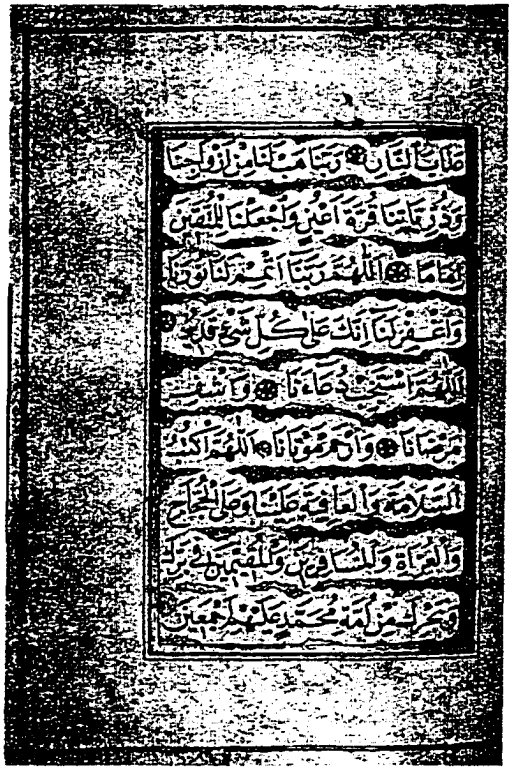


figure 16. 27. UVic 95-014, p. 271.



figure 16. 26. UVic 95-014, p. 270.



figure 16. 29. UVic 95-014, p. 273.



figure 16. 28. UVic 95-014, p. 272.



figure 16. 31. UVic 95-014, p. 275.

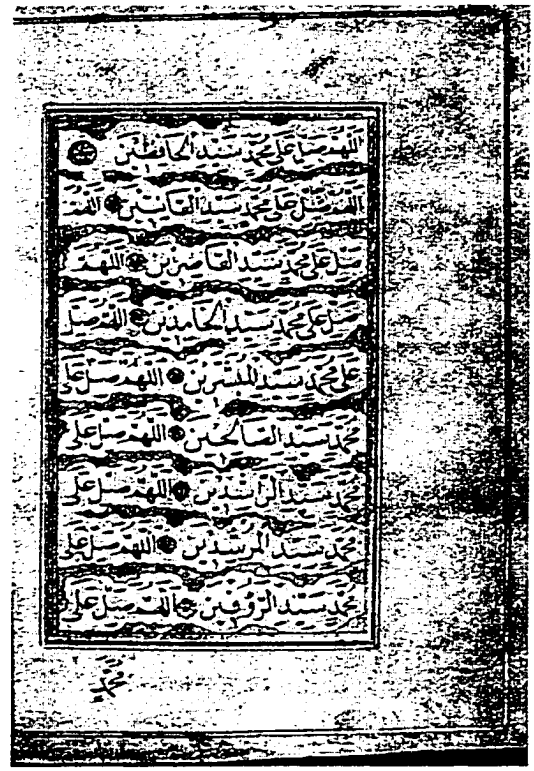


figure 16. 30. UVic 95-014, p. 274.

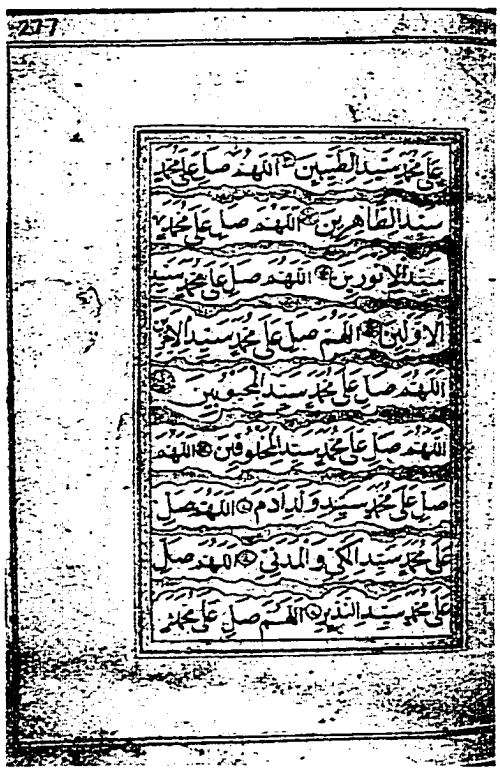


figure 16. 33. UVic 95-014, p. 277.

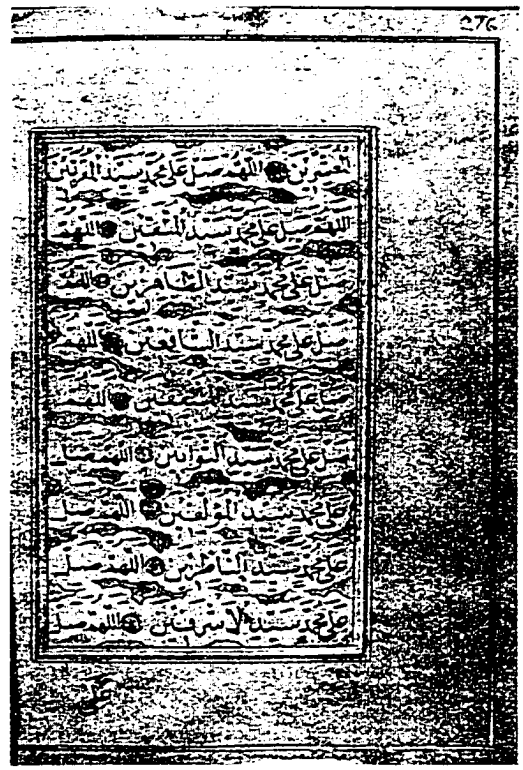


figure 16. 32. UVic 95-014, p. 276.



figure 16. 35. UVic 95-014, p. 279.

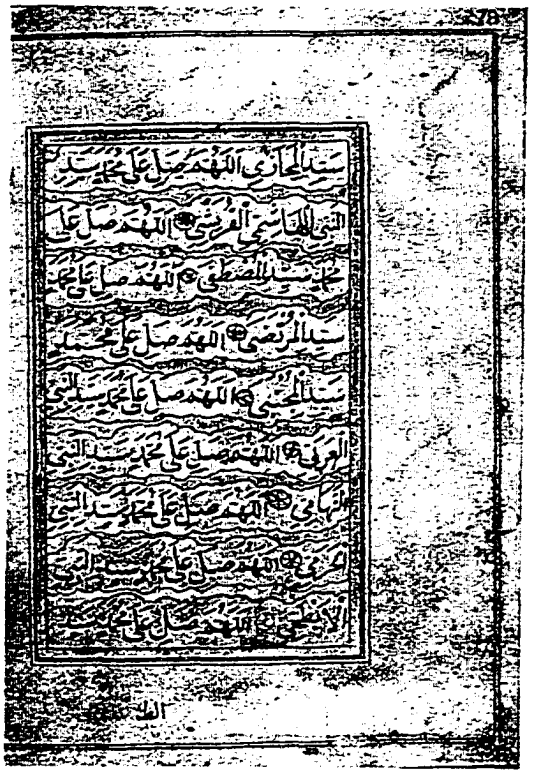


figure 16. 34. UVic 95-014, p. 278.

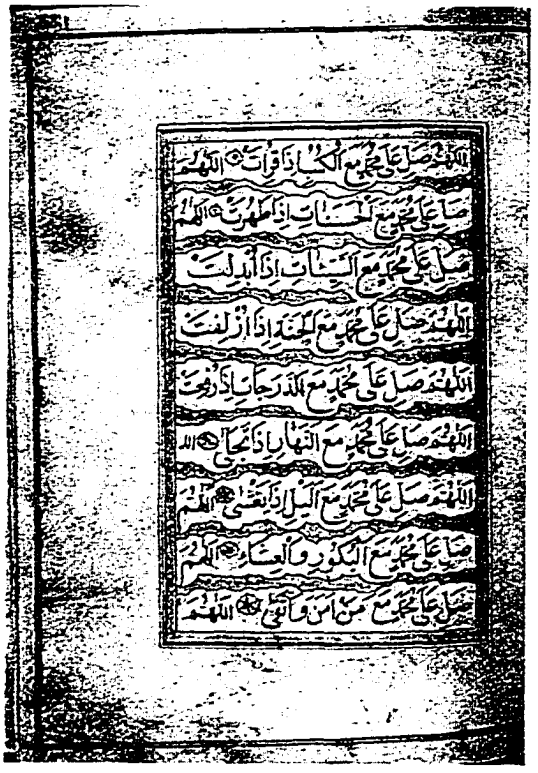


figure 16. 37. UVic 95-014, p. 281.



figure 16. 36. UVic 95-014, p. 280.

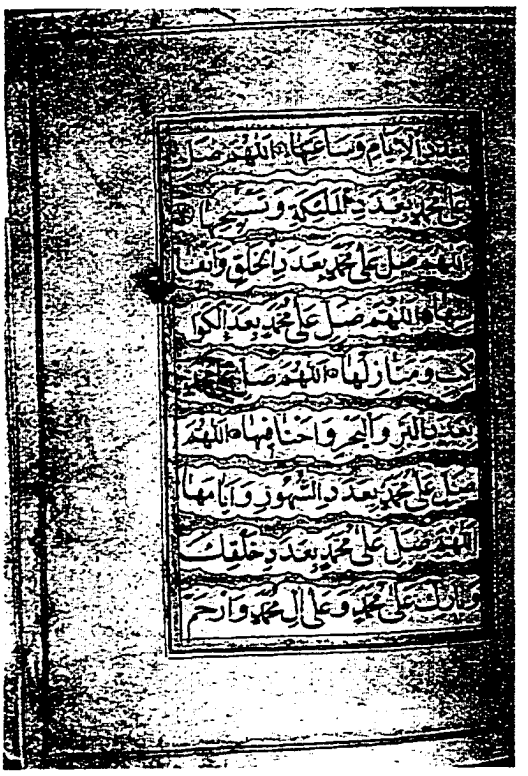


figure 16. 39. UVic 95-014, p. 283.

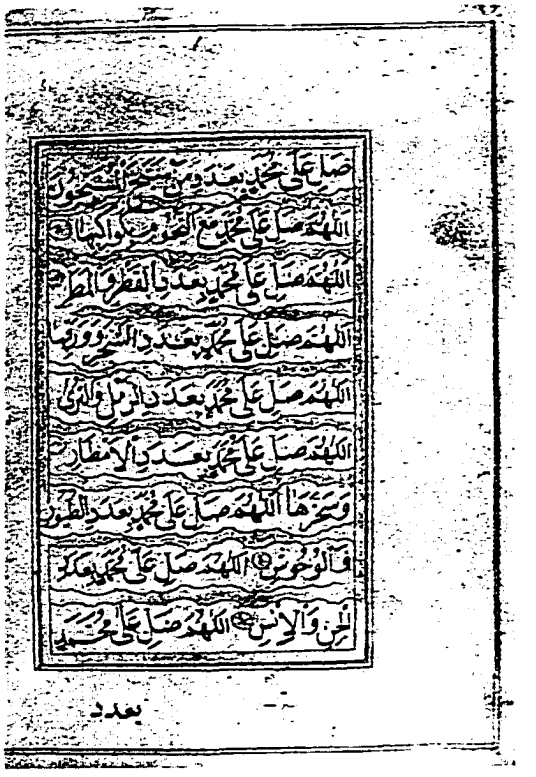


figure 16. 38. UVic 95-014, p. 282.

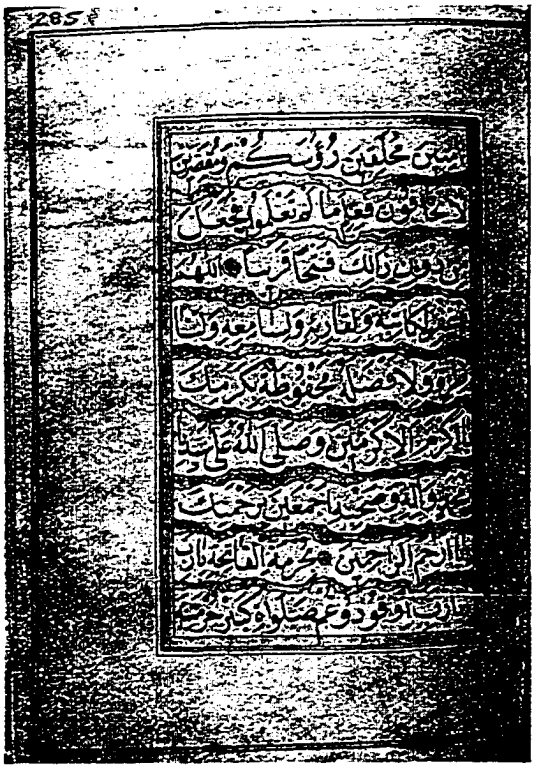


figure 16. 41. UVic 95-014, p. 285.



figure 16. 40. UVic 95-014, p. 284.

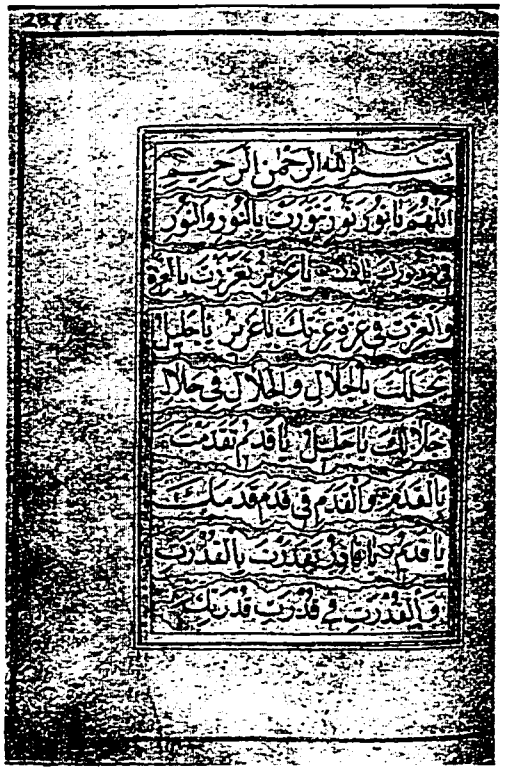


figure 16. 43. UVic 95-014, p. 287.



figure 16. 42. UVic 95-014, p. 286.



figure 16. 45. UVic 95-014, p. 289.

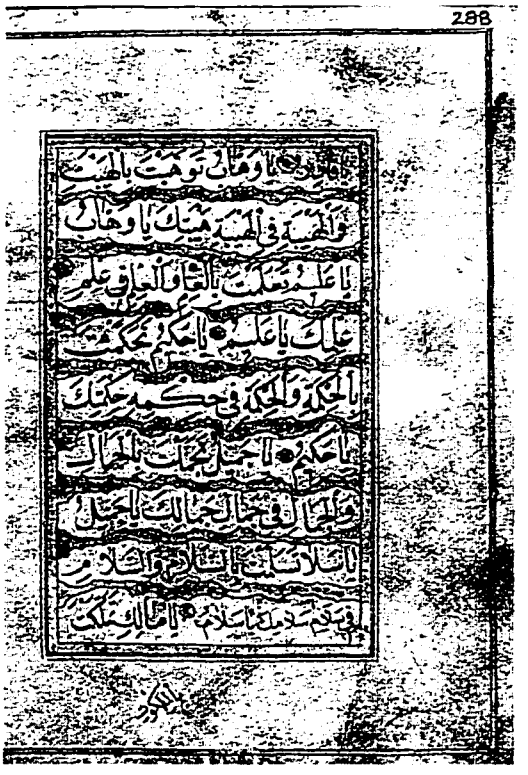


figure 16. 44. UVic 95-014, p. 288.



figure 16. 47. UVic 95-014, p. 291.

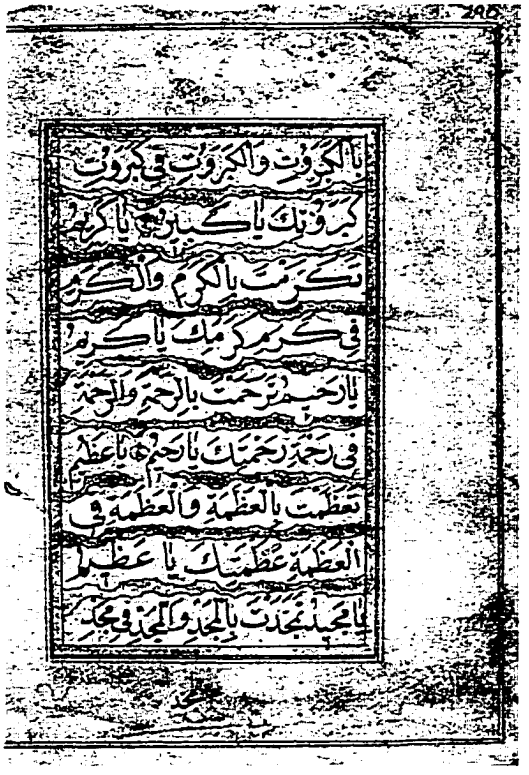


figure 16. 46. UVic 95-014, p. 290.

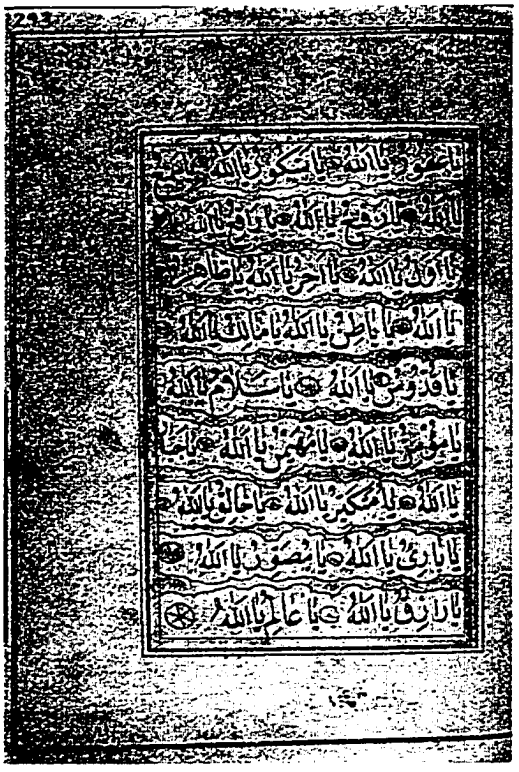


figure 16. 49. UVic 95-014, p. 293.

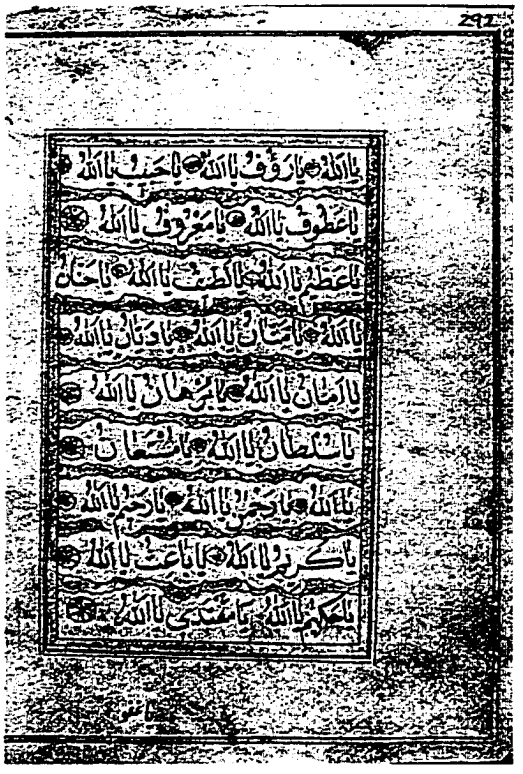


figure 16. 48. UVic 95-014, p. 292.

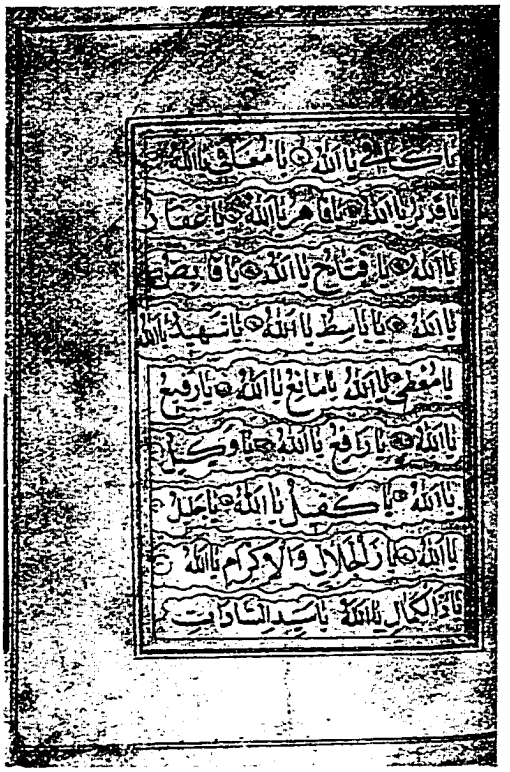


figure 16. 51. UVic 95-014, p. 295.

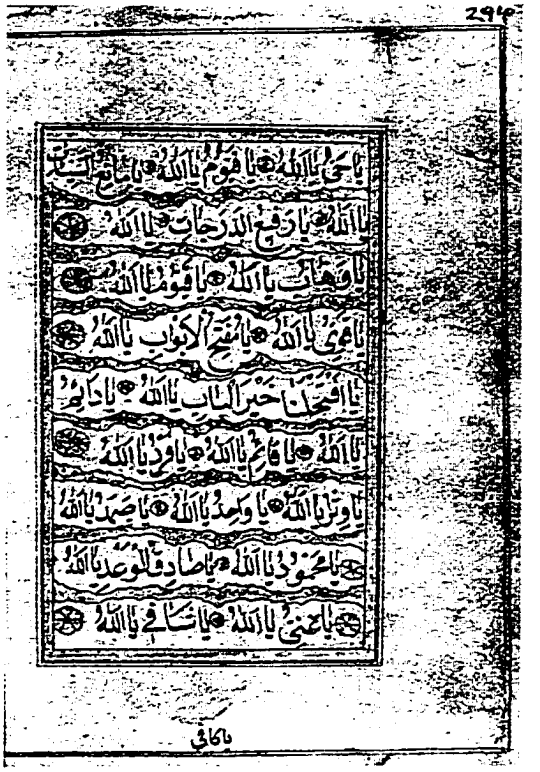


figure 16. 50. UVic 95-014, p. 294.



figure 16. 53. UVic 95-014, p. 297.

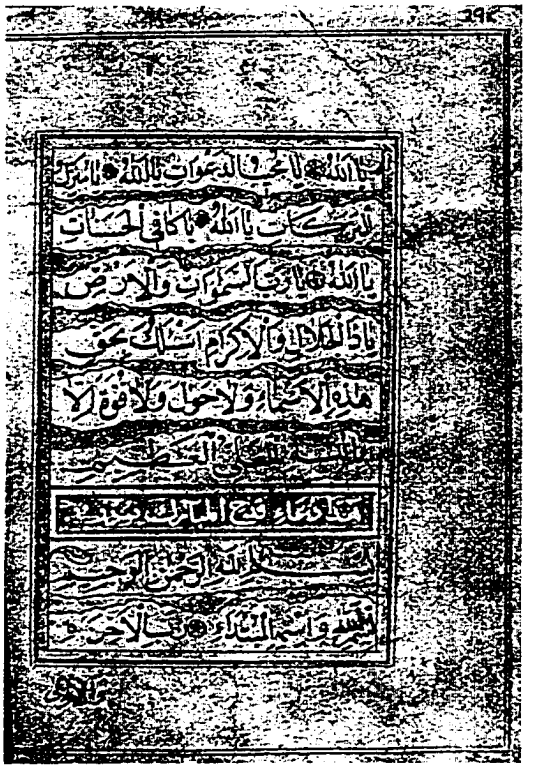


figure 16. 52. UVic 95-014, p. 296.

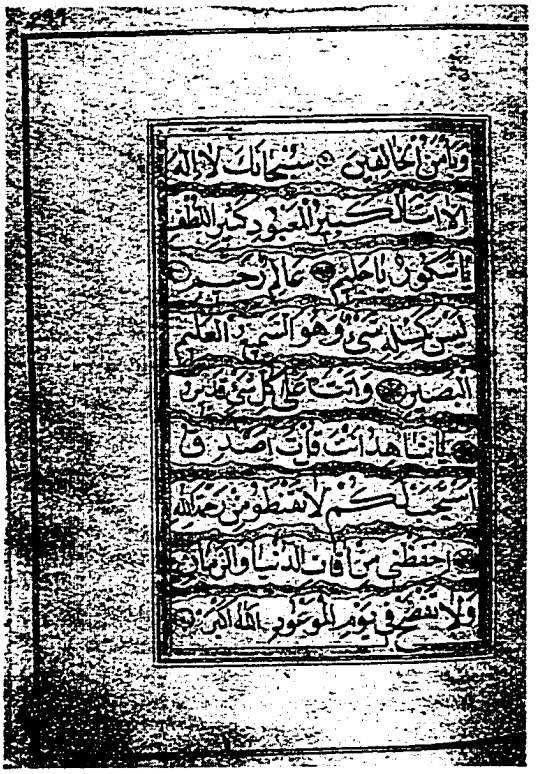


figure 16. 55. UVic 95-014, p. 299.

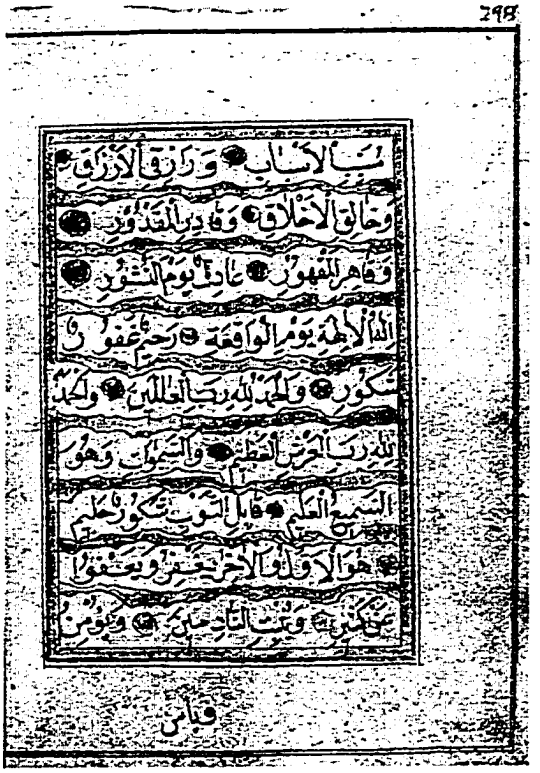


figure 16. 54. UVic 95-014, p. 298.

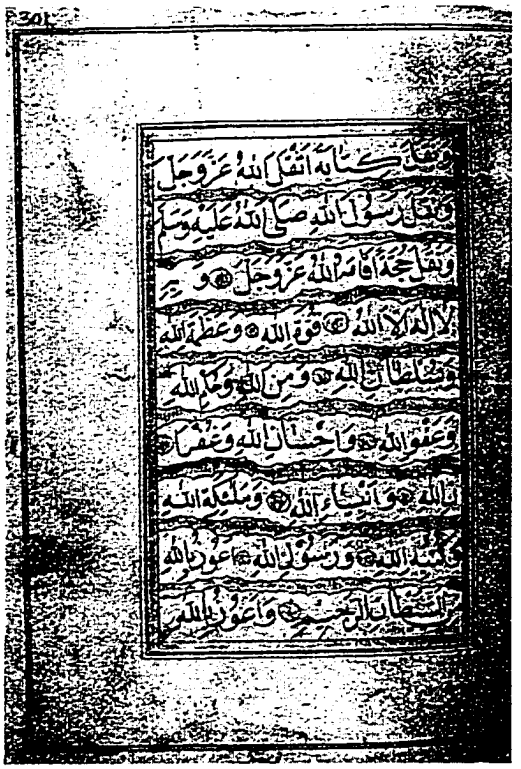


figure 16. 57. UVic 95-014, p. 301.

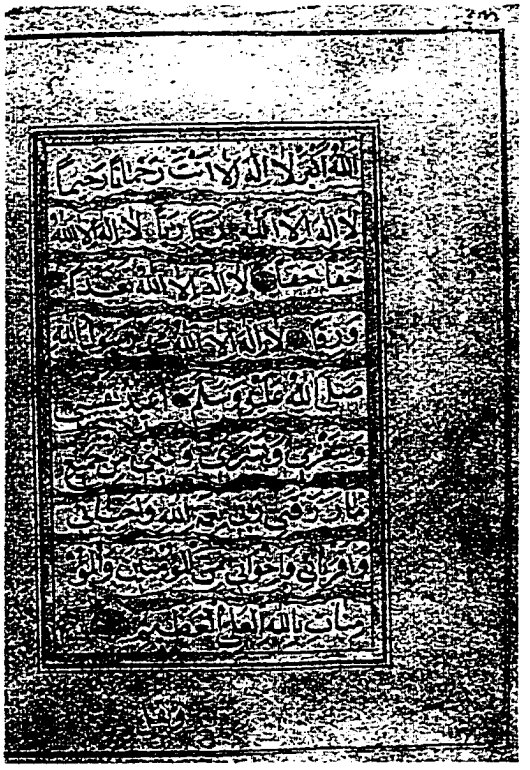


figure 16. 56. UVic 95-014, p. 300.

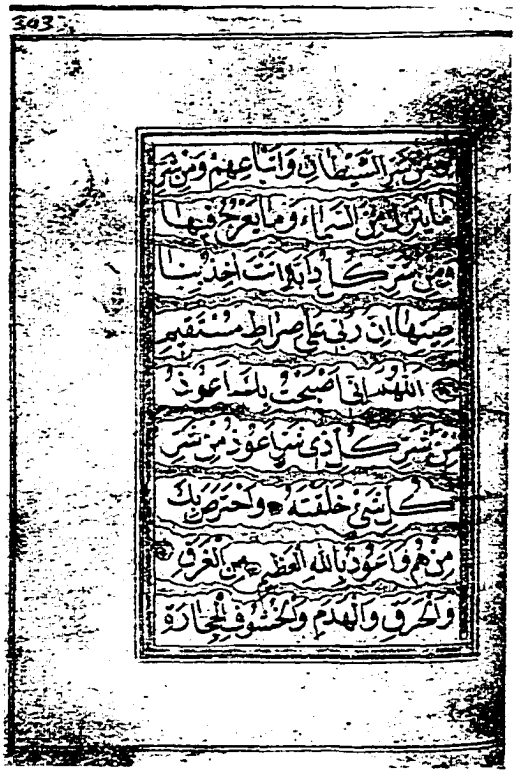


figure 16. 59. UVic 95-014, p. 303.

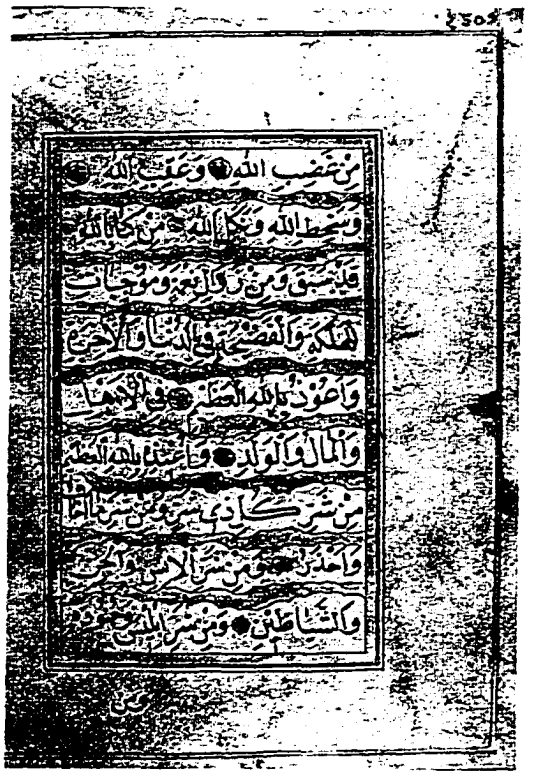


figure 16. 58. UVic 95-014, p. 302.



figure 16. 61. UVic 95-014, p. 305.



figure 16. 60. UVic 95-014, p. 304.

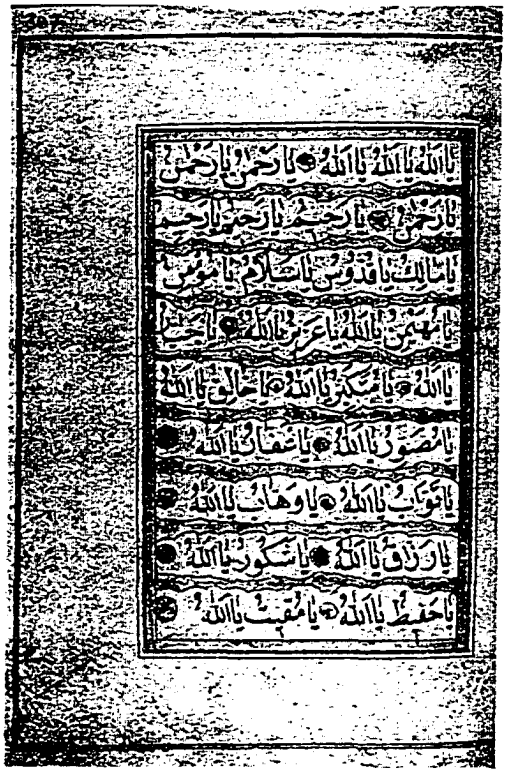


figure 16. 63. UVic 95-014, p. 307.

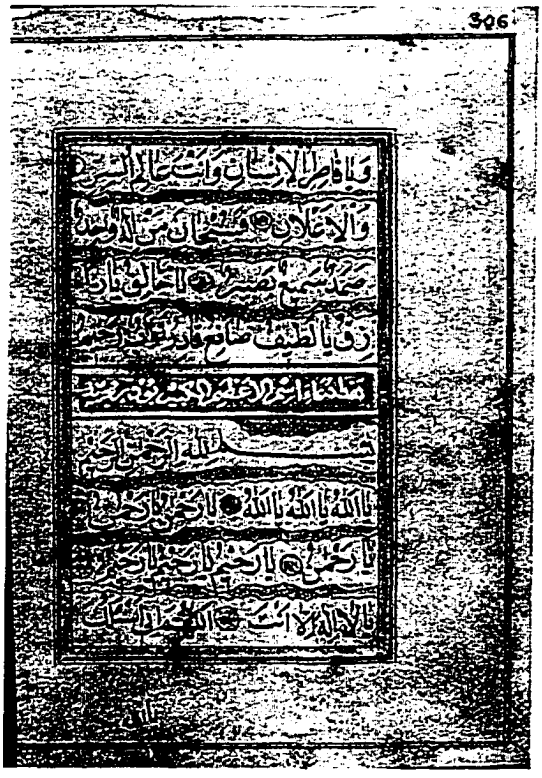


figure 16. 62. UVic 95-014, p. 306.

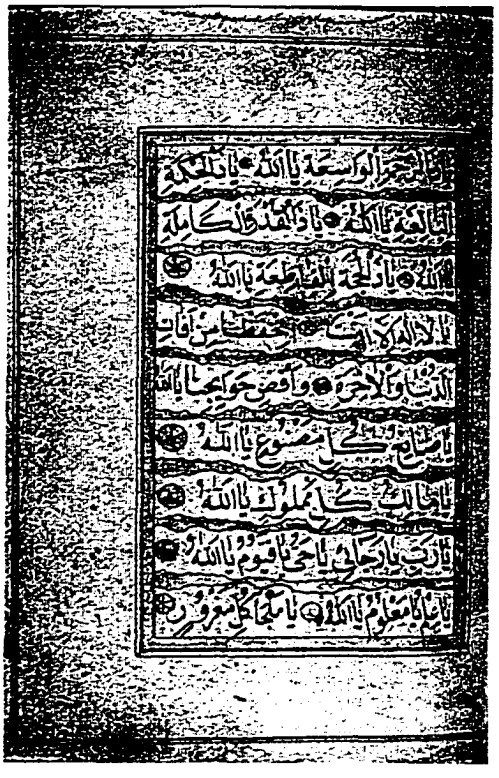


figure 16. 65. UVic 95-014, p. 309.

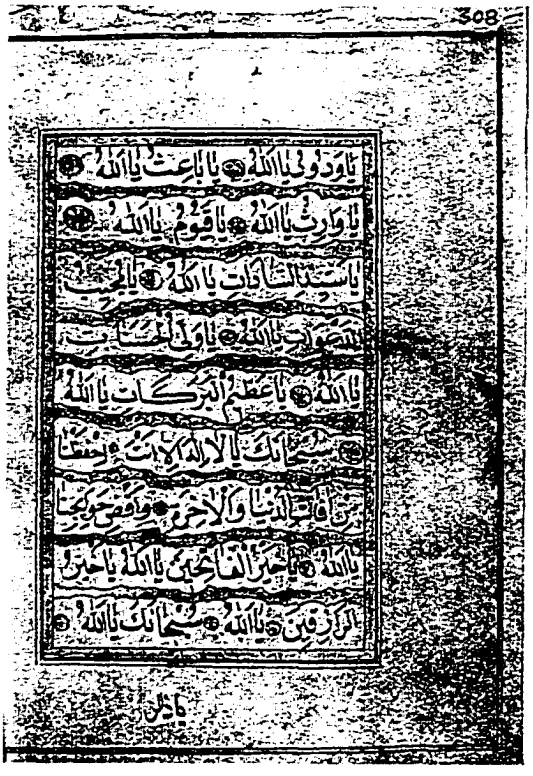


figure 16. 64. UVic 95-014, p. 308.



figure 16. 67. UVic 95-014, p. 311.

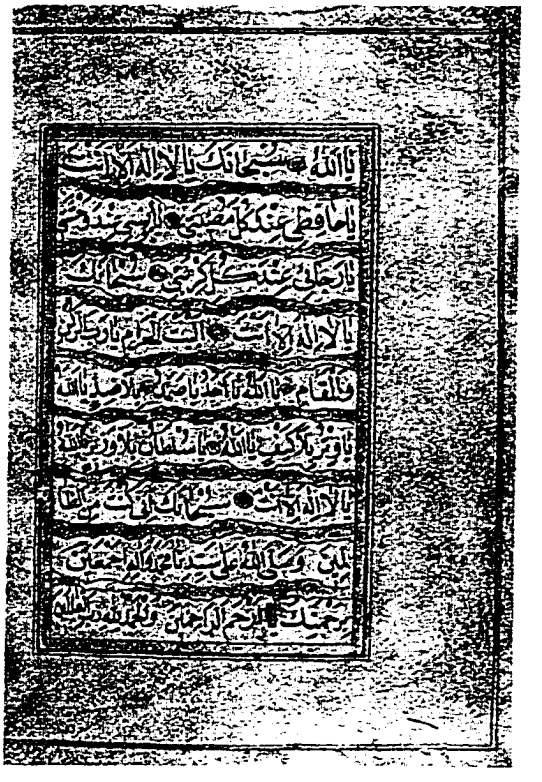


figure 16. 66. UVic 95-014, p. 310.

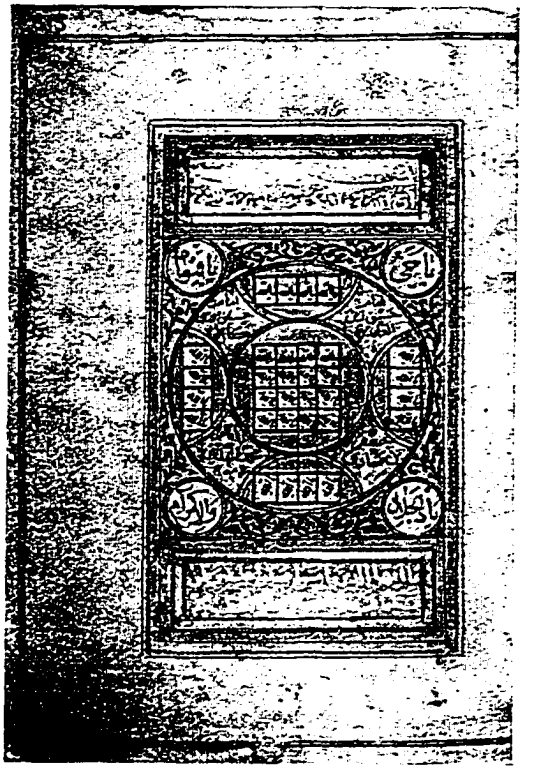


figure 16. 68. UVic 95-014, p. 263.

blank page



figure 16. 70. UVic 95-014, p. 315.



figure 16. 69. UVic 95-014, p. 314.

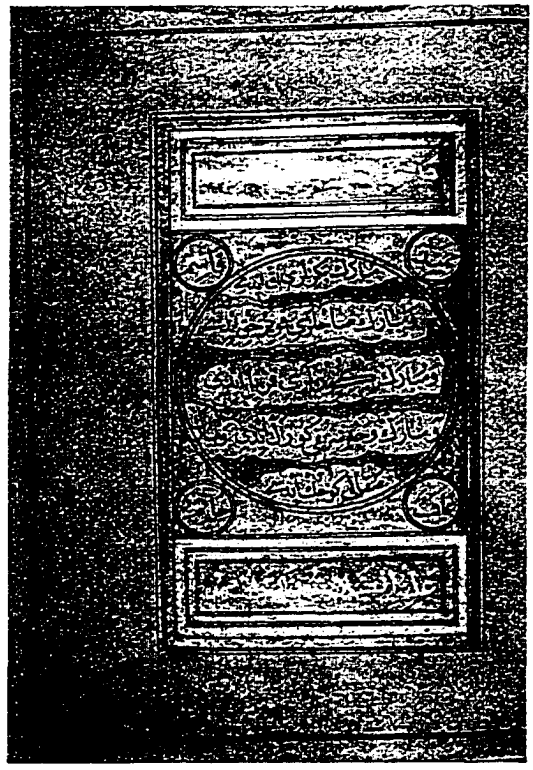


figure 16. 72. UVic 95-014, p. 317.



figure 16. 71. UVic 95-014, p. 316.

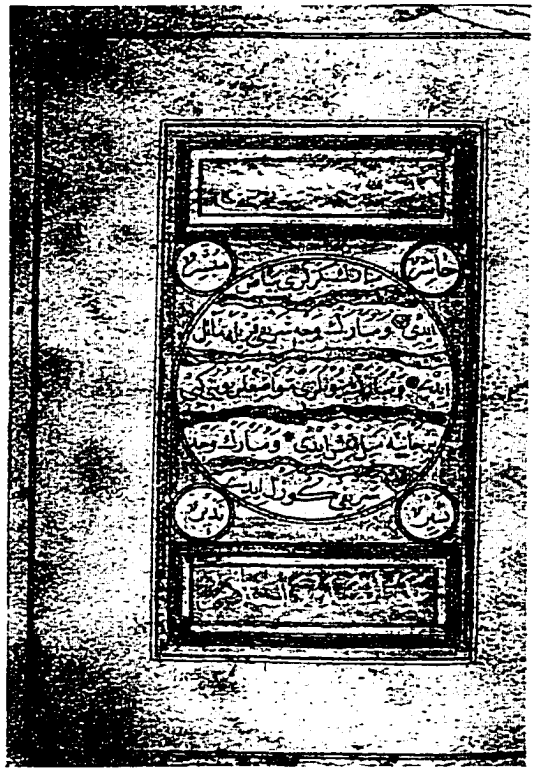


figure 16. 74. UVic 95-014, p. 319.



figure 16. 73. UVic 95-014, p. 318.

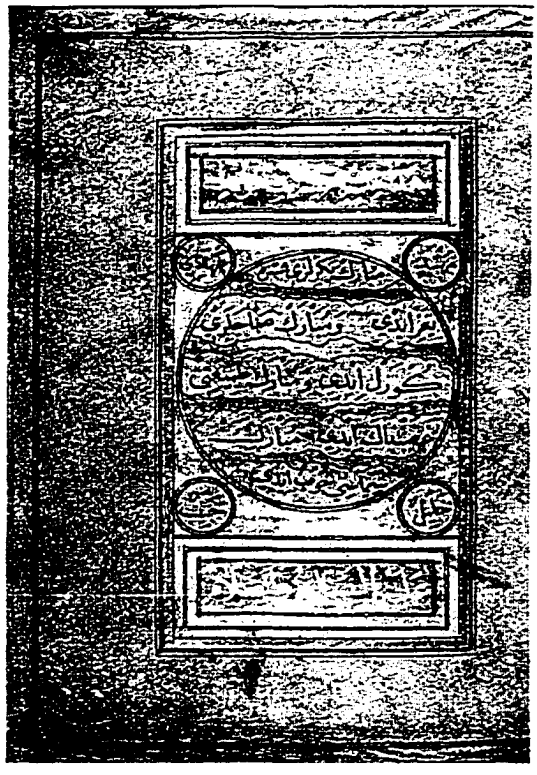


figure 16. 76. UVic 95-014, p. 321.

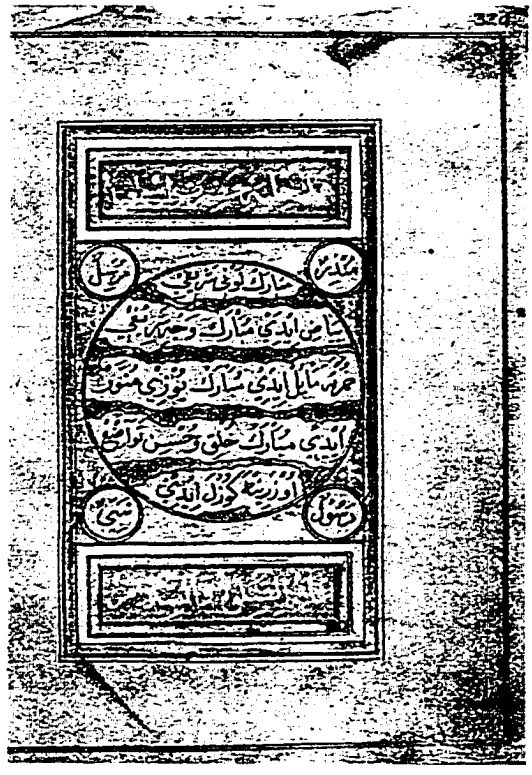


figure 16. 75. UVic 95-014, p. 320.

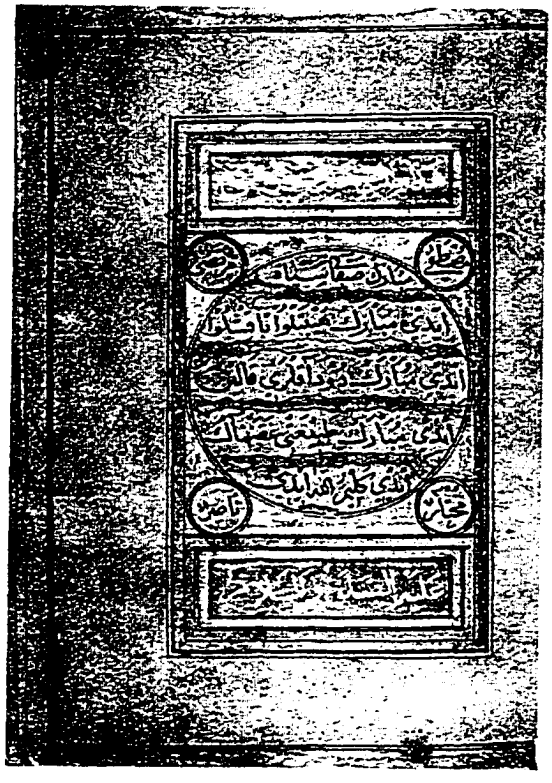


figure 16. 78. UVic 95-014, p. 323.

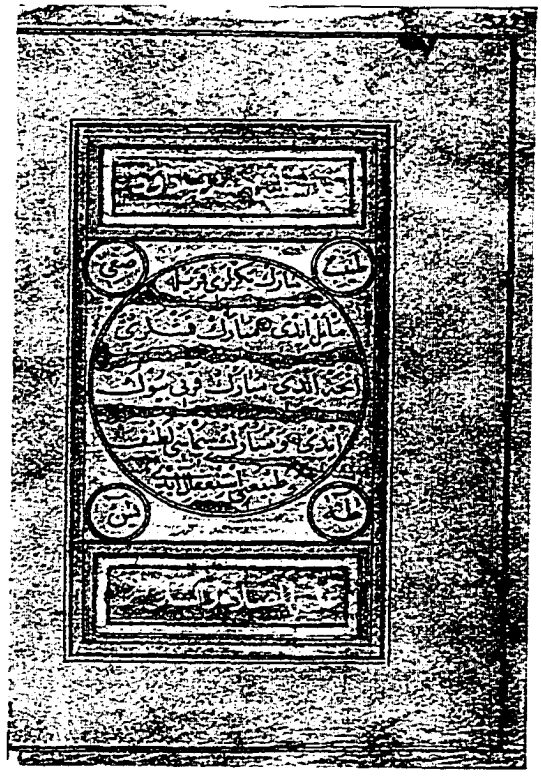


figure 16. 77. UVic 95-014, p. 322.

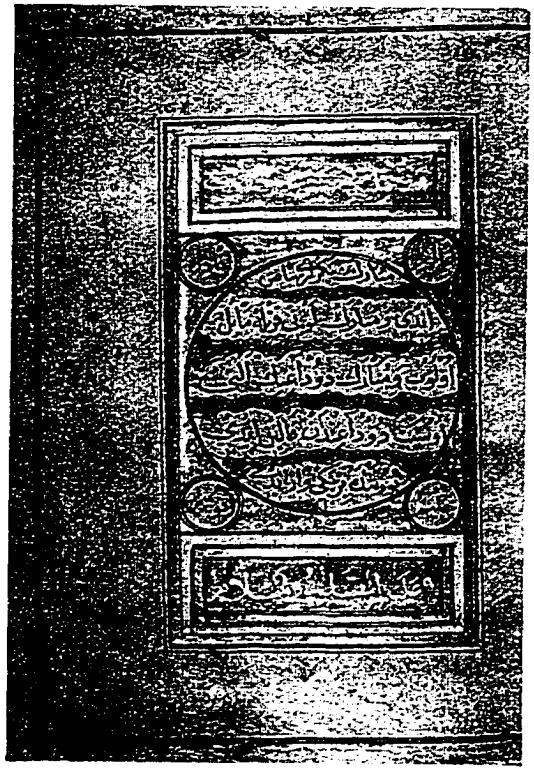


figure 16. 80. UVic 95-014, p. 325.

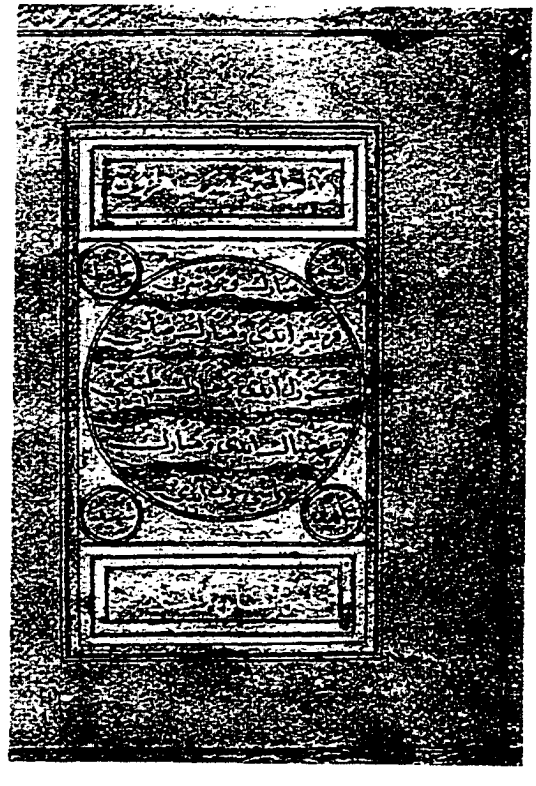


figure 16. 79. UVic 95-014, p. 324.



figure 16. 82. UVic 95-014, p. 327.

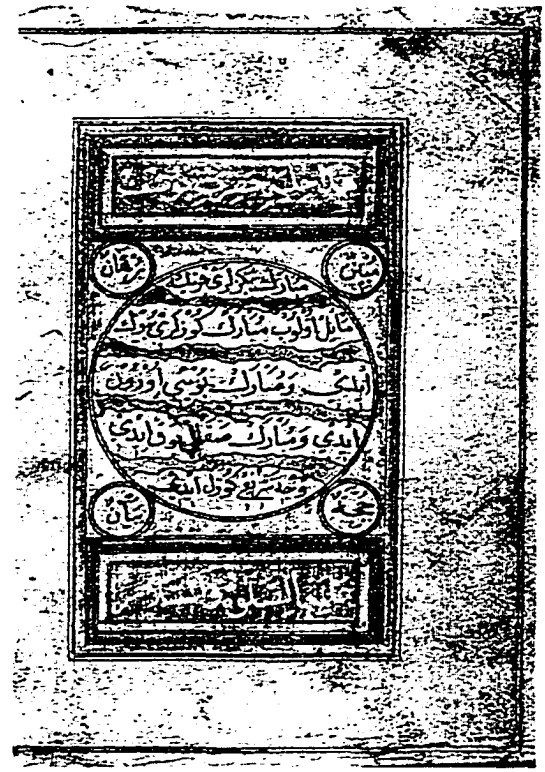


figure 16. 81. UVic 95-014, p. 326.

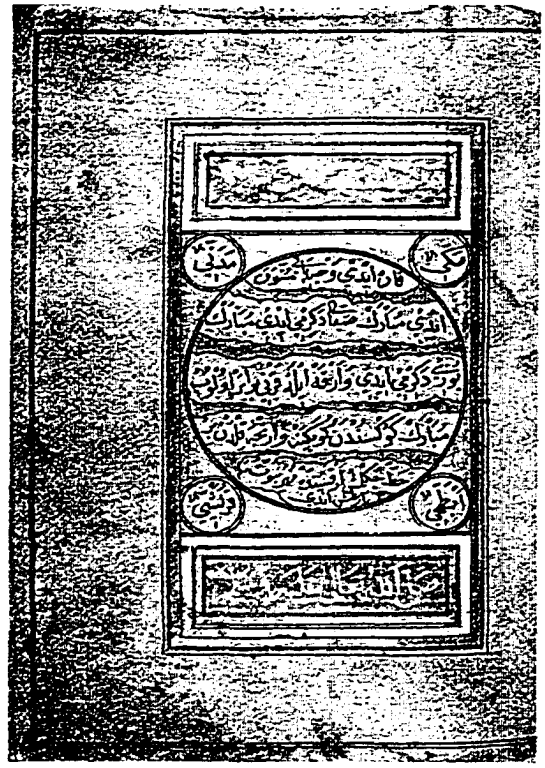


figure 16. 84. UVic 95-014, p. 329.

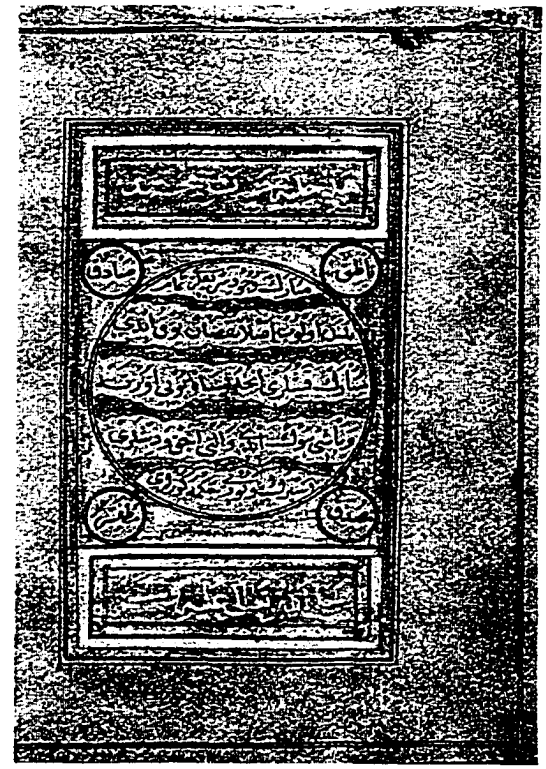


figure 16. 83. UVic 95-014, p. 328.

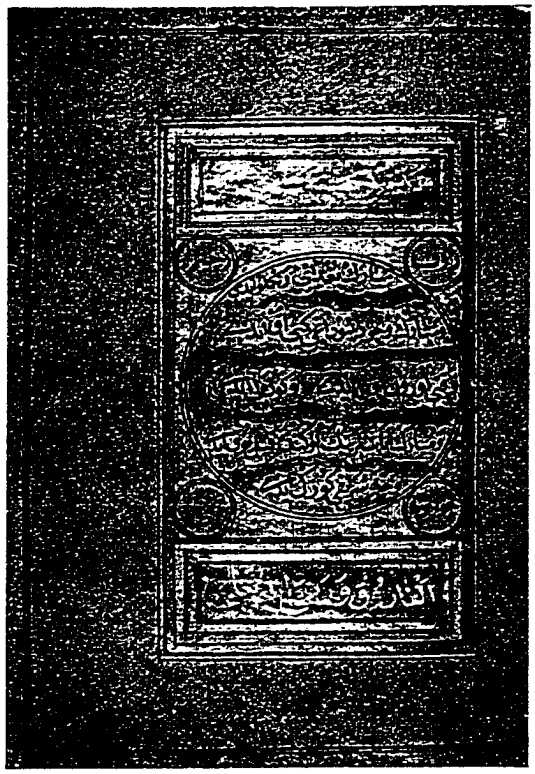


figure 16. 86. UVic 95-014, p. 331.



figure 16. 85. UVic 95-014, p. 330.

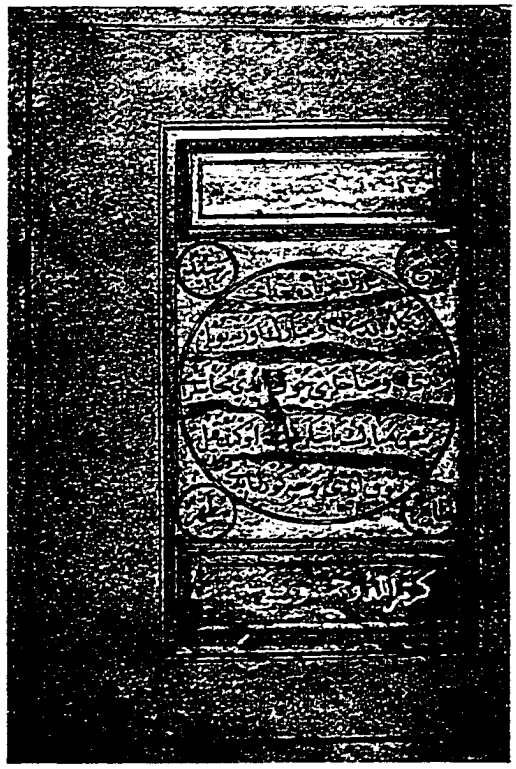


figure 16. 88. UVic 95-014, p. 333.

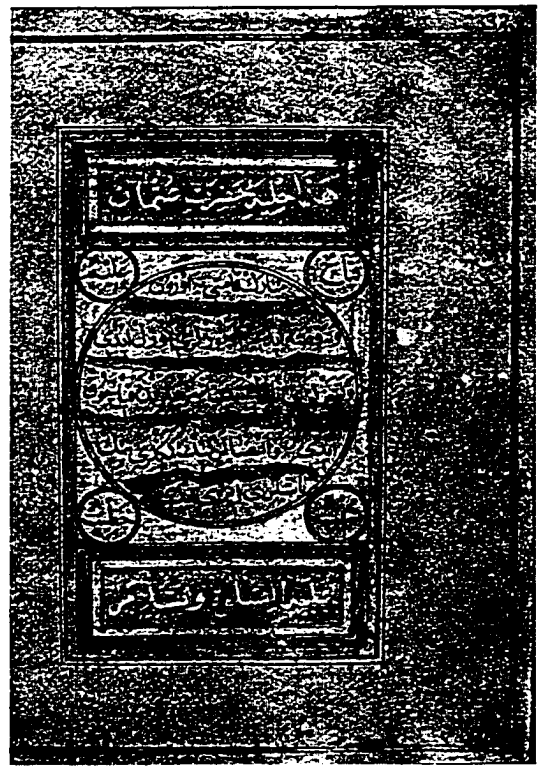


figure 16. 87. UVic 95-014, p. 332.

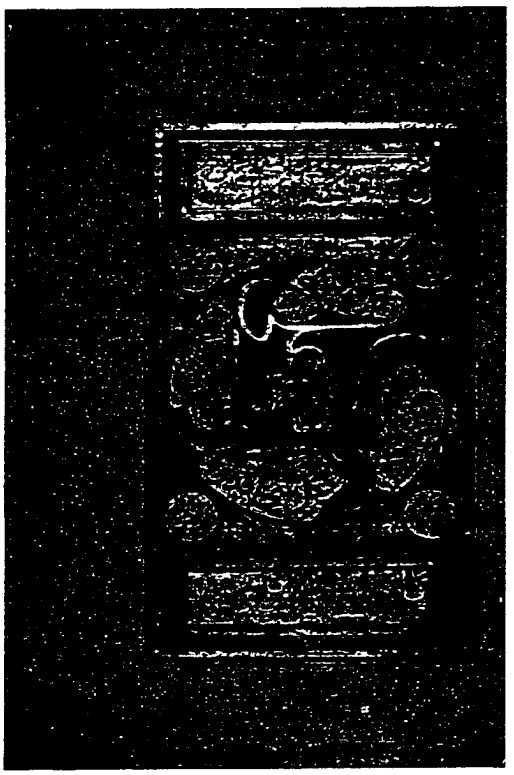


figure 16. 90. UVic 95-014, p. 335.

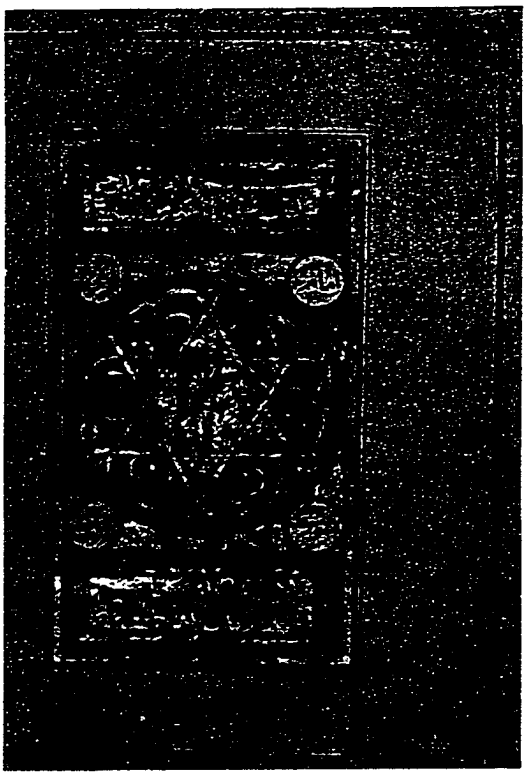


figure 16. 89. UVic 95-014, p. 334.

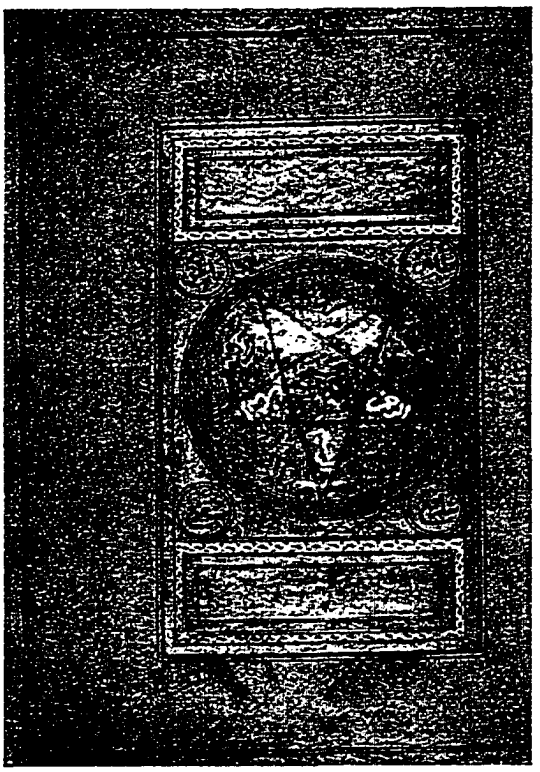


figure 16. 92. UVic 95-014, p. 337.



figure 16. 91. UVic 95-014, p. 336.

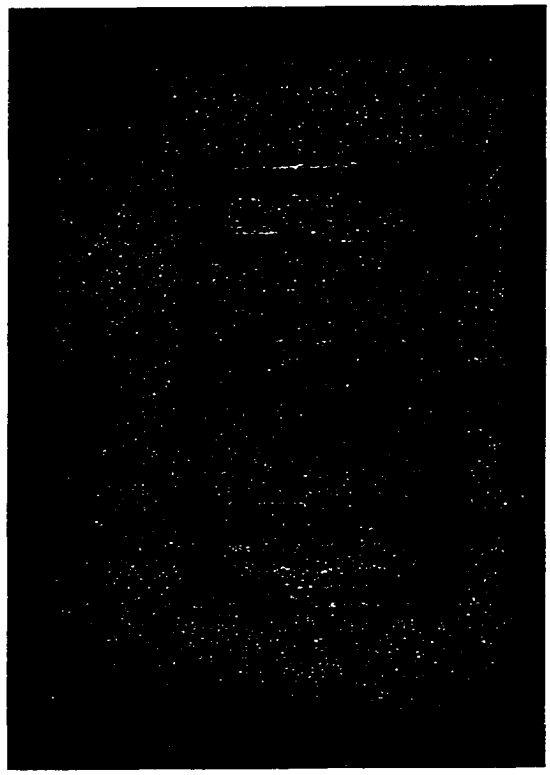


figure 16. 94. UVic 95-014, p. 339.

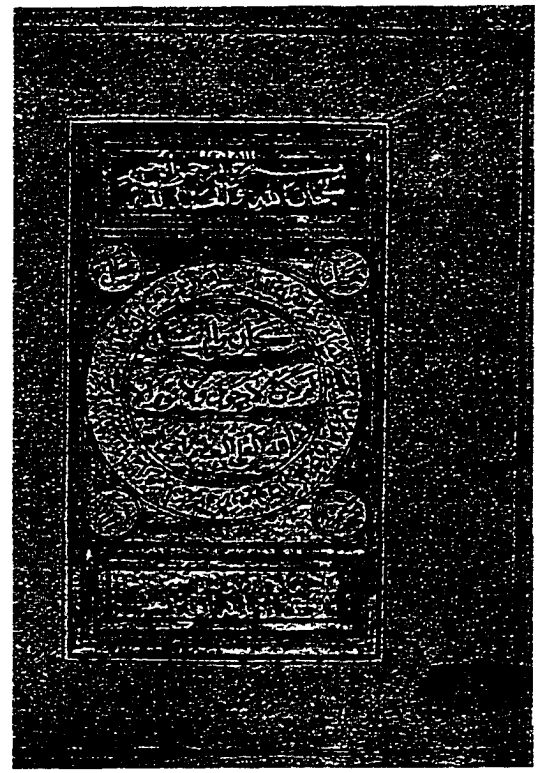


figure 16. 93. UVic 95-014, p. 338.



figure 16. 96. UVic 95-014, p. 341.

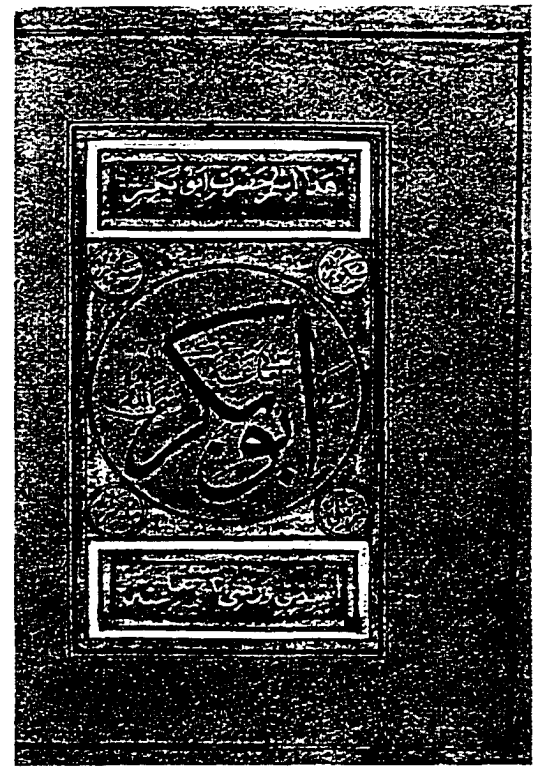


figure 16. 95. UVic 95-014, p. 340.

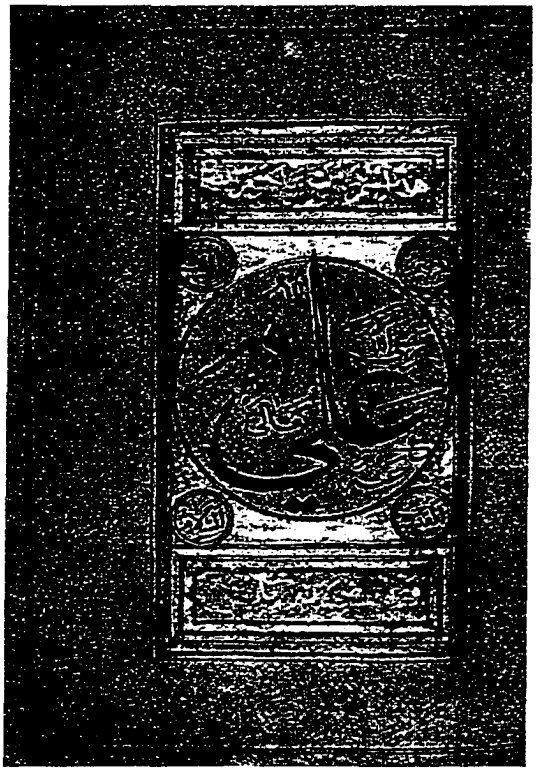


figure 16. 98. UVic 95-014, p. 343.

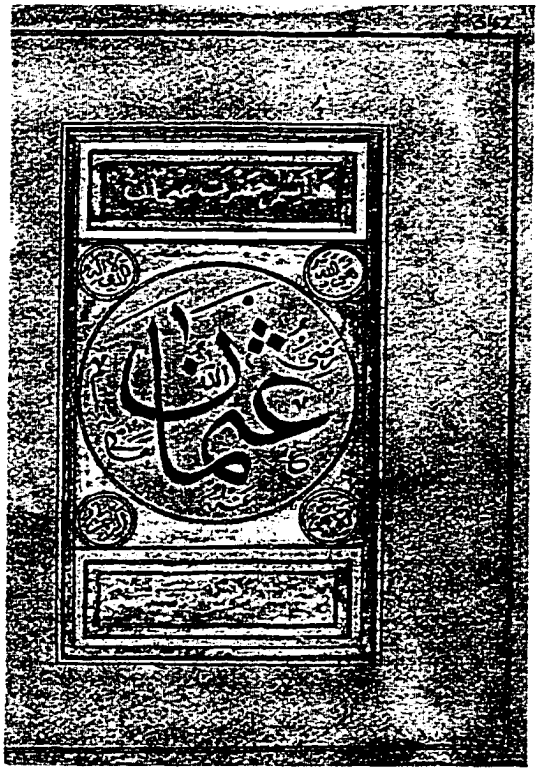


figure 16. 97. UVic 95-014, p. 342.

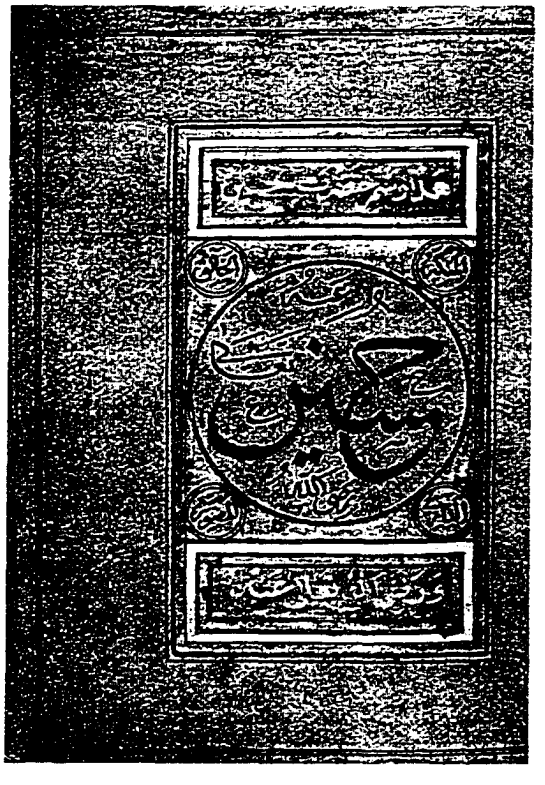


figure 16. 100. UVic 95-014, p. 345.

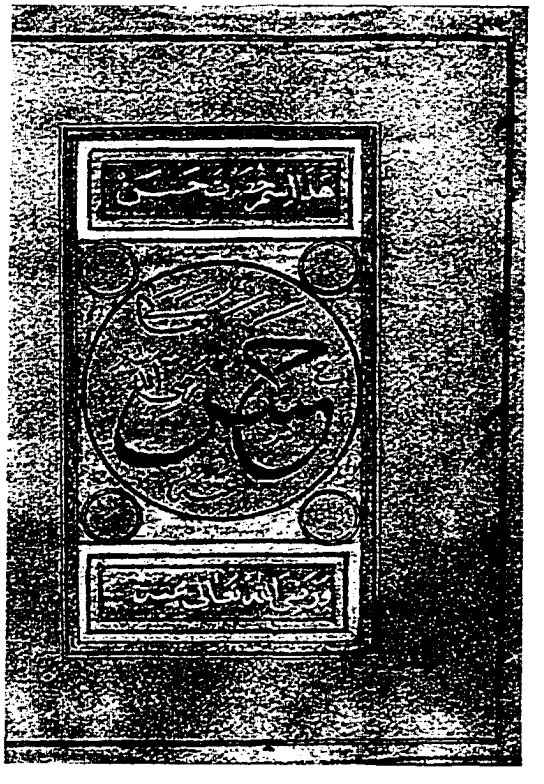


figure 16. 99. UVic 95-014, p. 344.

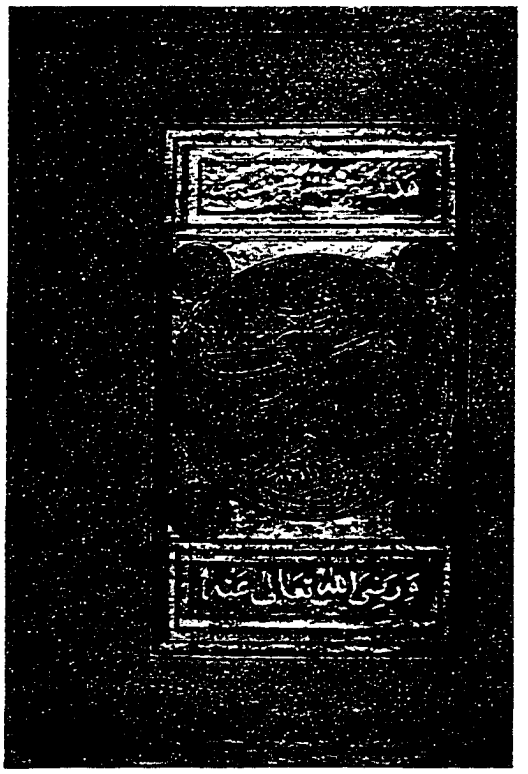


figure 16. 102. UVic 95-014, p. 347.

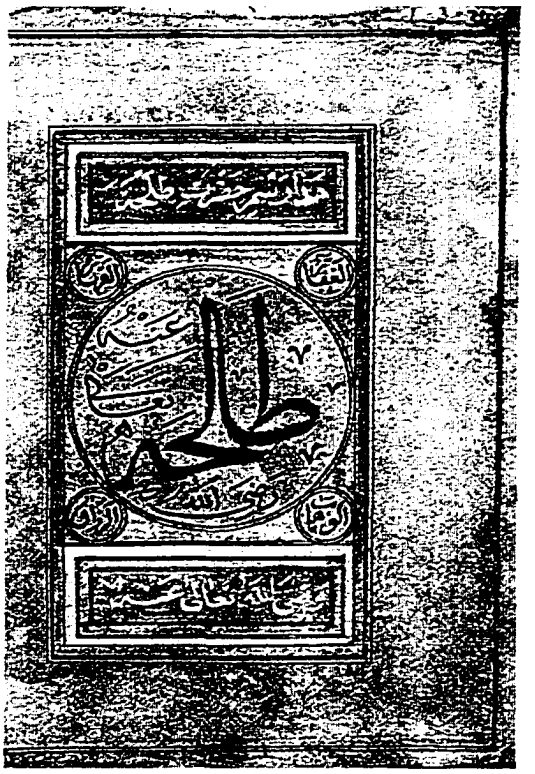


figure 16. 101. UVic 95-014, p. 346.

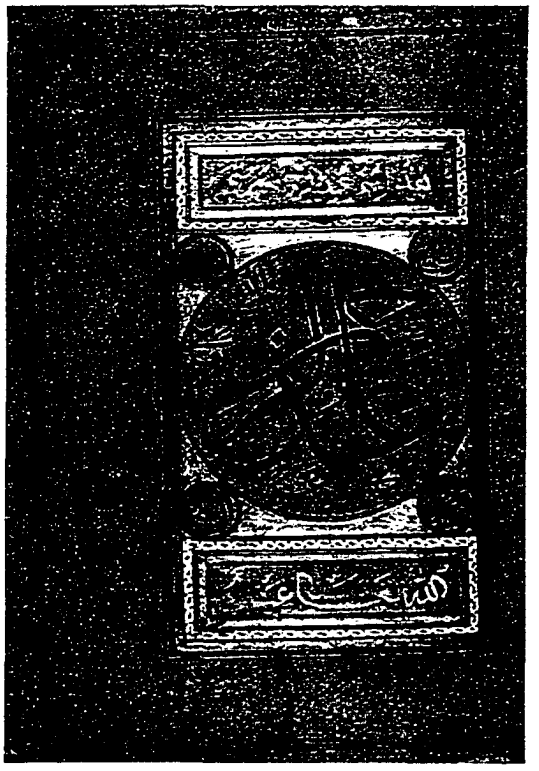


figure 16. 104. UVic 95-014, p. 349.

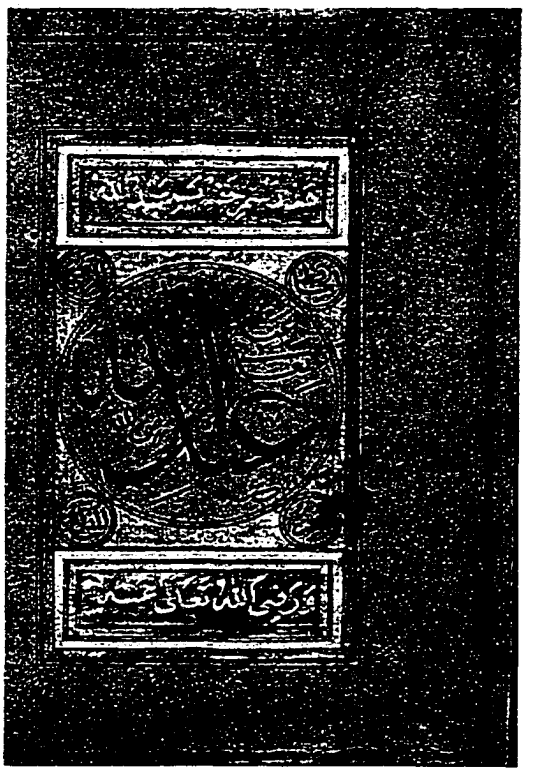


figure 16. 103. UVic 95-014, p. 348.



figure 16. 106. UVic 95-014, p. 351.

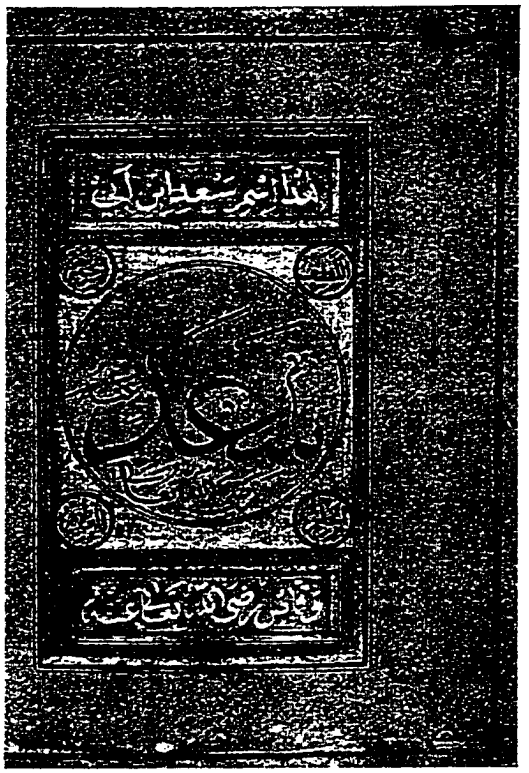


figure 16. 105.UVic 95-014, p. 350.

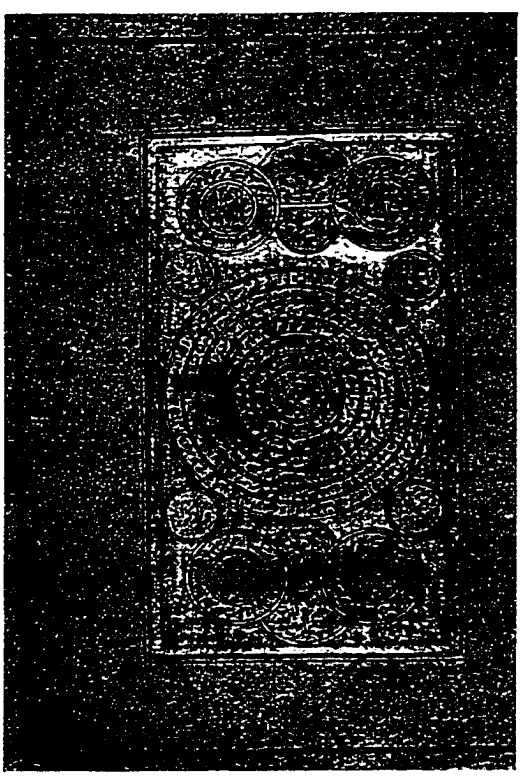


figure 16. 108. UVic 95-014, p. 353.

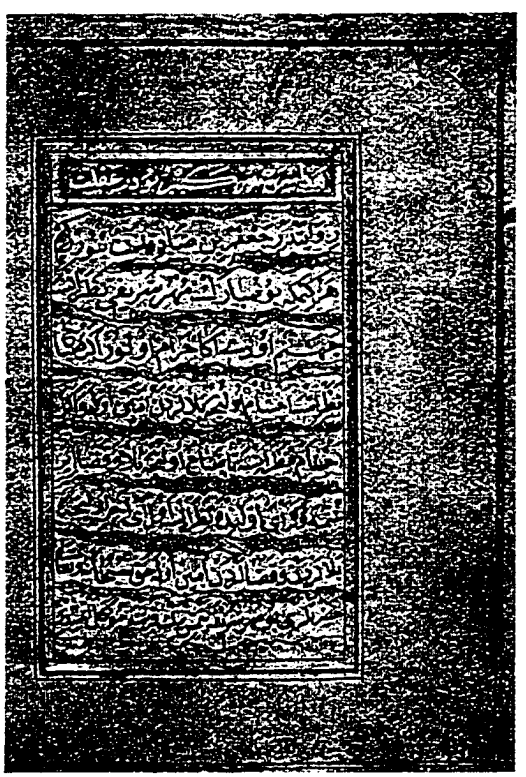


figure 16. 107. UVic 95-014, p. 352.

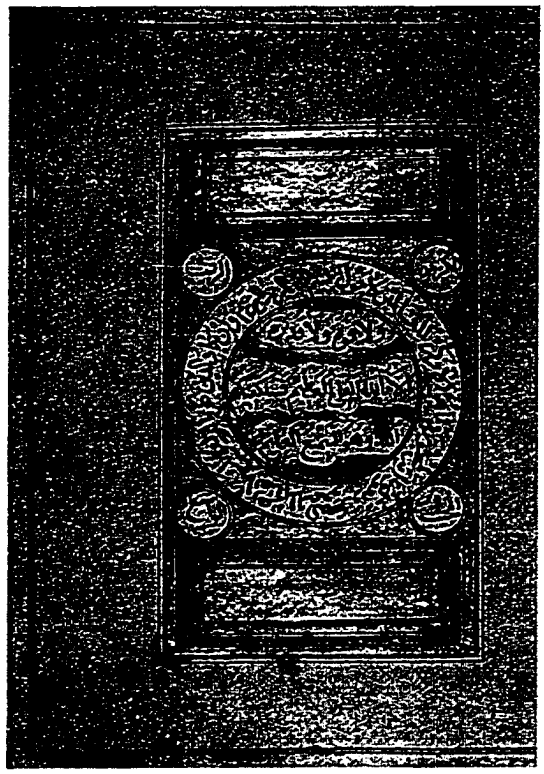


figure 16. 110. UVic 95-014, p. 355.

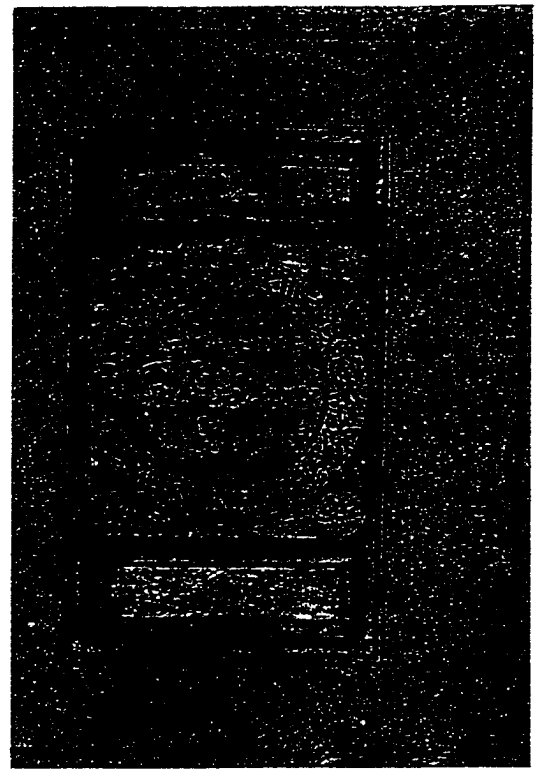


figure 16. 109. UVic 95-014, p. 354.

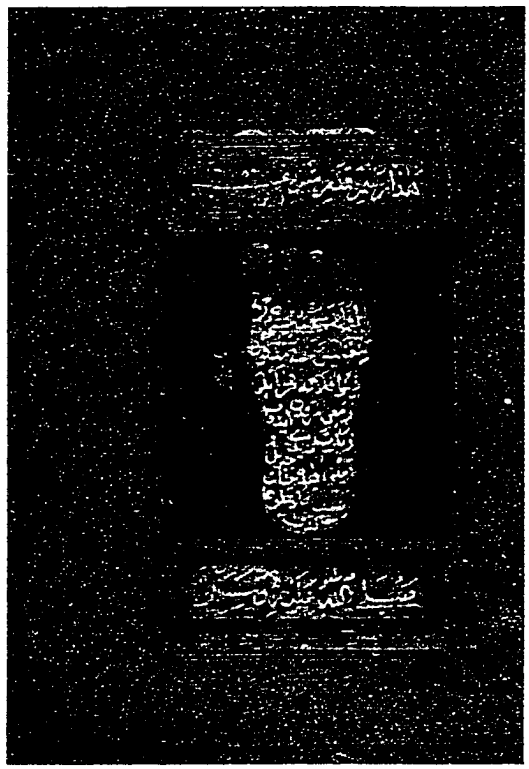


figure 16.112. UVic 95-014, p. 357.

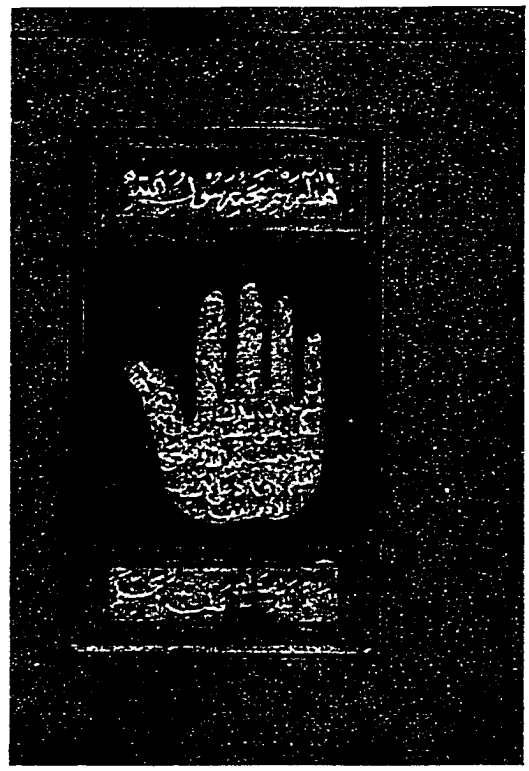


figure 16. 111. UVic 95-014, p. 356.

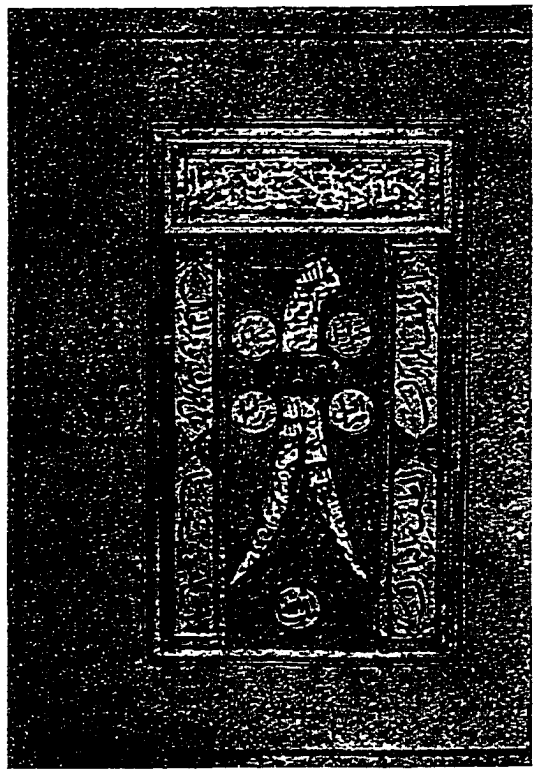


figure 16. 114. UVic 95-014, p. 359

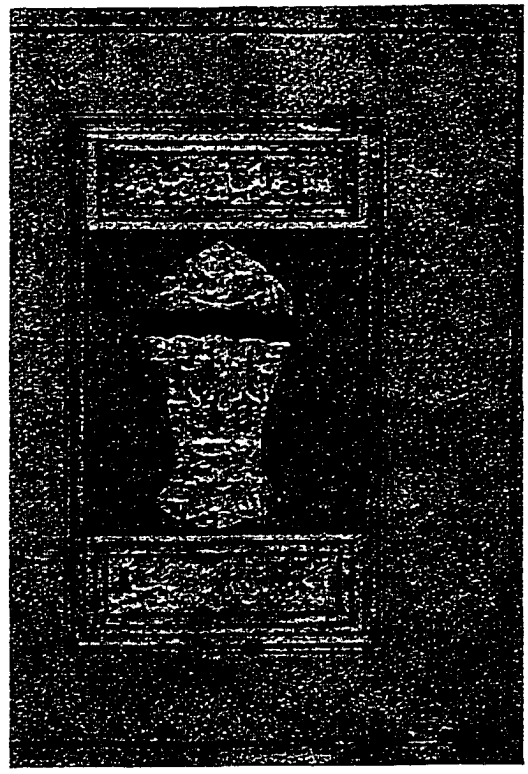


figure 16. 113. UVic 95-014, p. 358

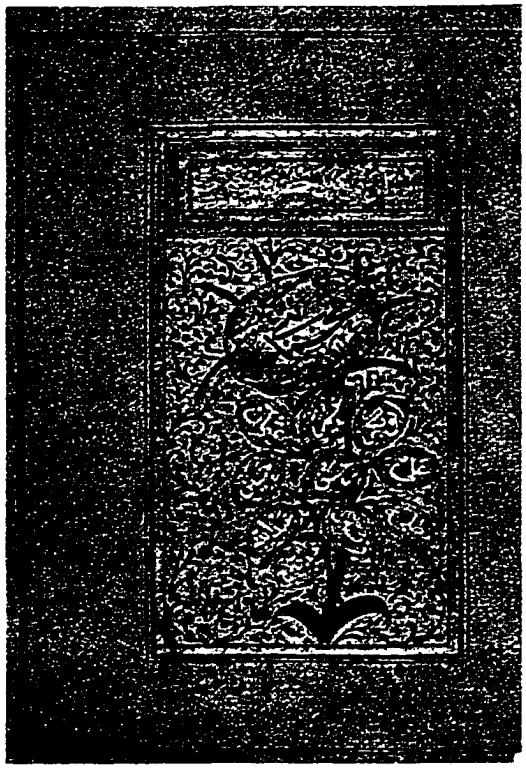


figure 16. 116. UVic 95-014, p. 361

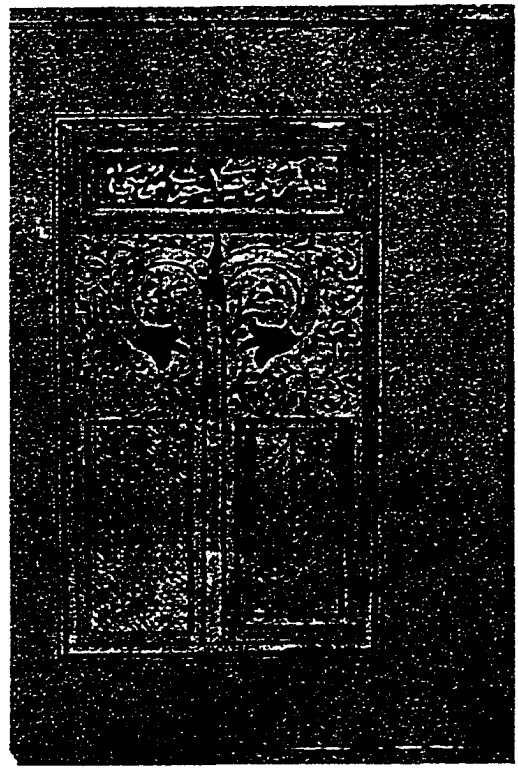


figure 16. 115. UVic 95-014, p. 360

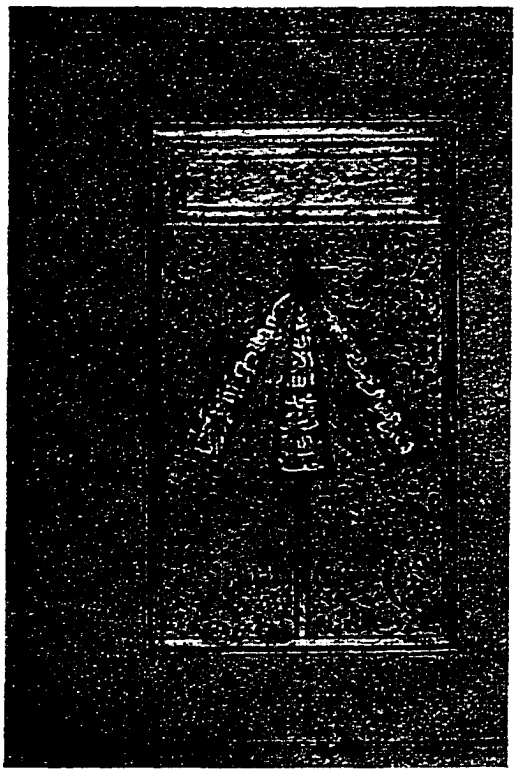


figure 16. 118. UVic 95-014, p. 363

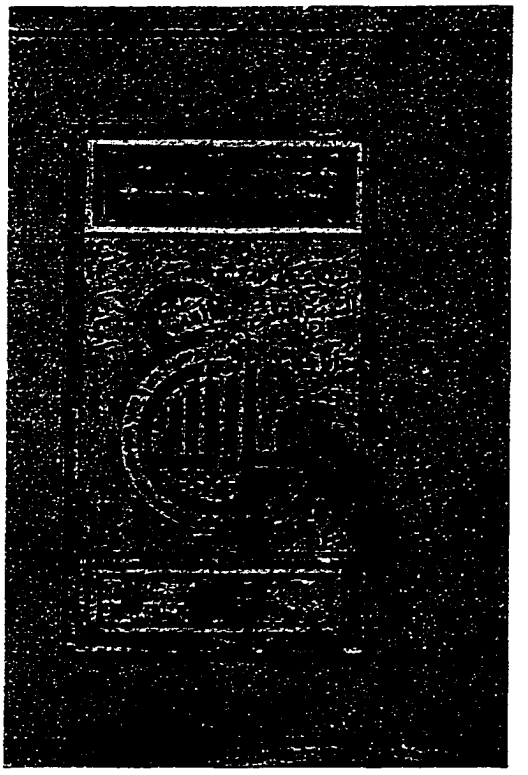


figure 16. 117. UVic 95-014, p. 362

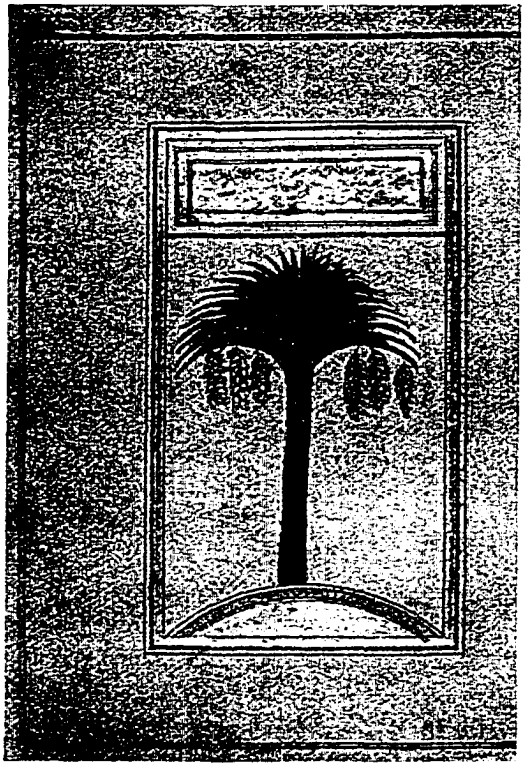


figure 16. 120. UVic 95-014, p. 365

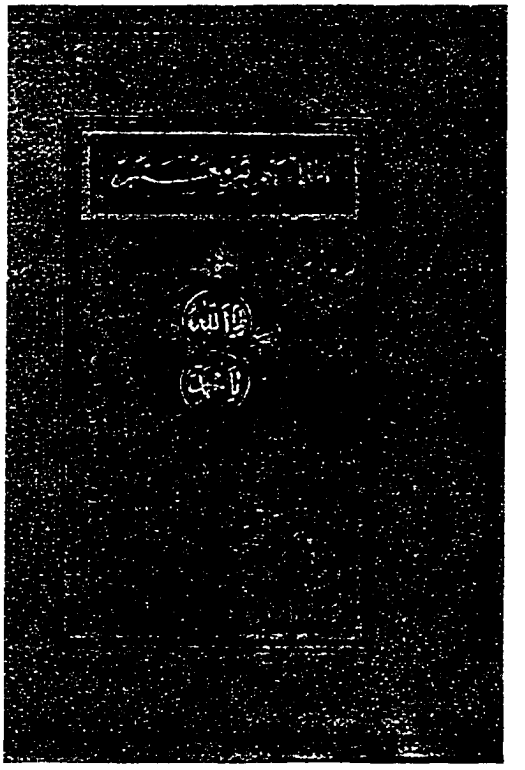


figure 16. 119. UVic 95-014, p. 364

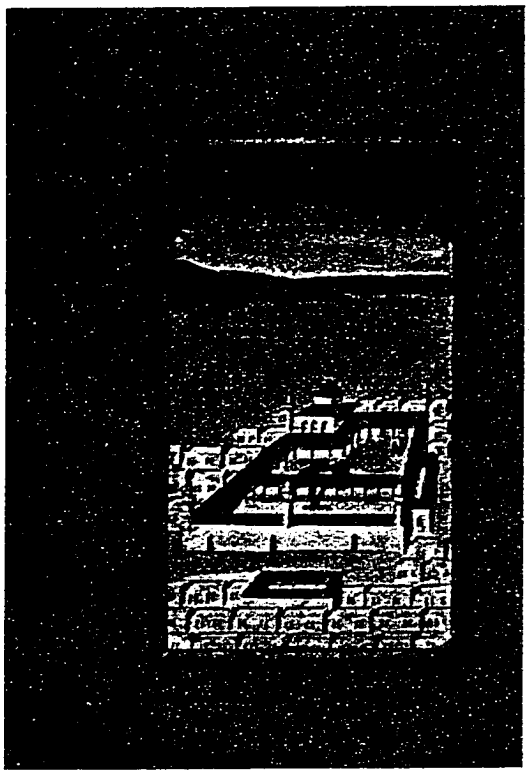


figure 16. 122. UVic 95-014, p. 367

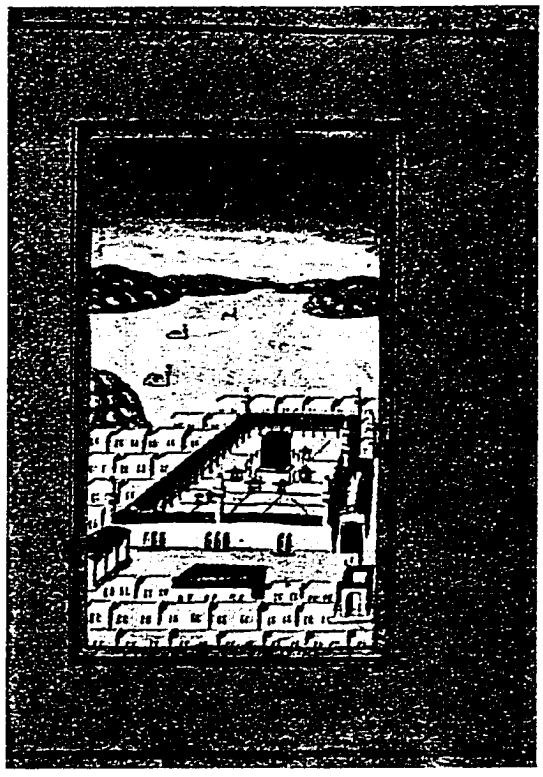


figure 16. 121. UVic 95-014, p. 366

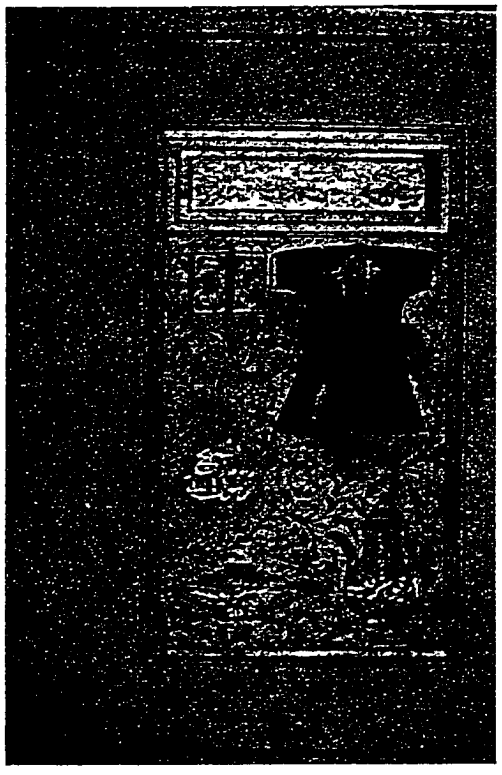


figure 16. 124. UVic 95-014, p. 369

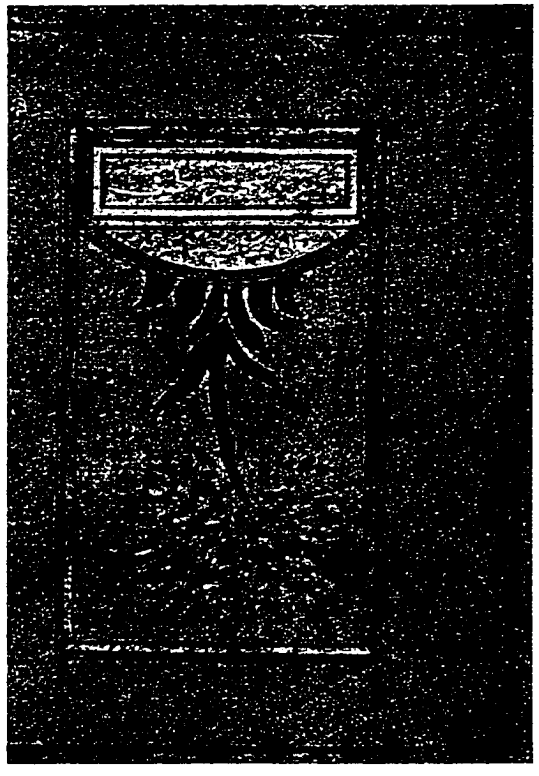


figure 16. 123. UVic 95-014, p. 368

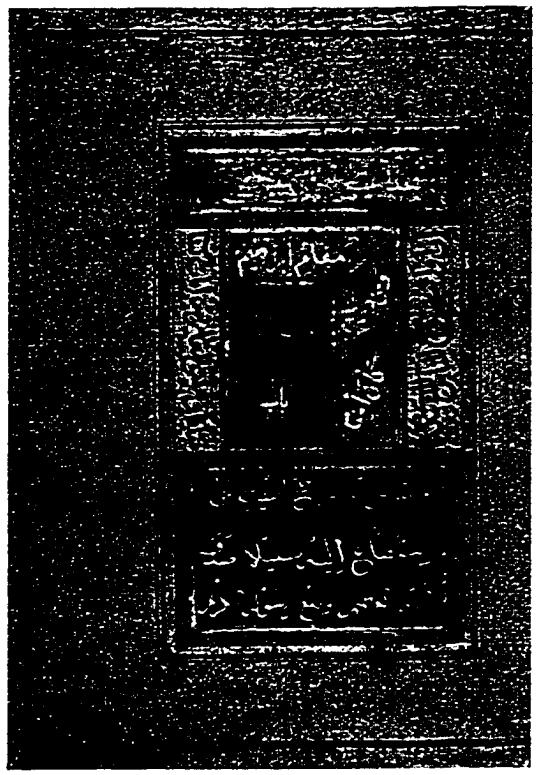


figure 16. 126. UVic 95-014, p. 371

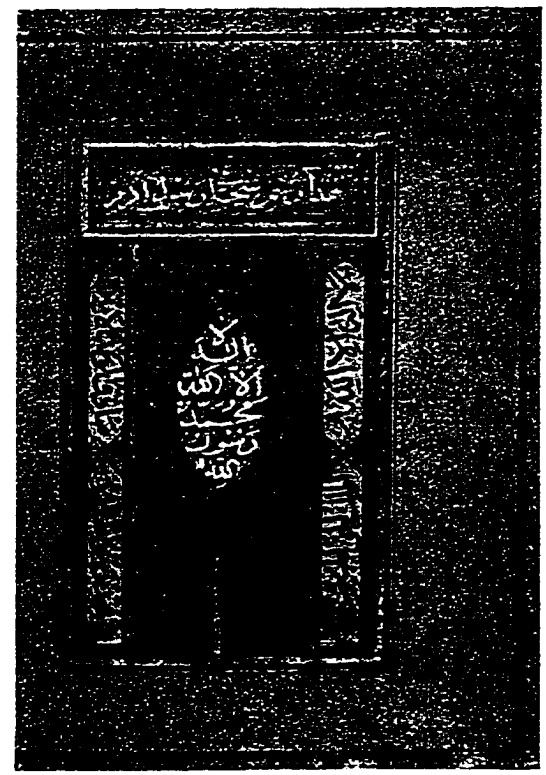


figure 16. 125. UVic 95-014, p. 370

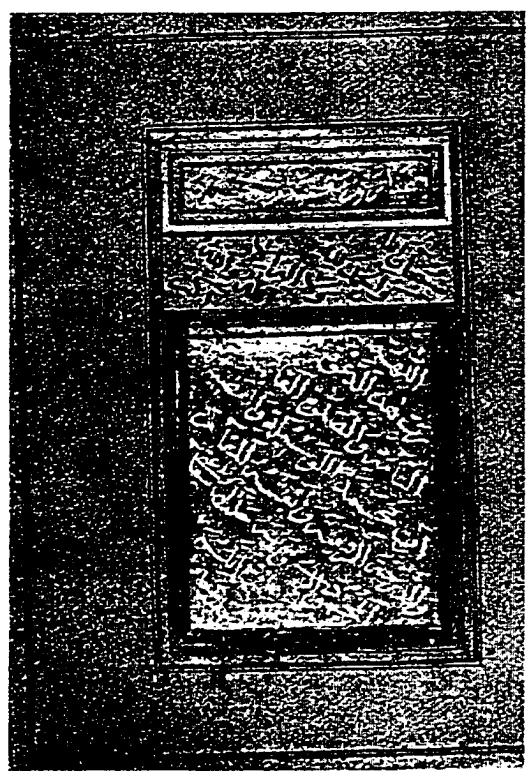


figure 16. 128. UVic 95-014, p. 373

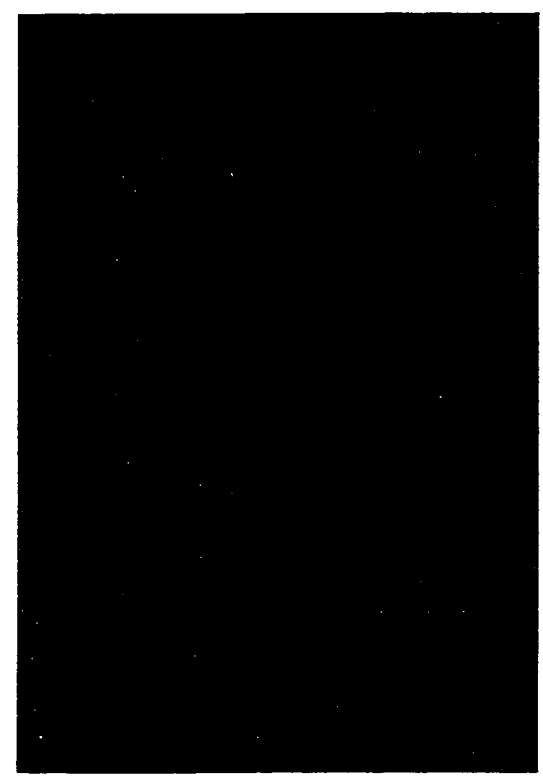


figure 16. 127. UVic 95-014, p. 372

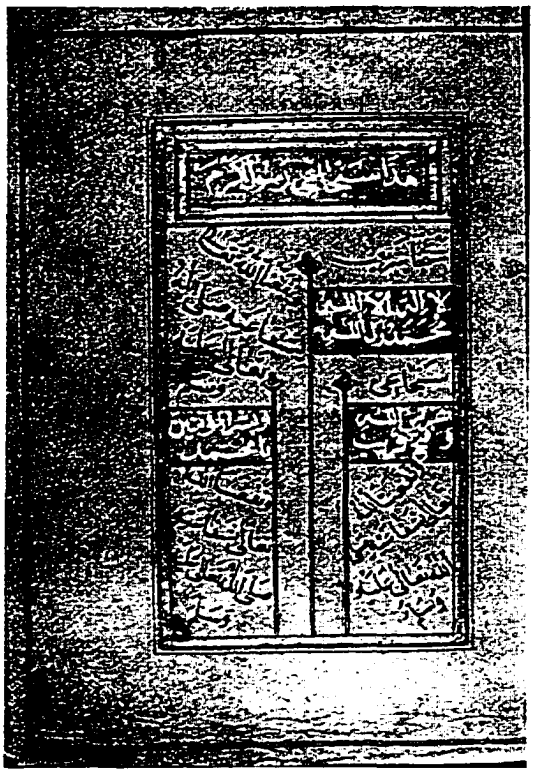


figure 16. 130. UVic 95-014, p. 375

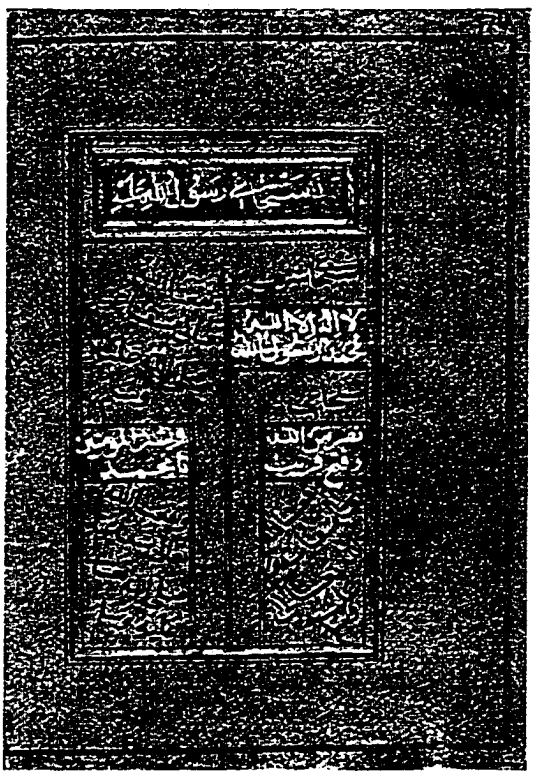


figure 16.129. UVic 95-014, p. 374

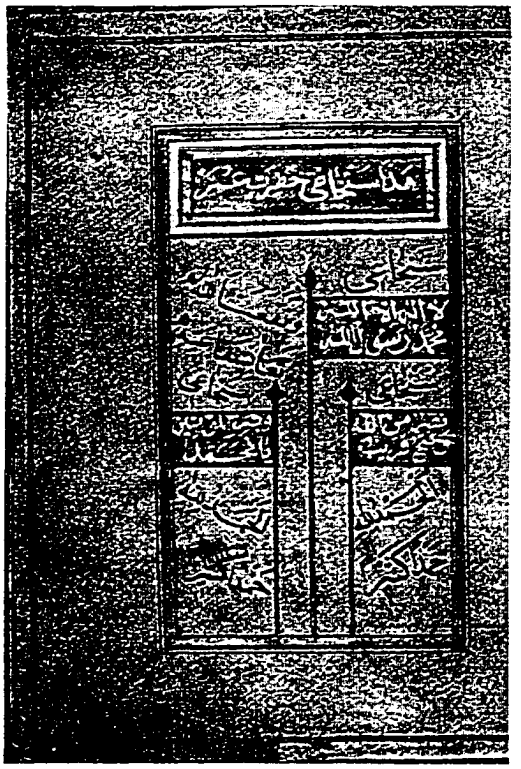


figure 16. 132. UVic 95-014, p. 377

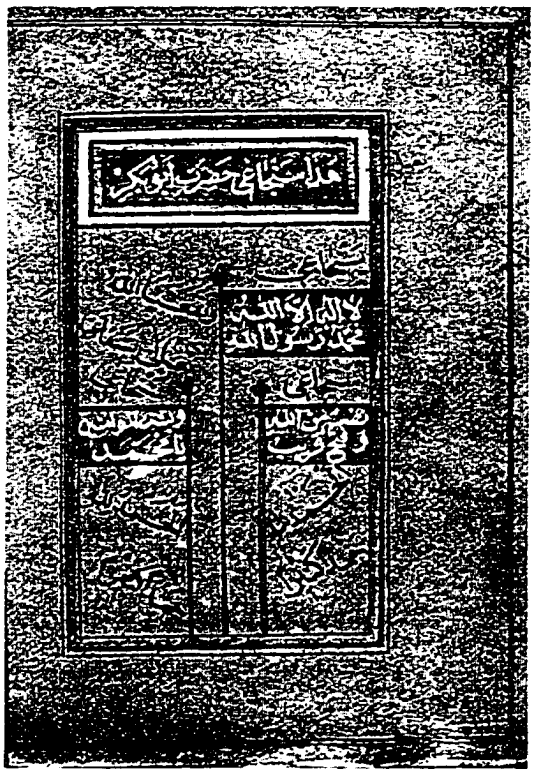


figure 16. 131. UVic 95-014, p. 376

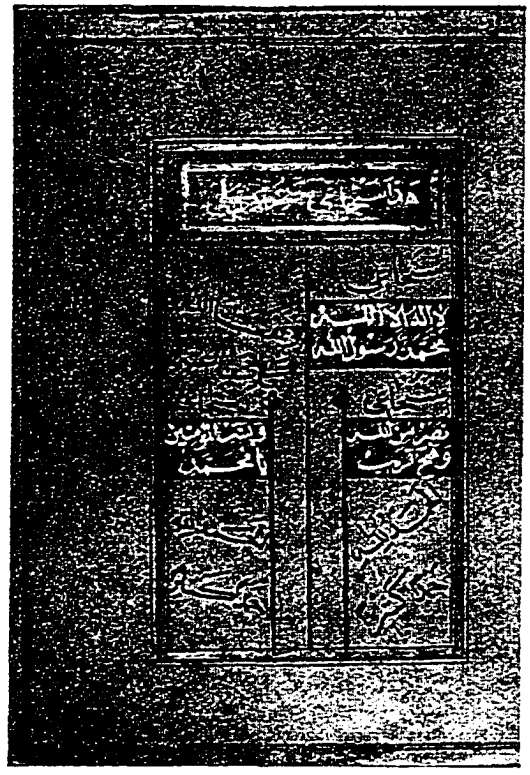


figure 16. 134. UVic 95-014, p. 379

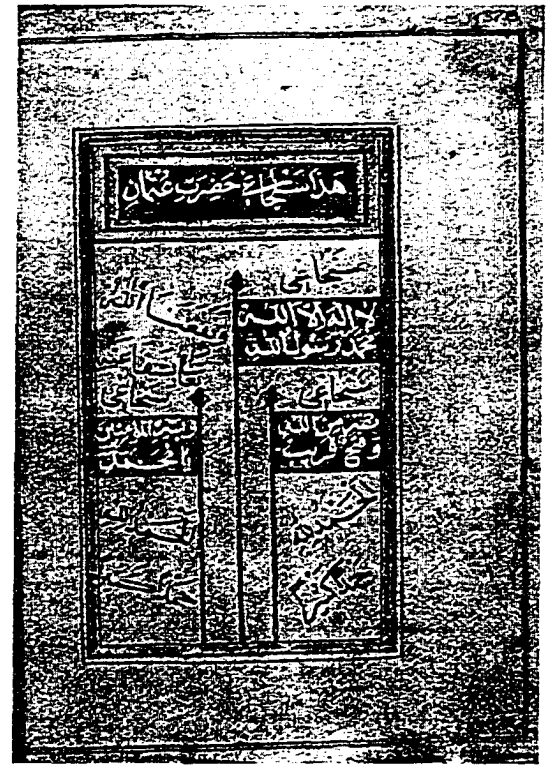


figure 16. 133. UVic 95-014, p. 378

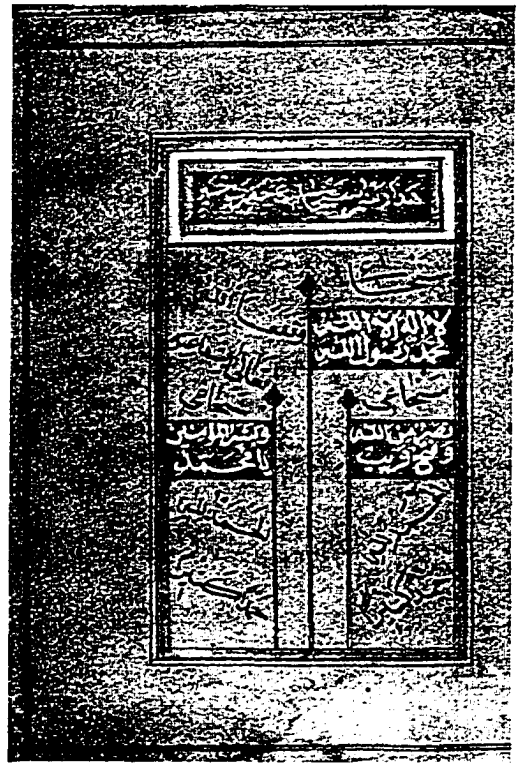


figure 16.136. UVic 95-014, p. 381

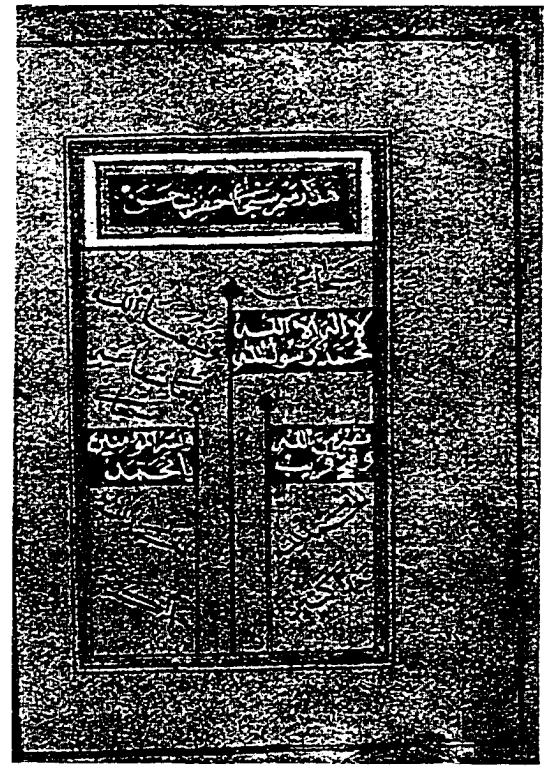


figure 16. 135. UVic 95-014, p. 380

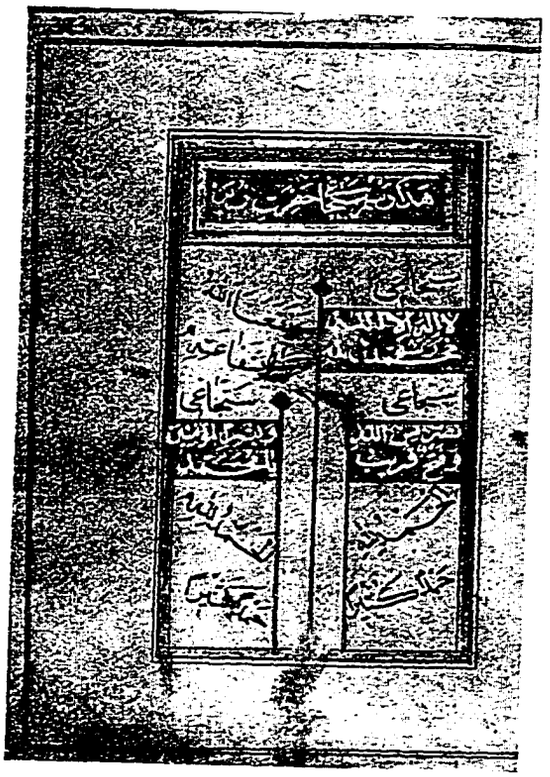


figure 16. 138. UVic 95-014, p. 383

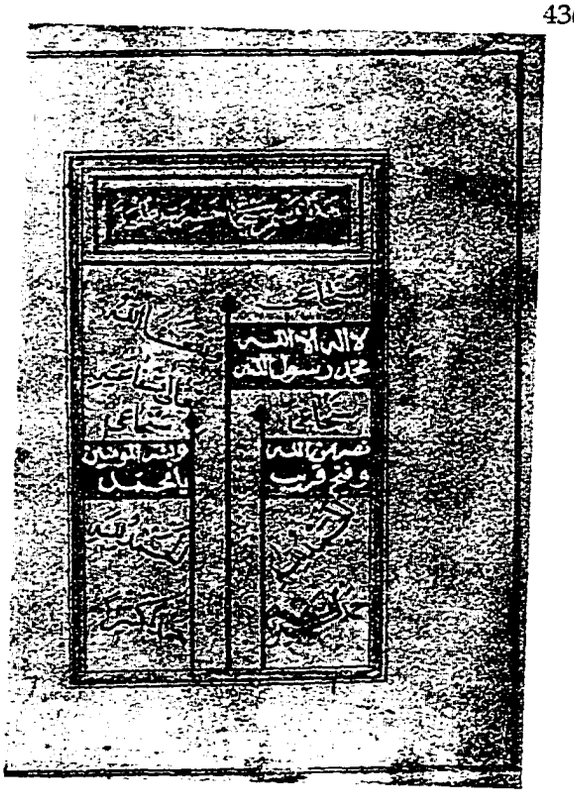


figure 16.137. UVic 95-014, p. 382

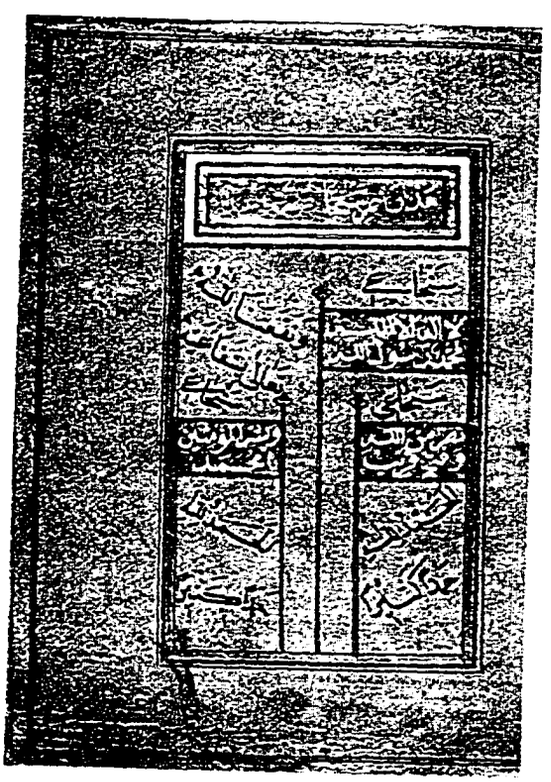


figure 16. 140. UVic 95-014, p. 385

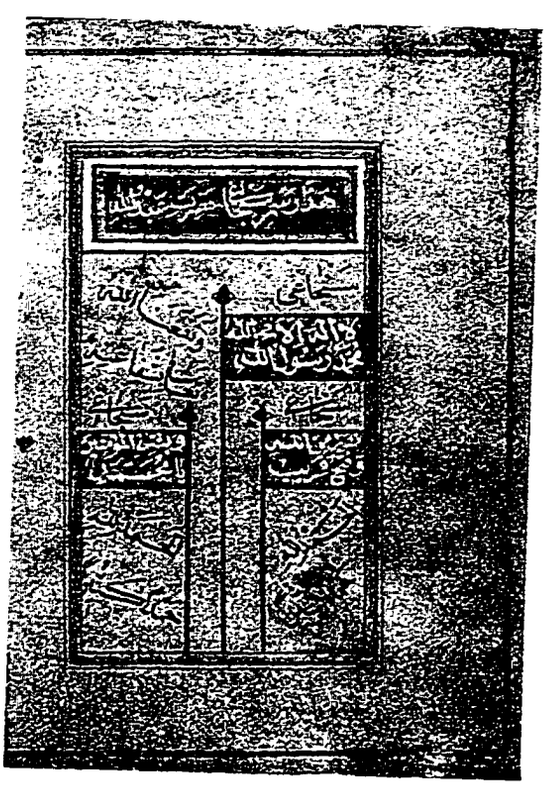


figure 16. 139. UVic 95-014, p. 384

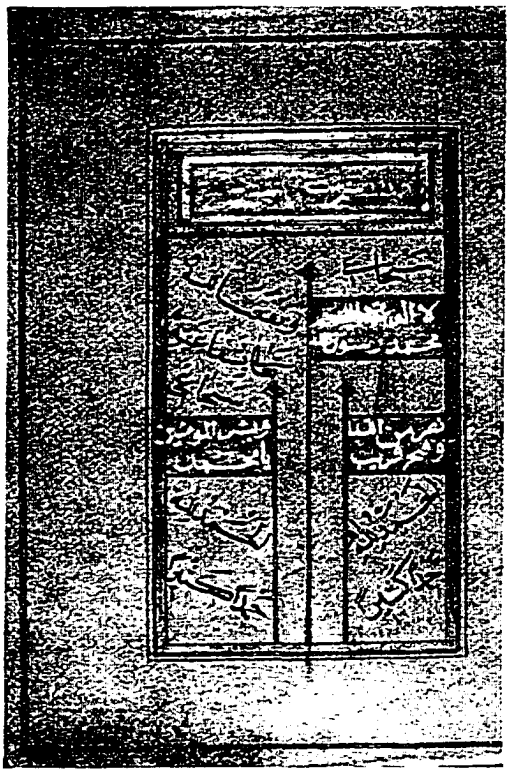


figure 16. 142. UVic 95-014, p. 387

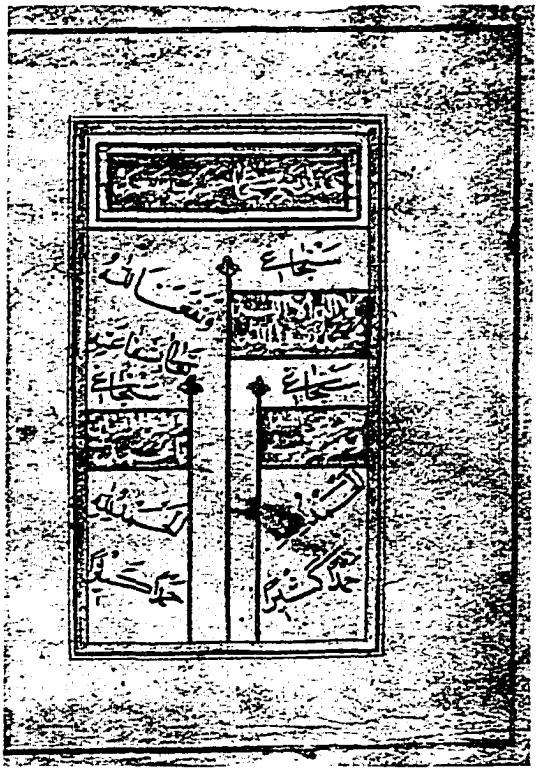


figure 16. 141. UVic 95-014, p. 386

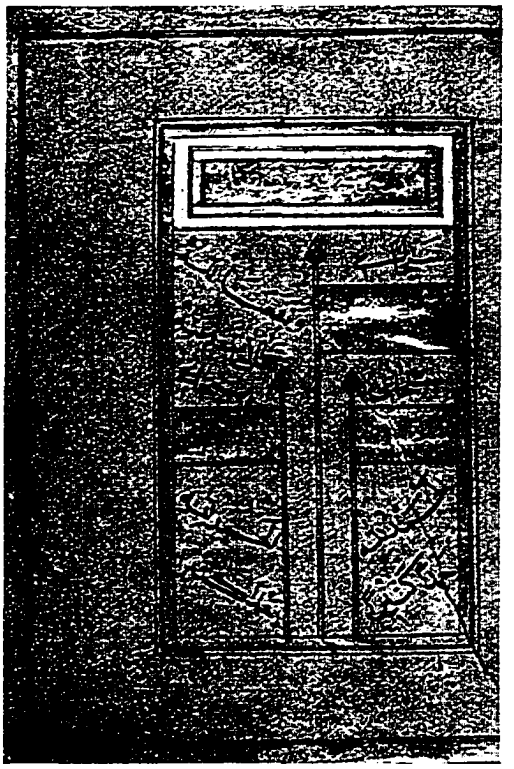


figure 16. 144. UVic 95-014, p. 389



figure 16. 143. UVic 95-014, p. 388

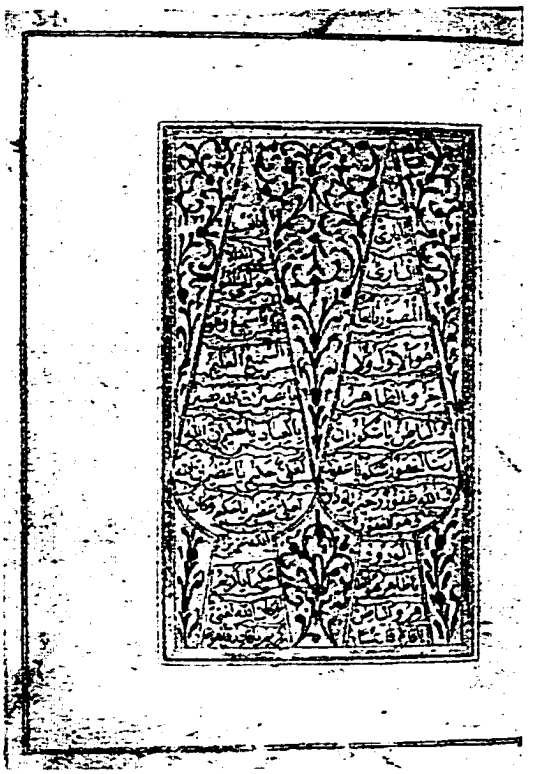


figure 16. 146. UVic 95-014, p. 391

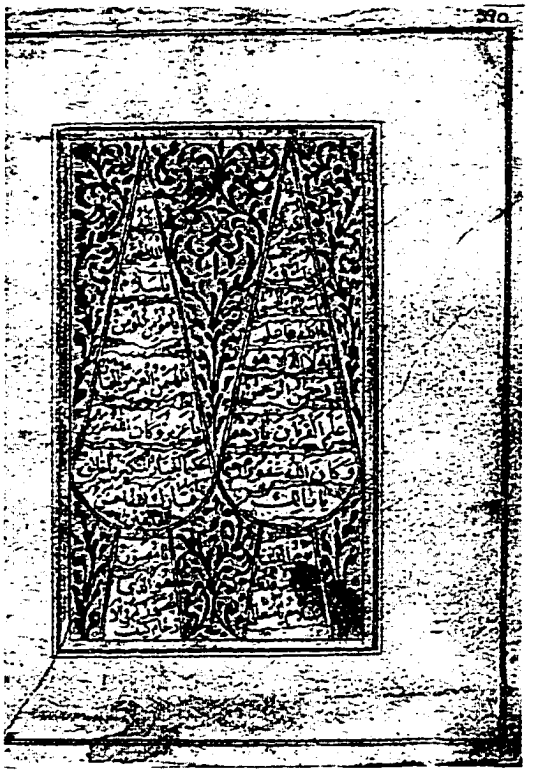


figure 16. 145. UVic 95-014, p. 390

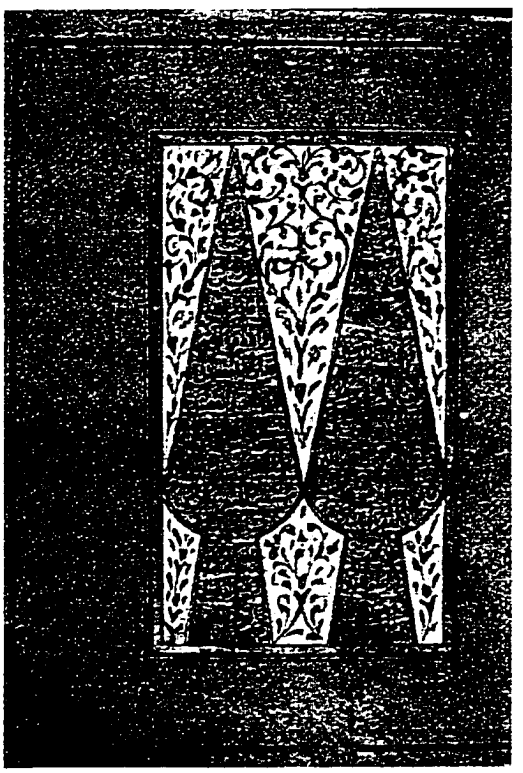


figure 16. 148. UVic 95-014, p. 393

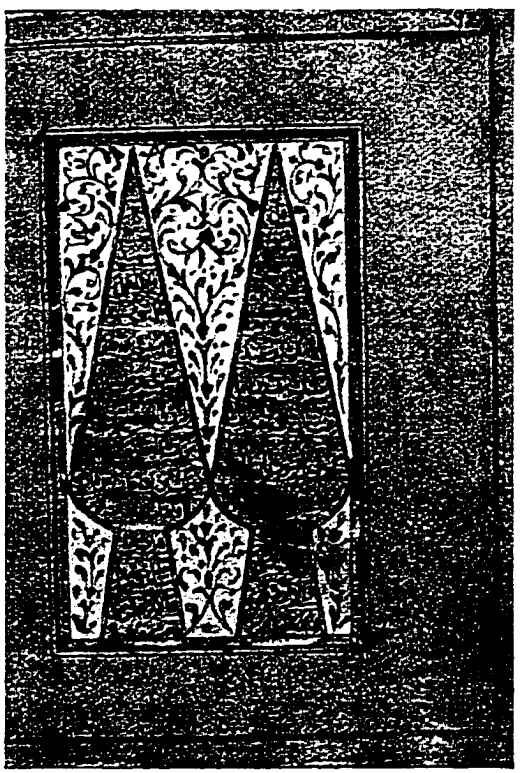


figure 16. 147. UVic 95-014, p. 392

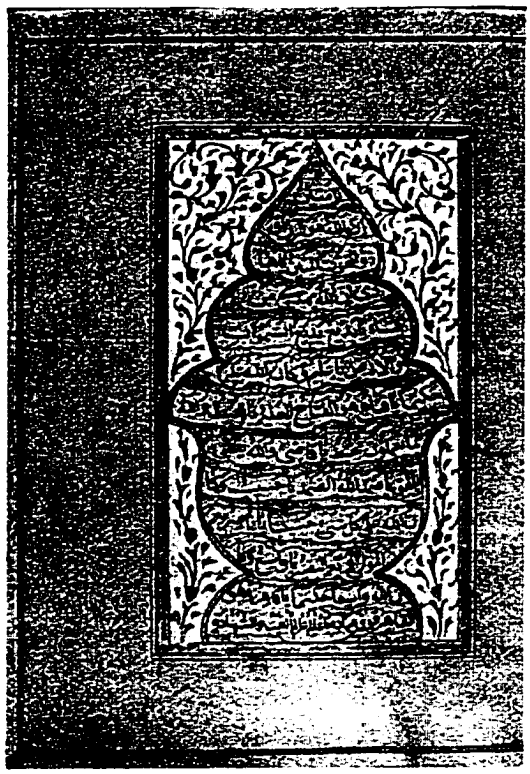


figure 16. 150. UVic 95-014, p. 395

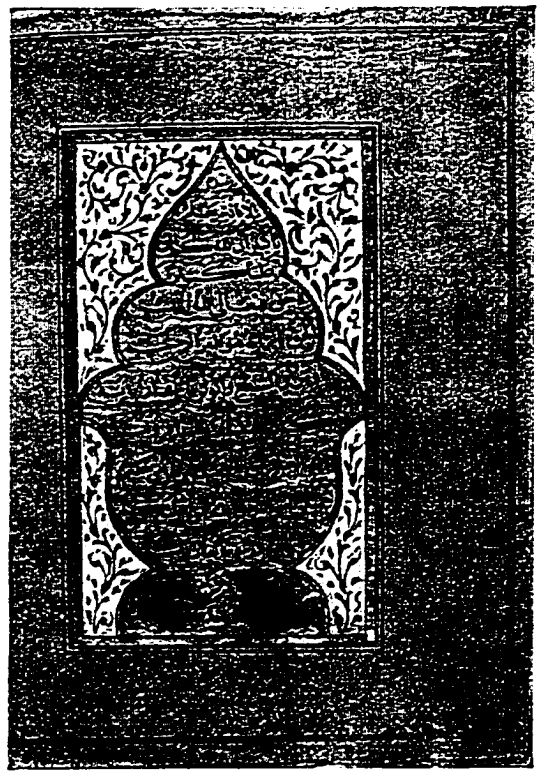


figure 16. 149. UVic 95-014, p. 394

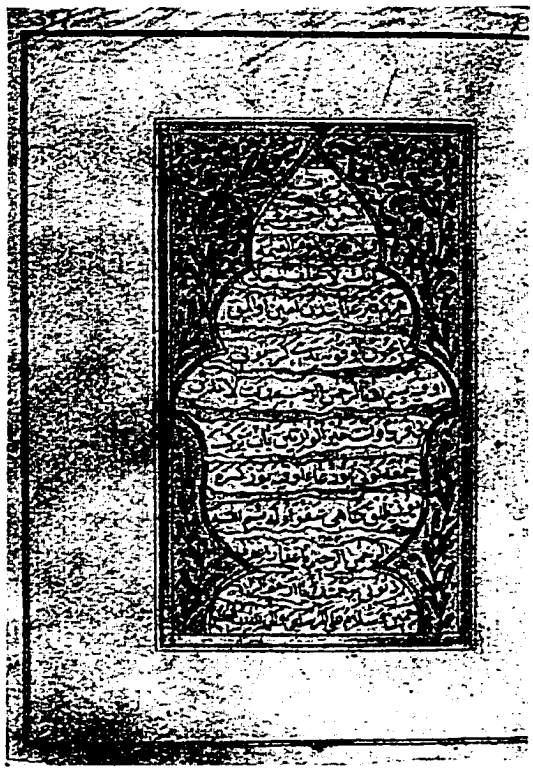


figure 16. 152. UVic 95-014, p. 397

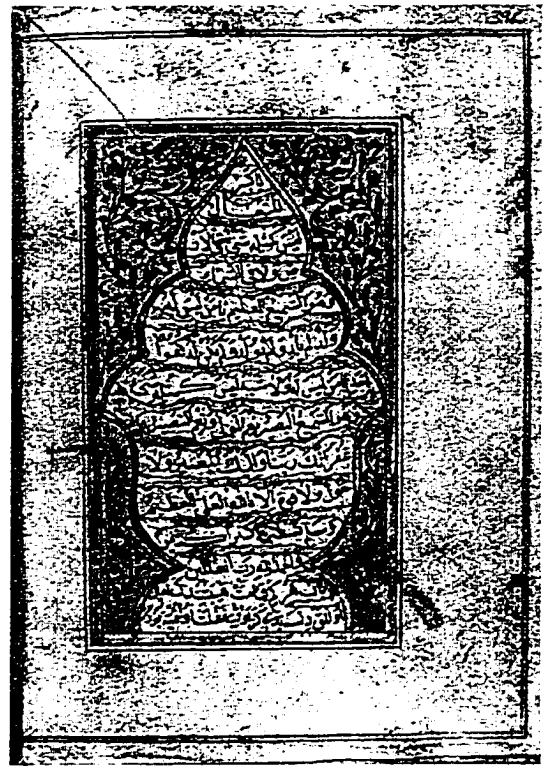


figure 16. 151. UVic 95-014, p. 396

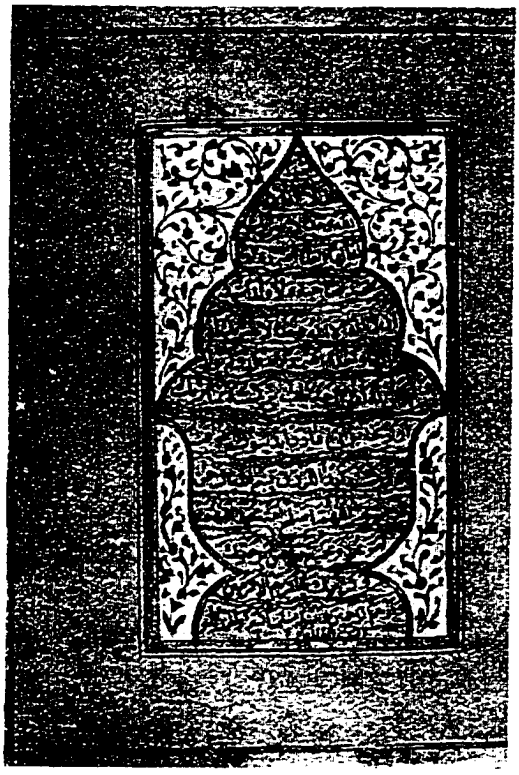


figure 16. 154. UVic 95-014, p. 399

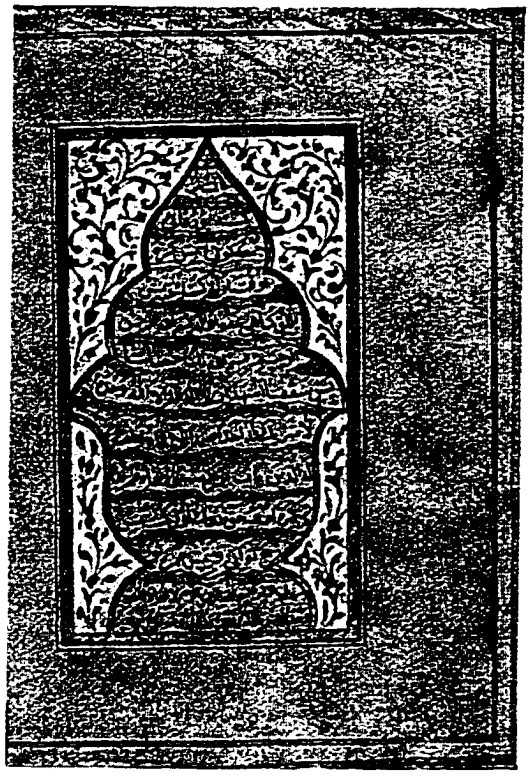


figure 16. 153. UVic 95-014, p. 398

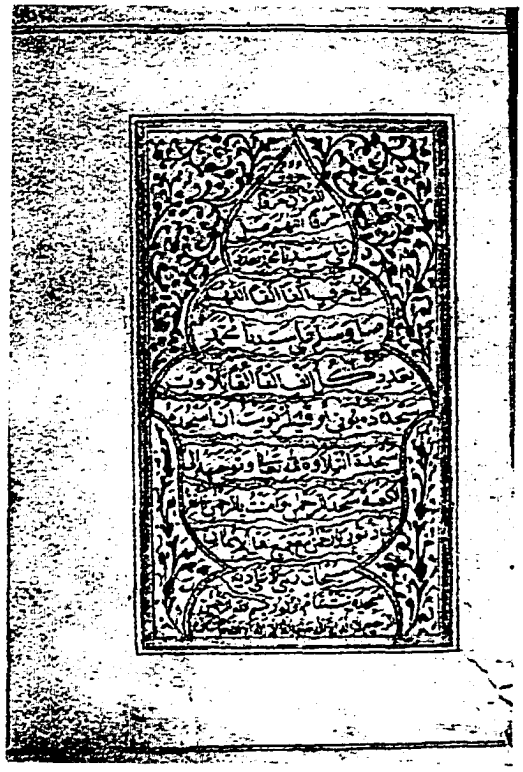


figure 16. 156. UVic 95-014, p. 401

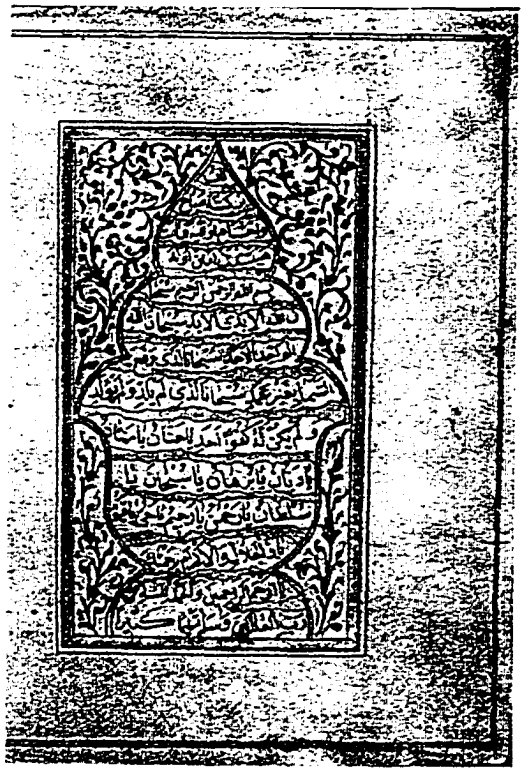


figure 16. 155. UVic 95-014, p. 400

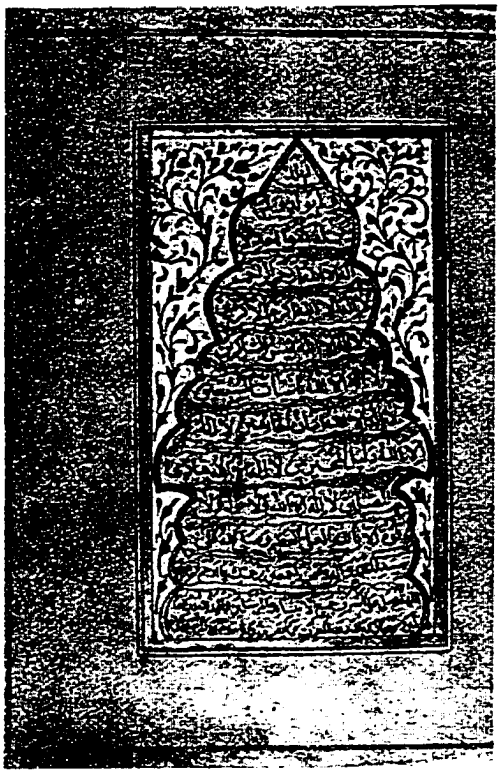


figure 16. 158. UVic 95-014, p. 403

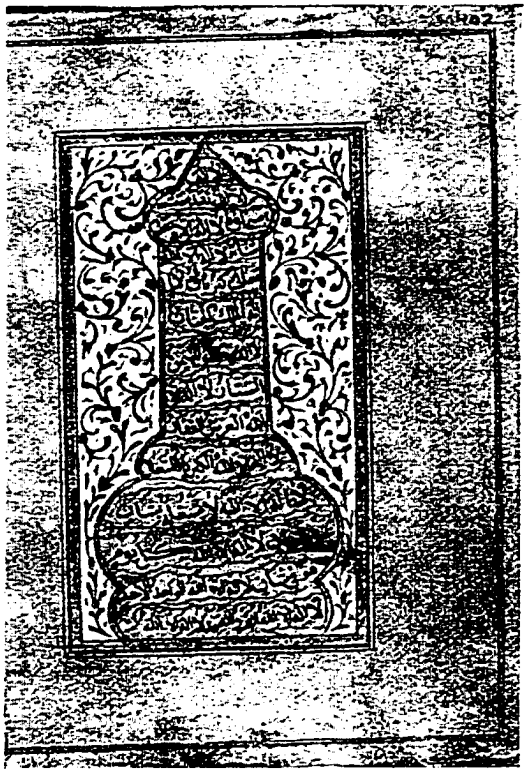


figure 16. 157. UVic 95-014, p. 402

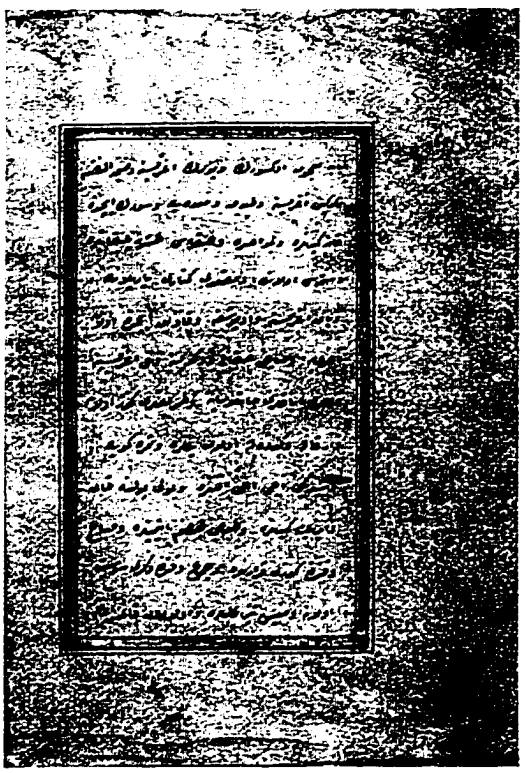


figure 16. 160. UVic 95-014, p. 405

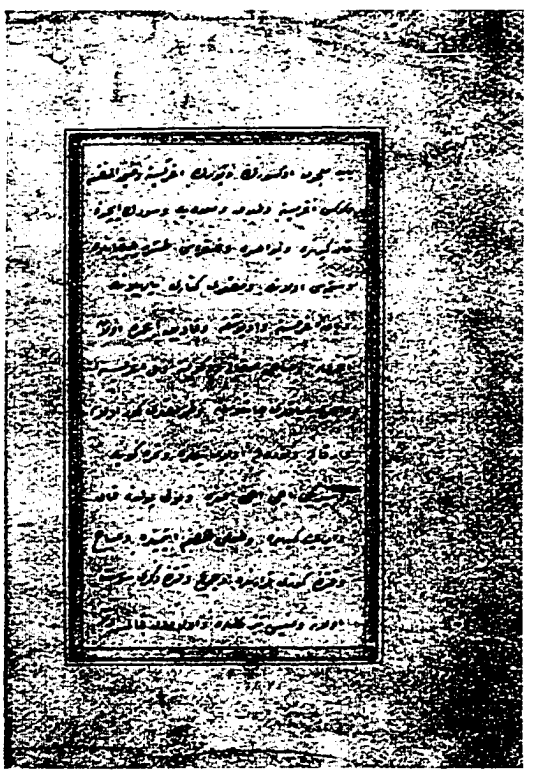


figure 16. 159. UVic 95-014, p. 404

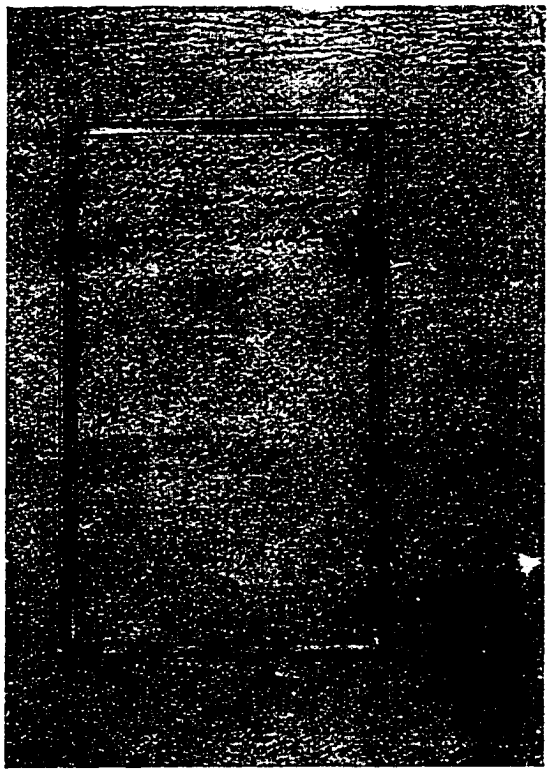


figure 16. 161. UVic 95-014, p. 407

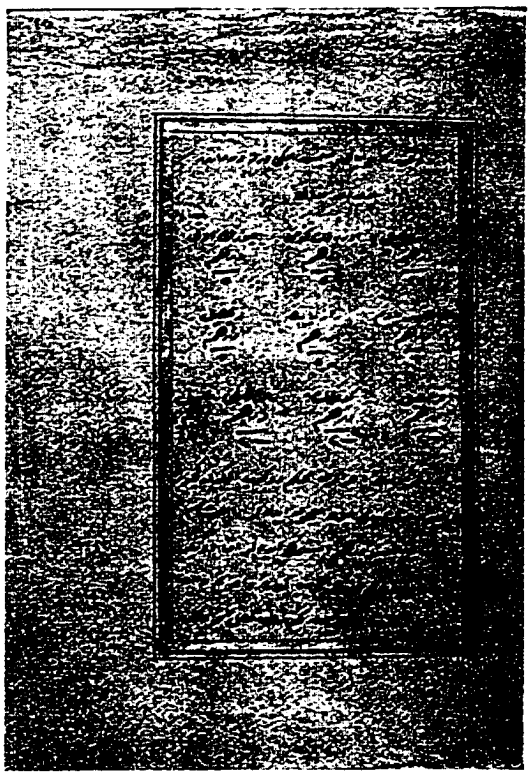


figure 16. 161. UVic 95-014, p. 406

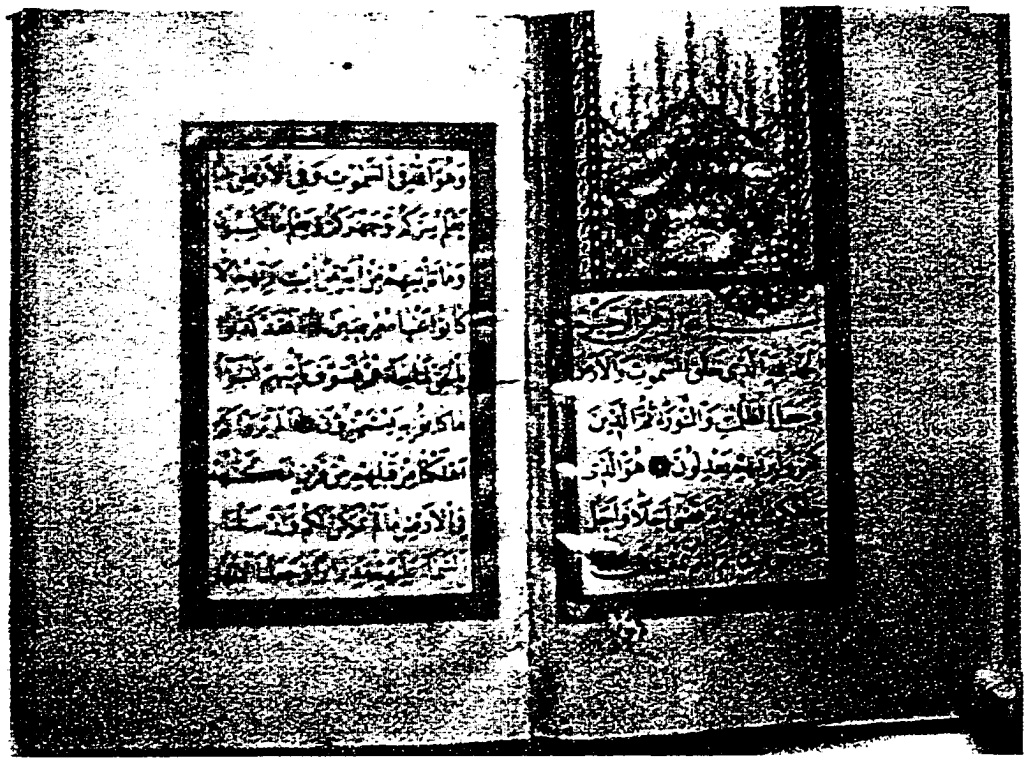


figure 17. 1. TSM EH 371, ff. 1v-2

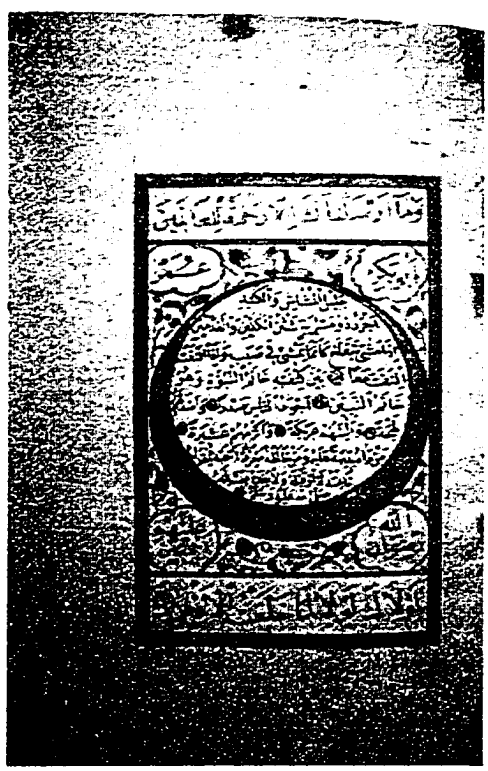


figure 17. 3. TSM EH 371, f. 106



figure 17. 2. TSM EH 371, f. 105v



figure 17. 4. TSM EH 371, f. 106v

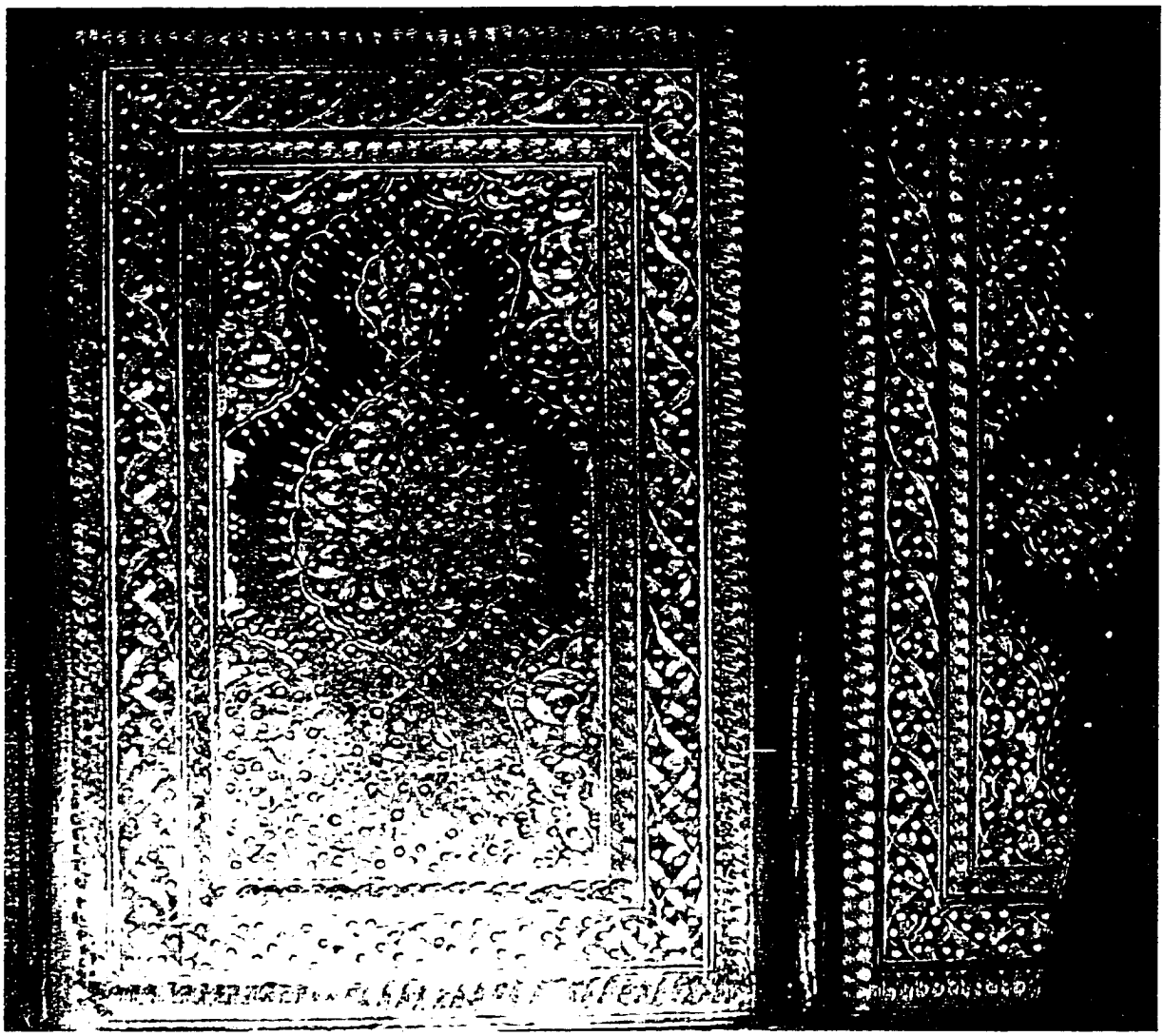


figure 18. 1. Pertevniyal 43, cover



figure 18. 2. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 1v-2



figure 18. 3. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 29v-30



figure18.4.Pertevniyal 43, ff.52v-53

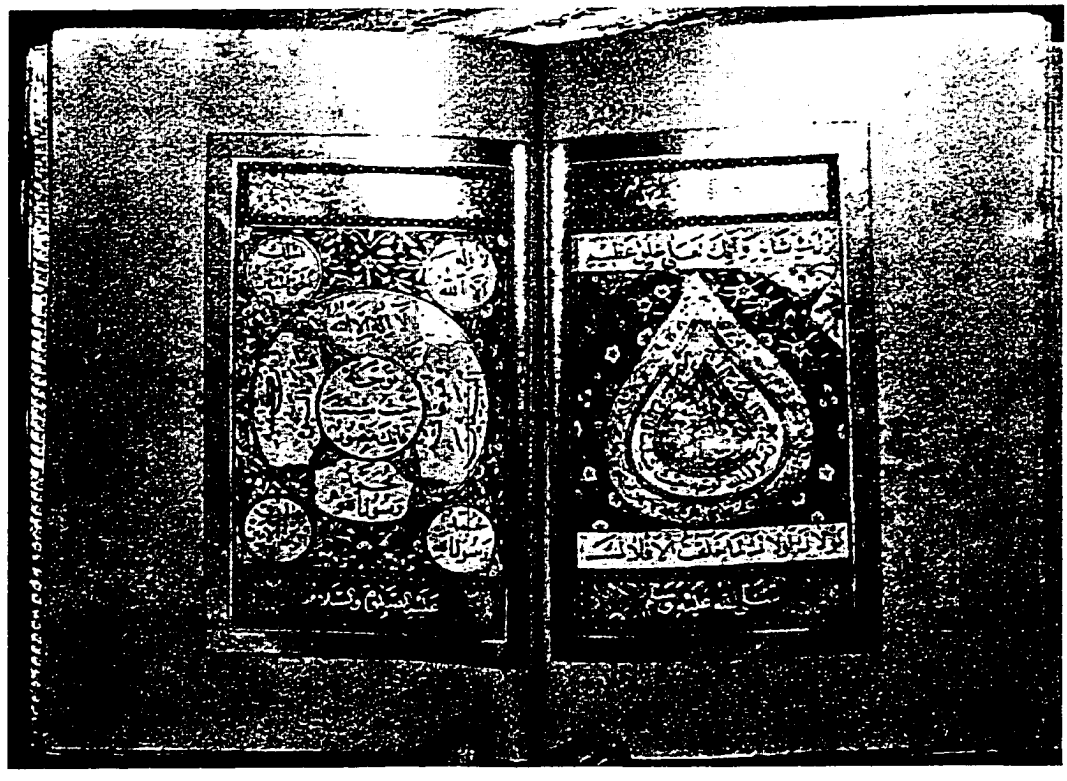


figure18.5. Pertevniyal 43, ff.53v-54

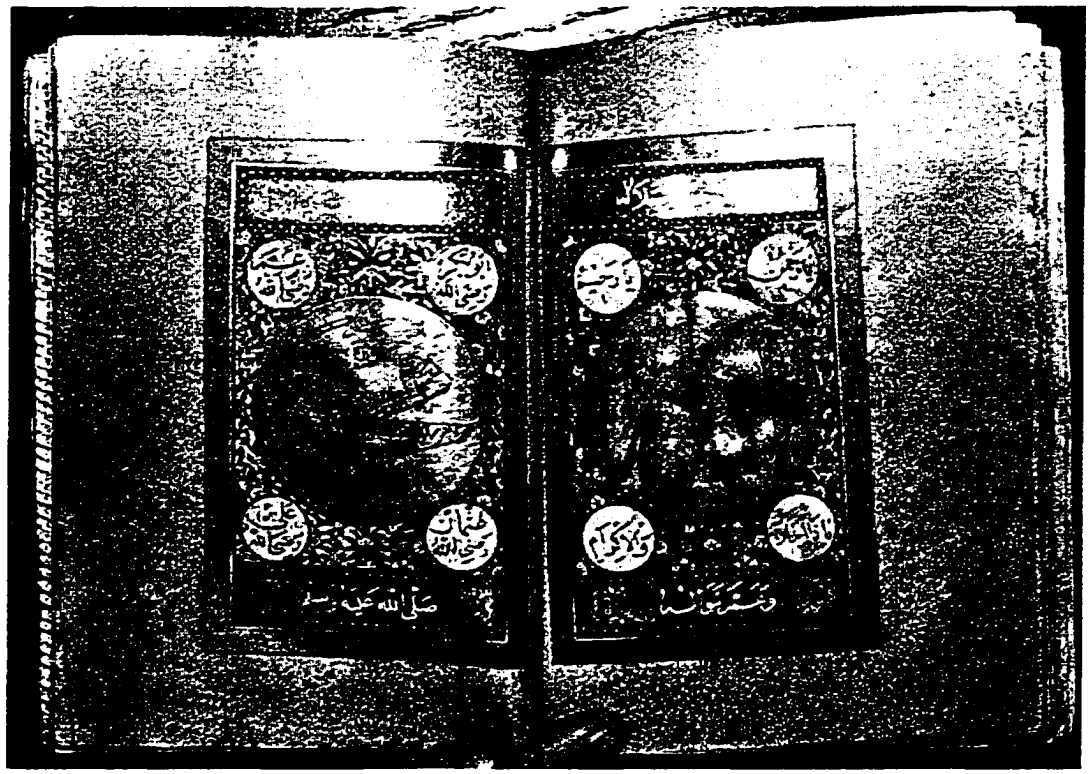


figure 18. 6. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 54v-55

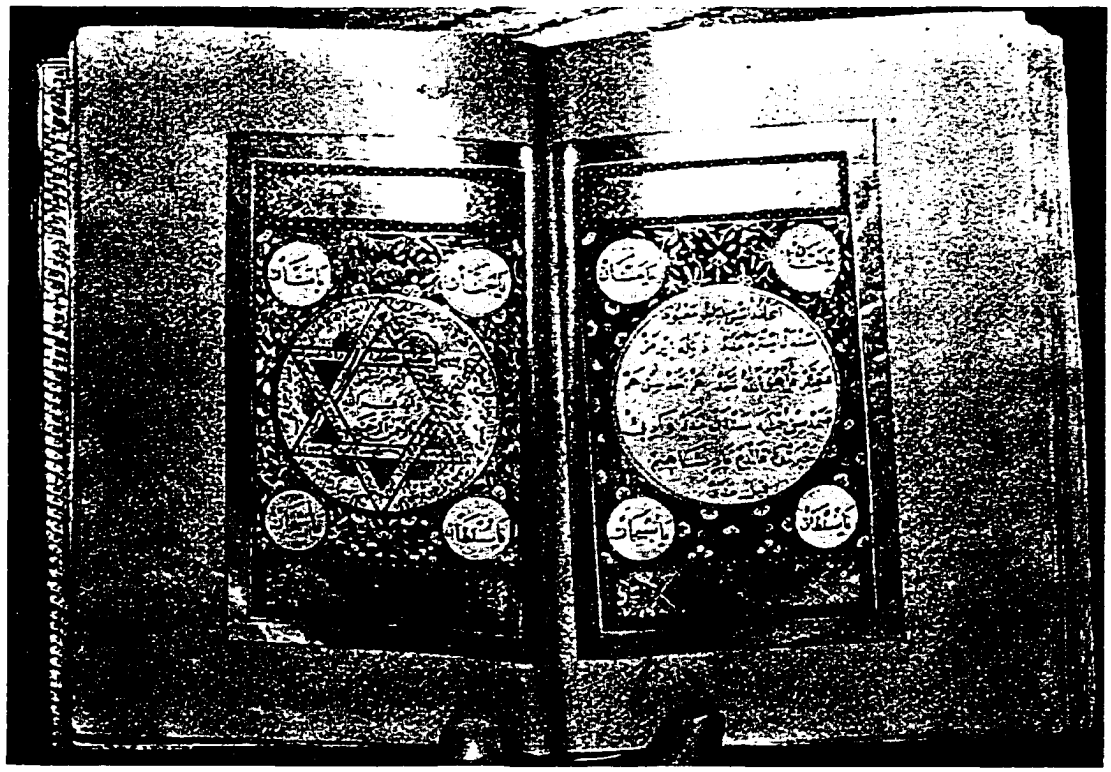


figure 18. 7. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 55v-56

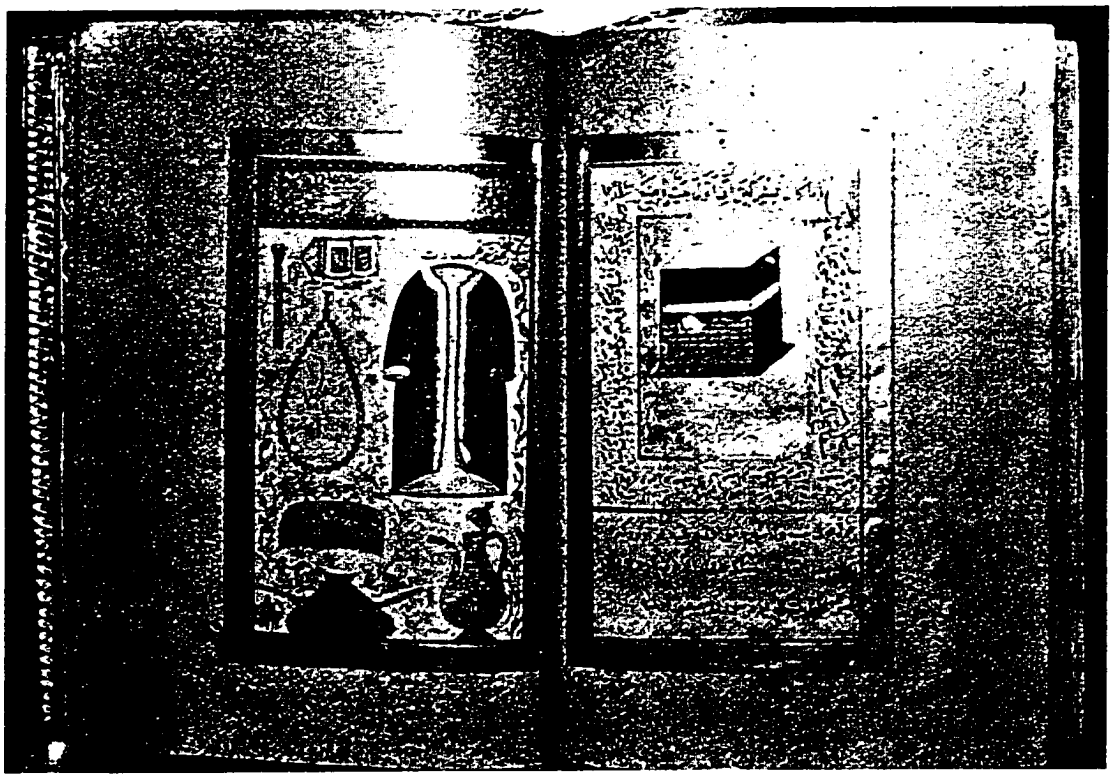


figure 18. 8. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 56v-57

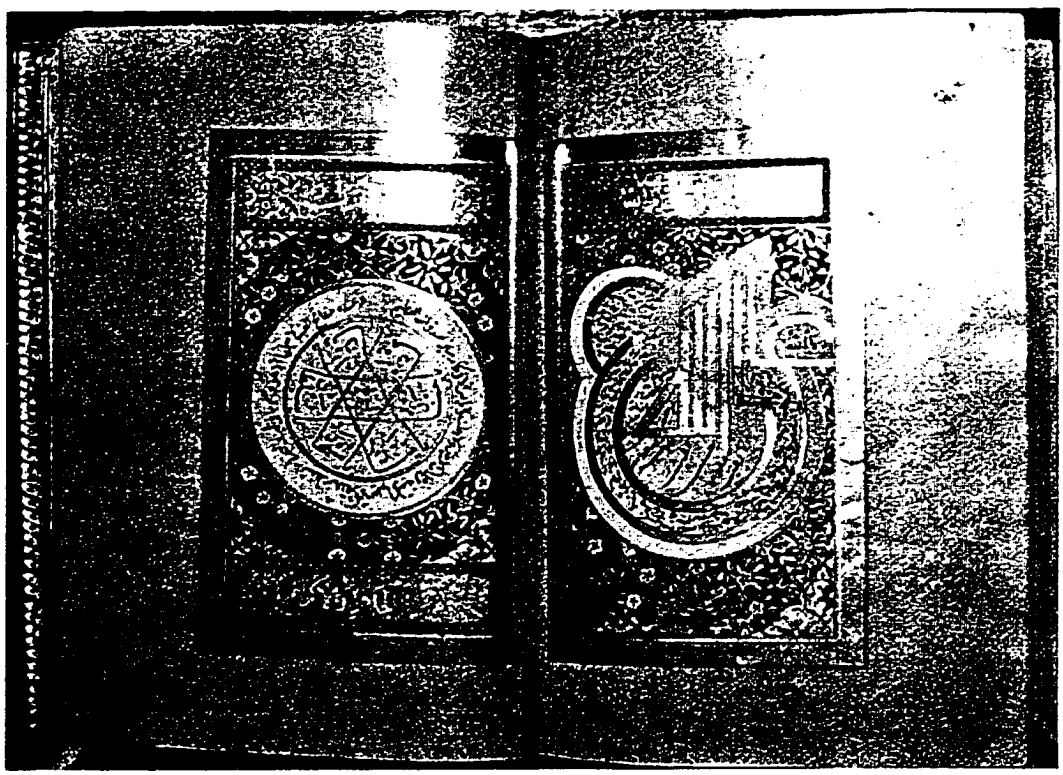


figure 18. 9. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 57v-58

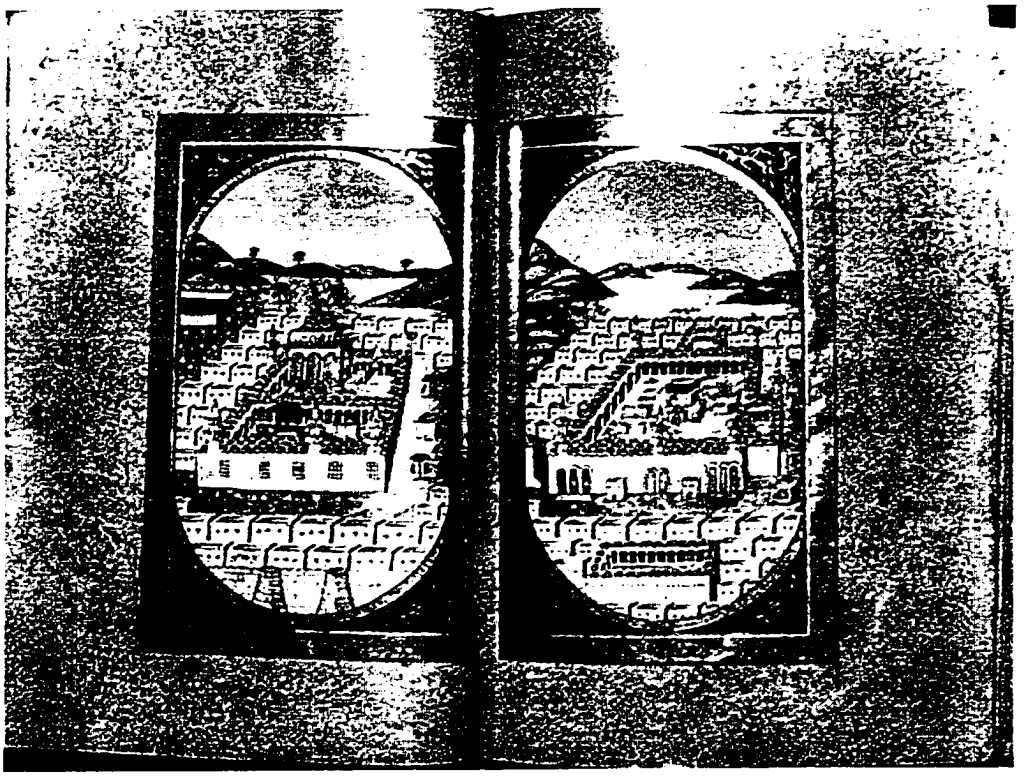


figure 18. 10. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 58v-59

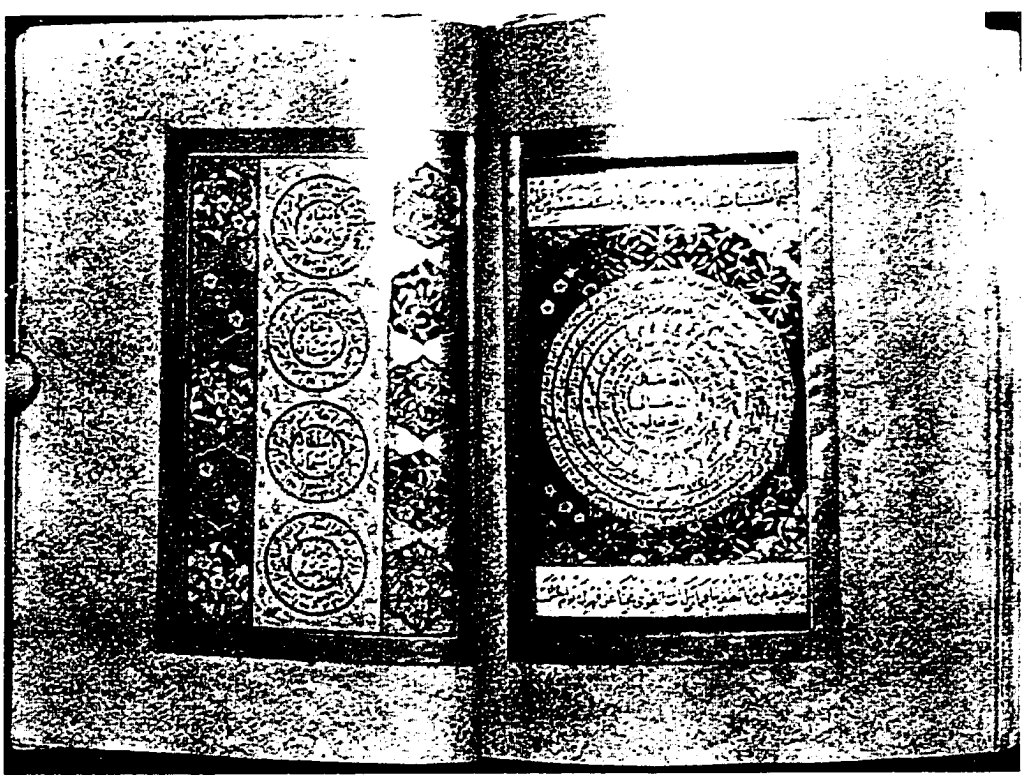


figure 18. 11. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 59v-60

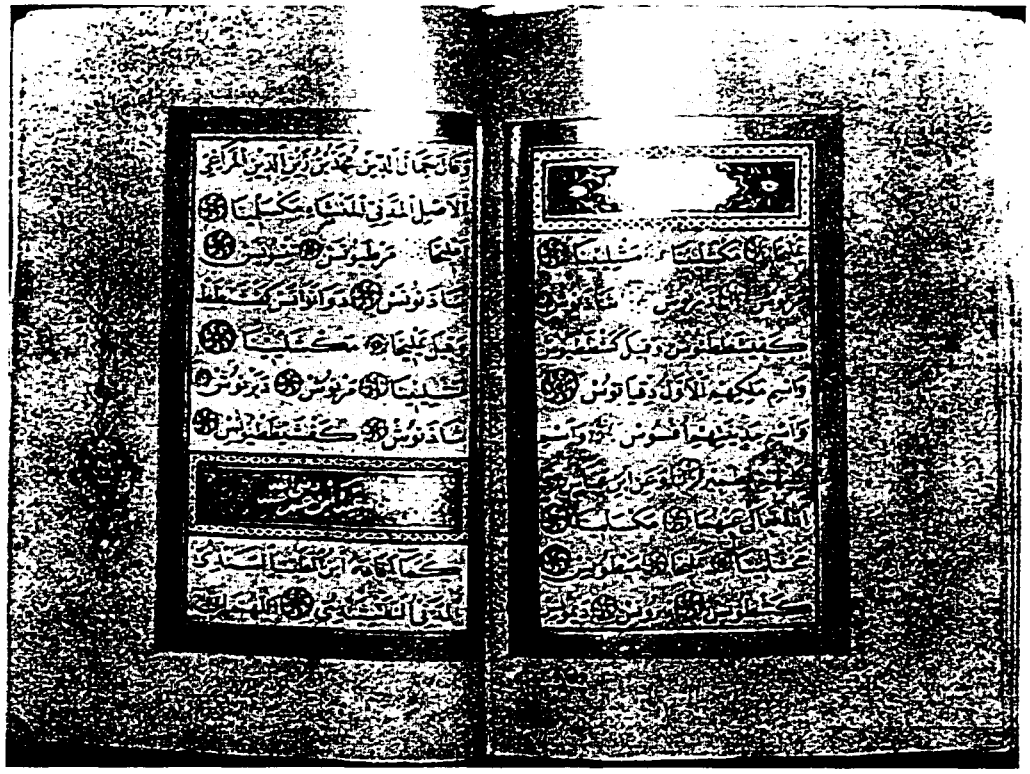


figure 18. 12. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 60v-61

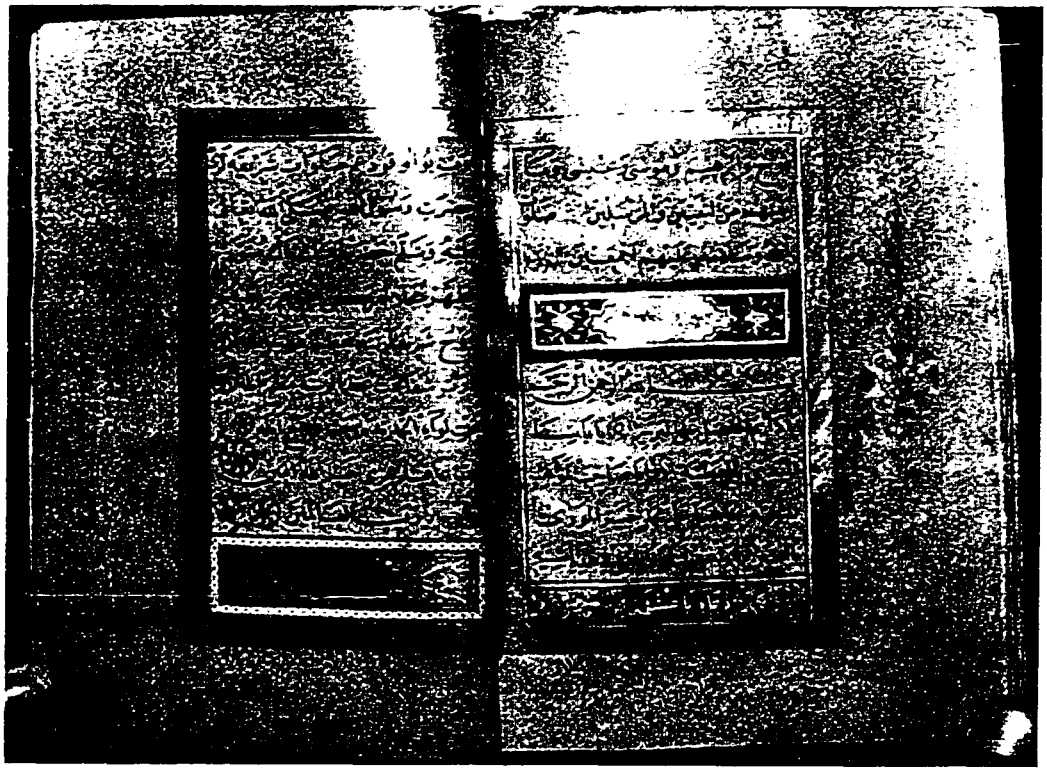


figure 18. 13. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 63v-64

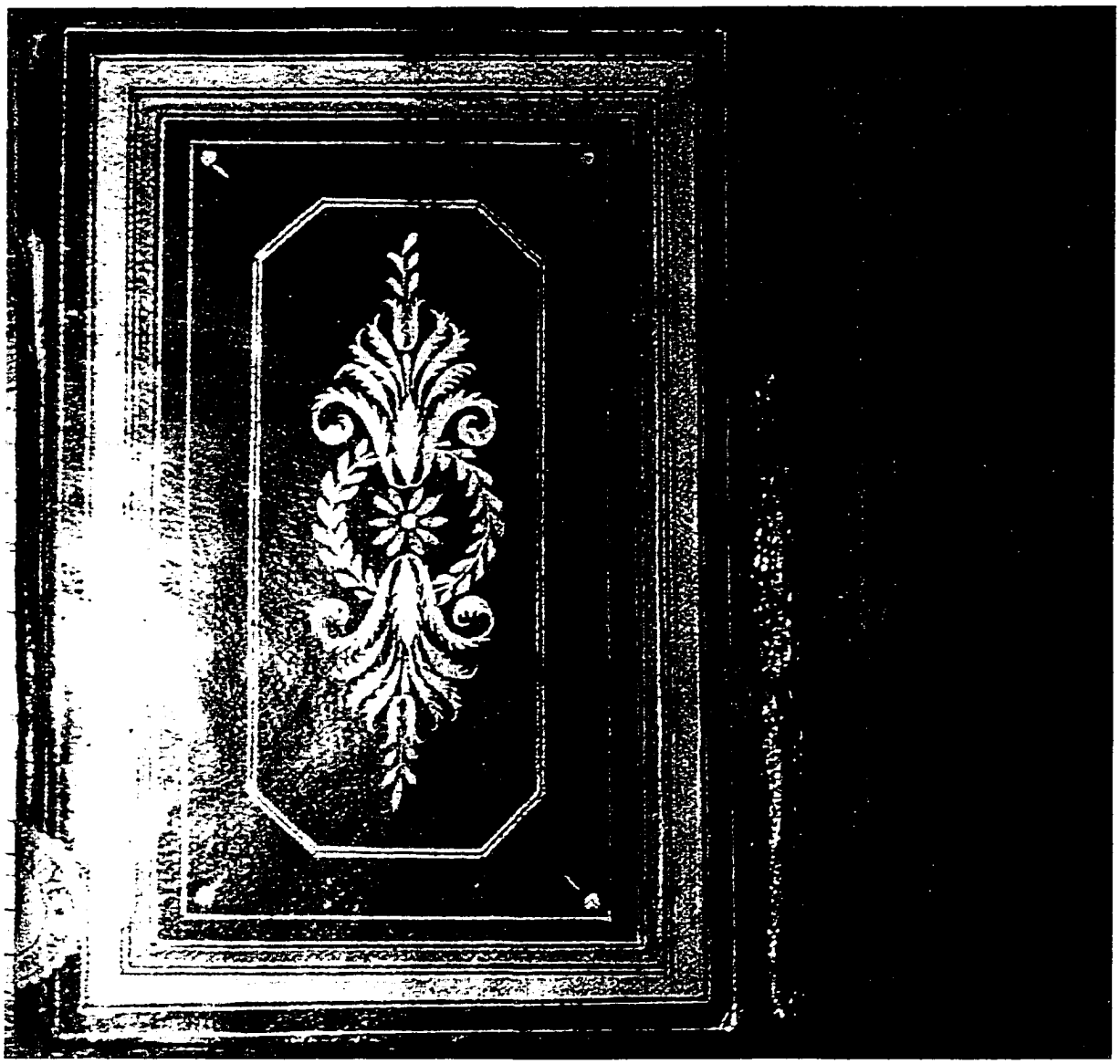


figure 22. 1. Izmirli I Hakki 1509 cover

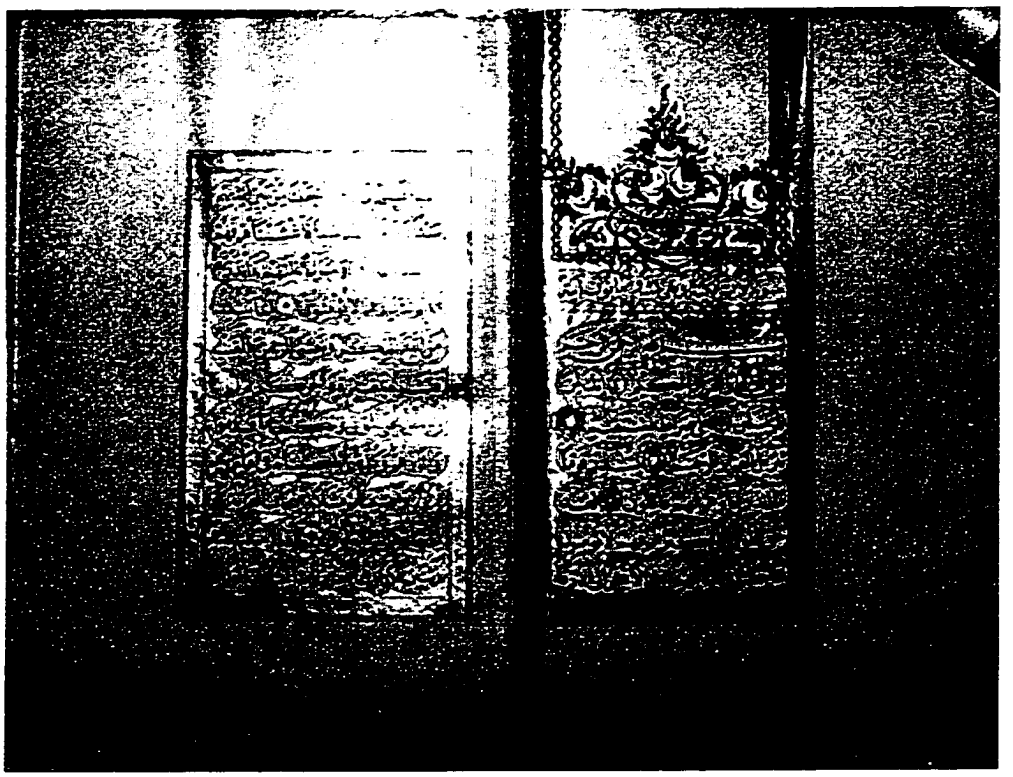


figure 22. 2. Izmirli I Hakki 1509

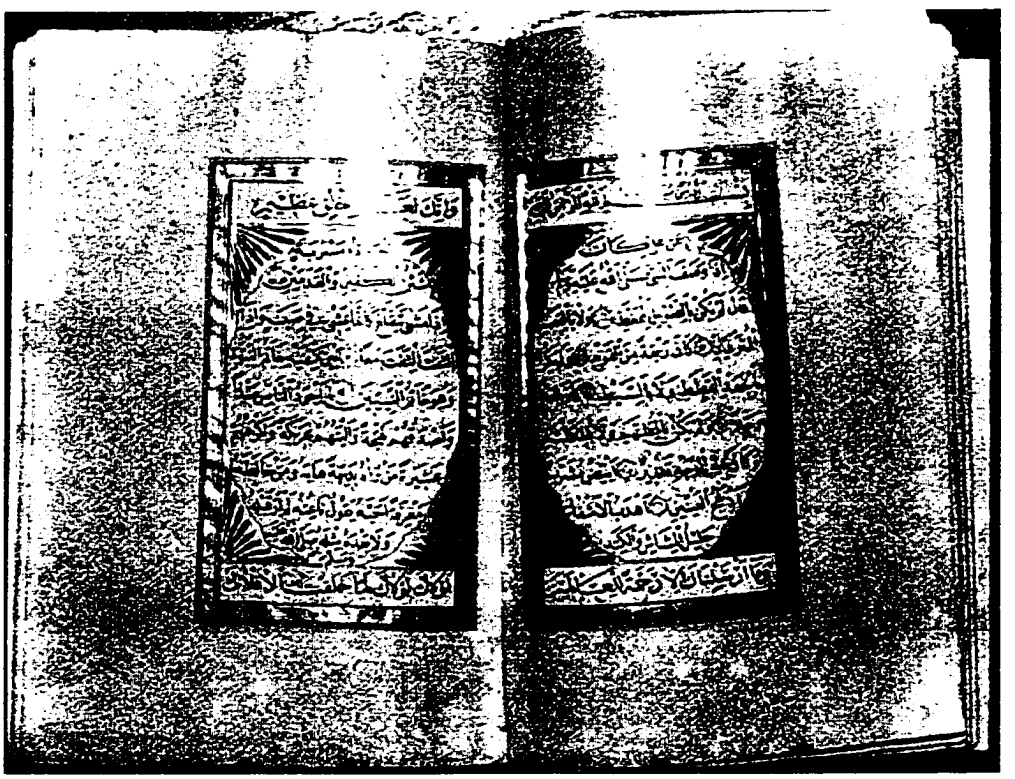


figure 22. 3. Izmirli I Hakki 1509

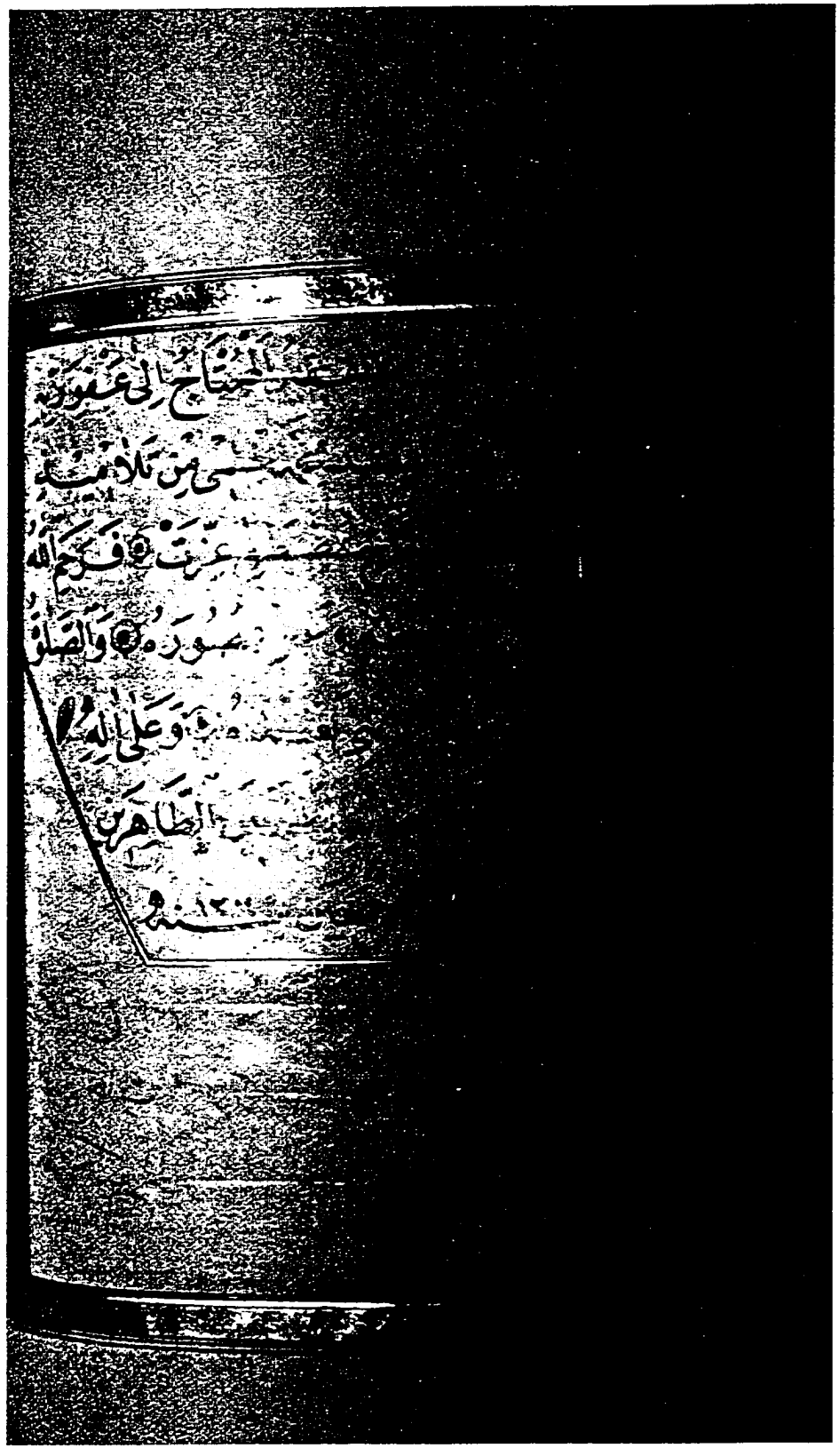


figure 22. 4. Izmirli I. Hakki 1509

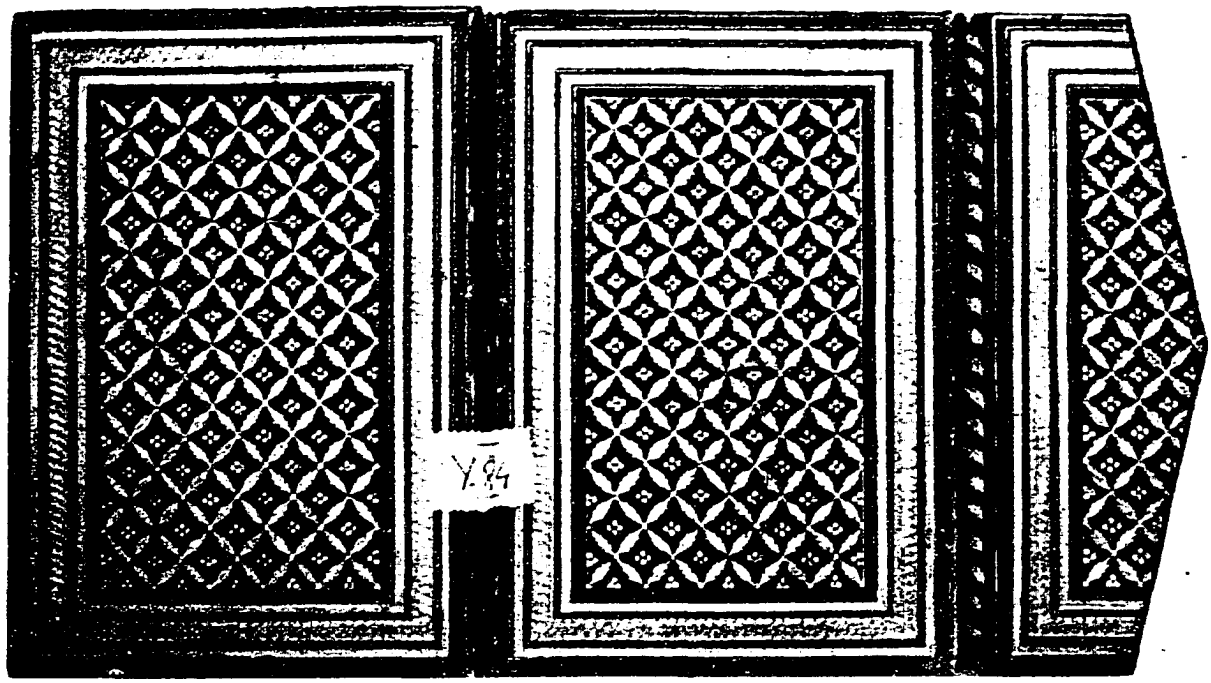


figure 23. 1. TSM YY 874, cover



figure 23. 2. TSM YY 874

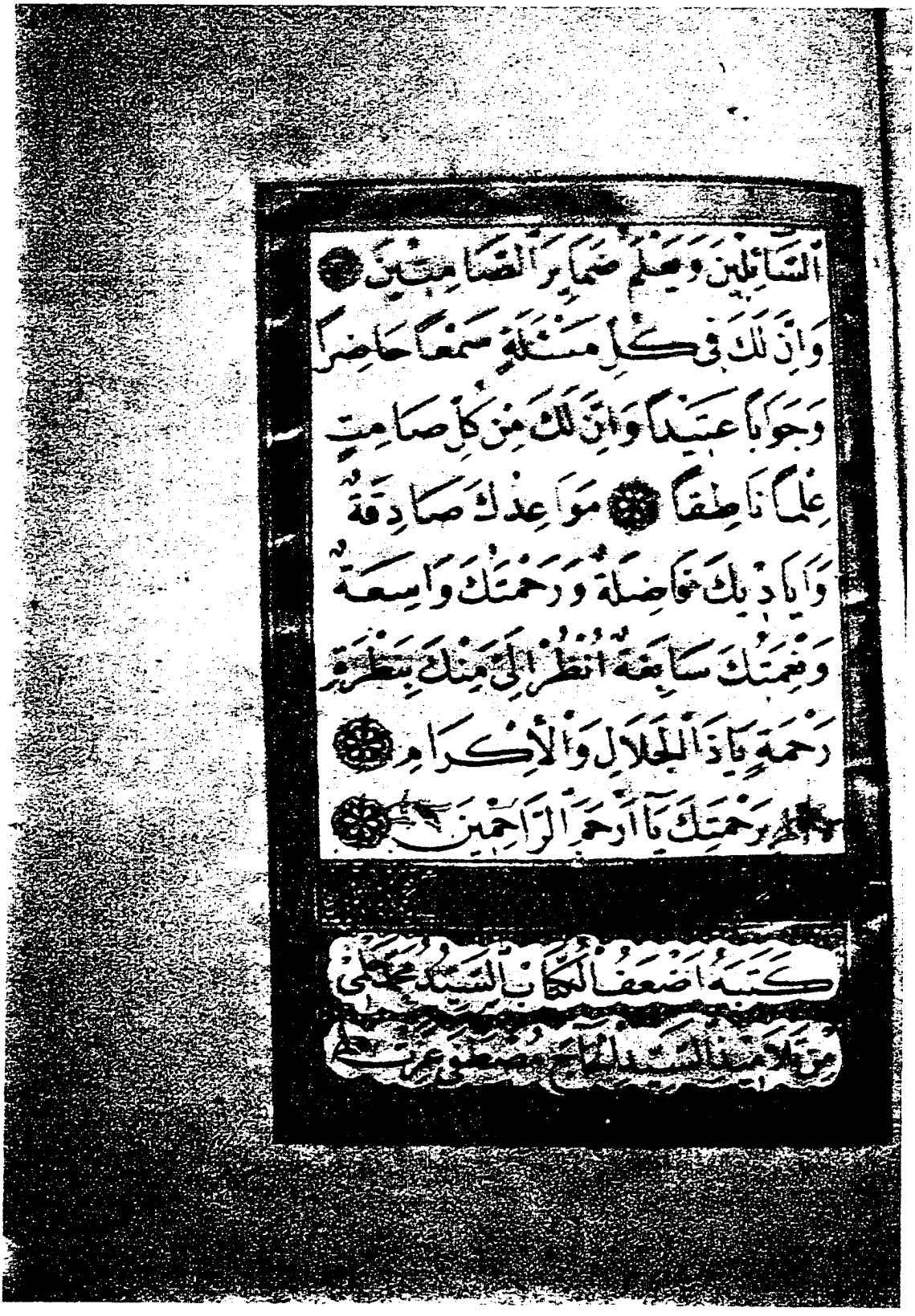


figure 23. 3. TSM YY 874

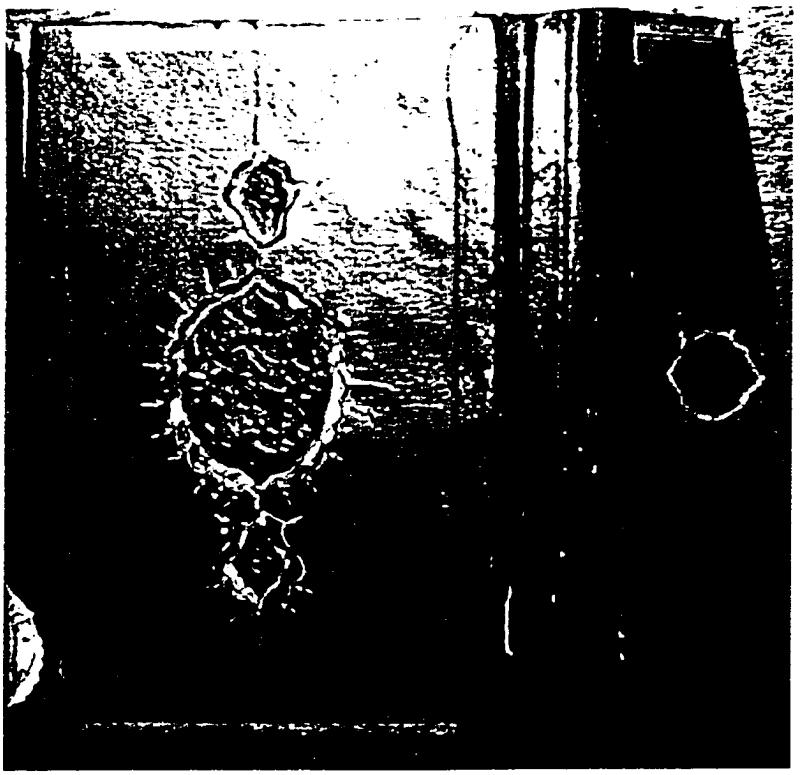


figure 25. 1. Dugumlu Baba 491, cover



figure 25. 2. Dugumlu Baba 491, ff. 1v-2

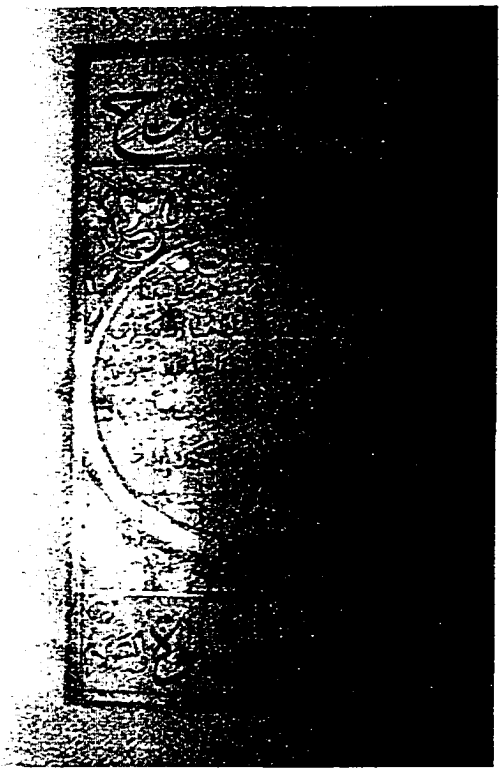


figure 25. 4. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 64

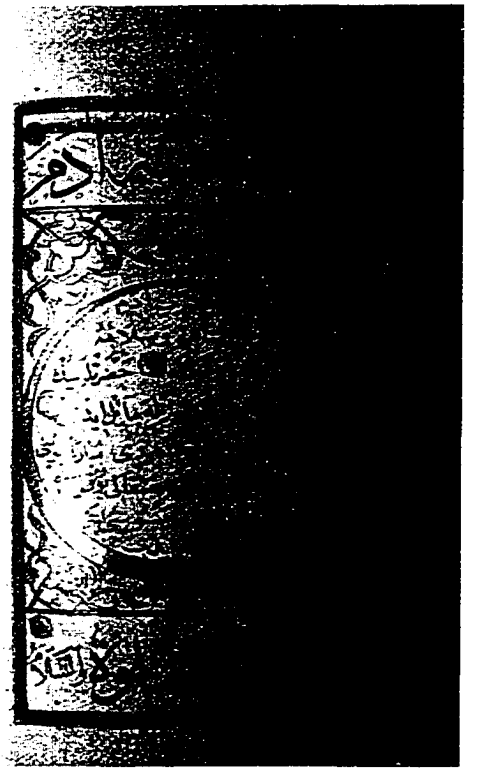


figure 25. 3. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 63v

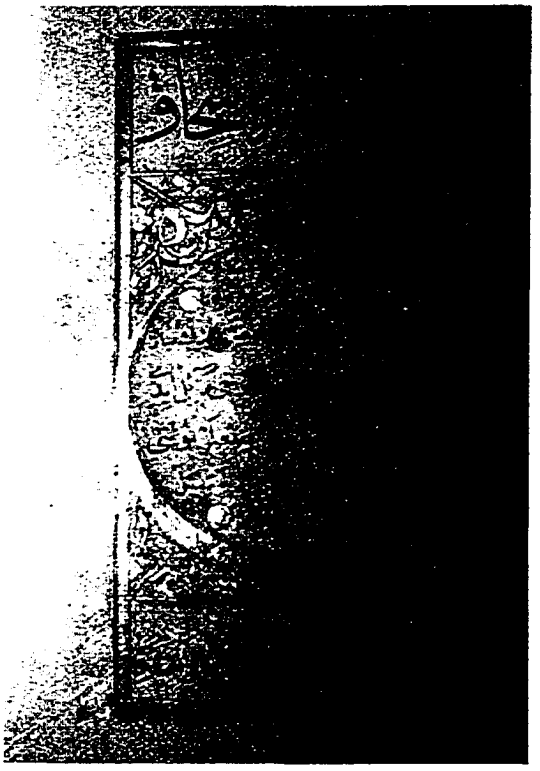


figure 25. 6. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 65



figure 25. 5. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 64v

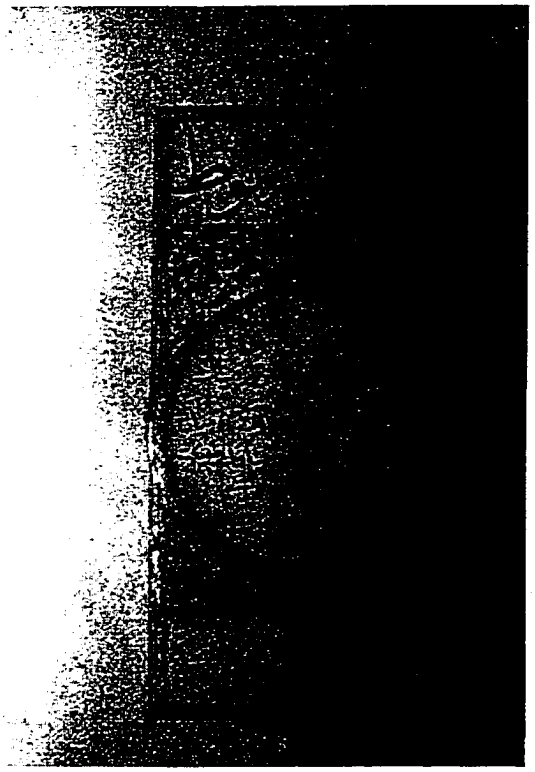


figure 25. 8. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 66

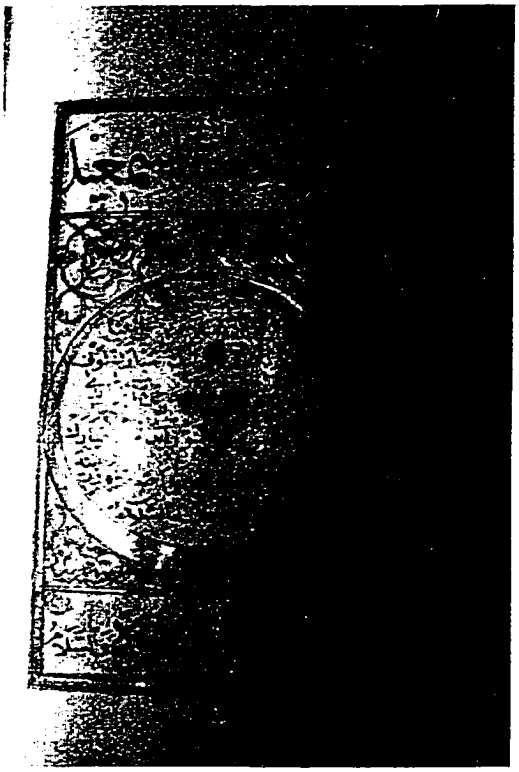


figure 25. 7. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 65v

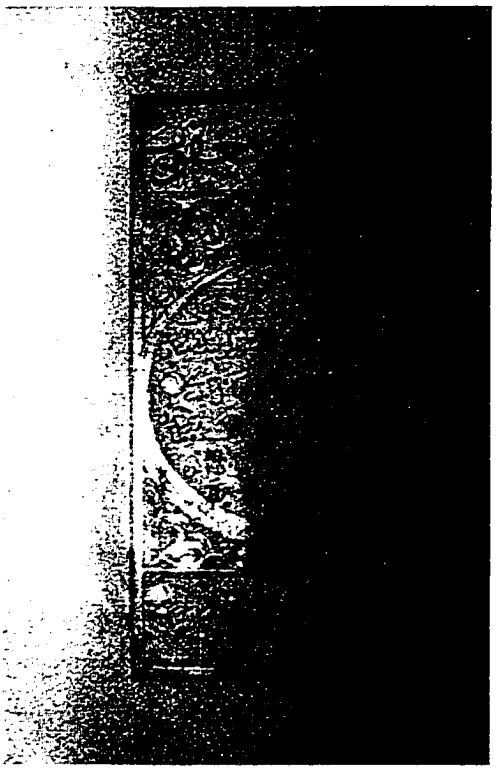


figure 25. 10. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 67

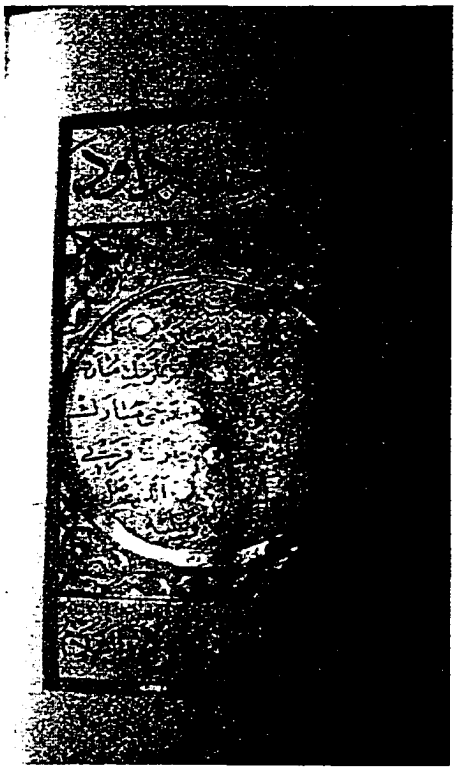


figure 25. 9. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 66v

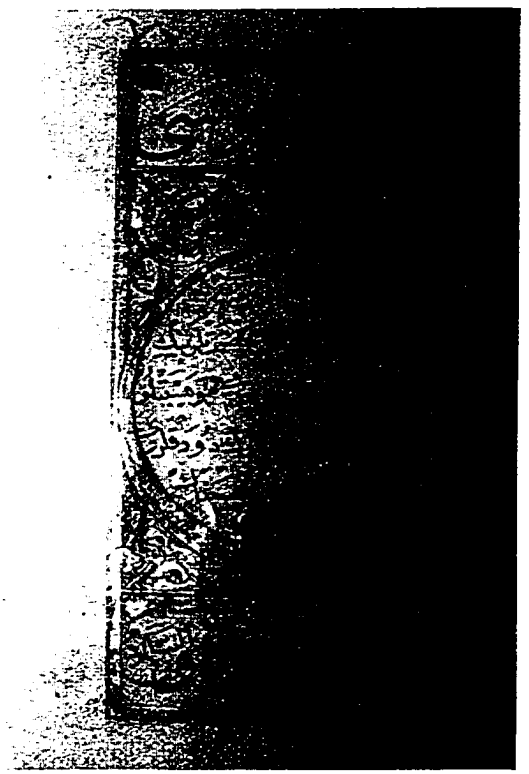


figure 25.12. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 68

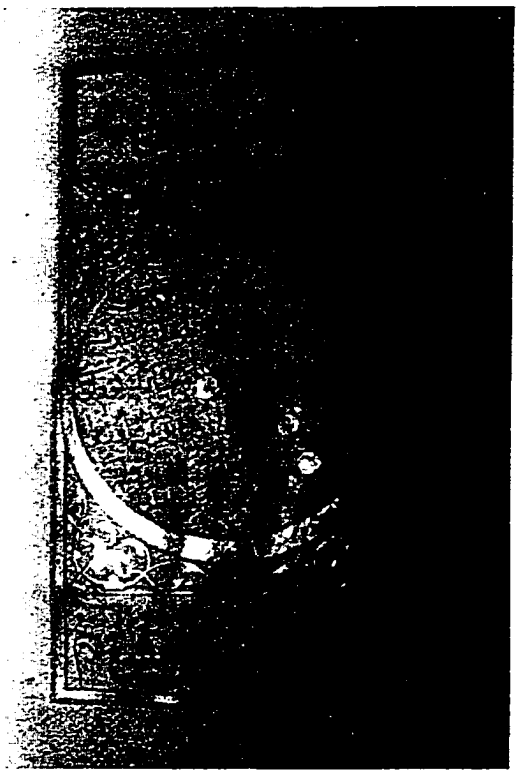


figure 25.11. Dugumlu Baba 491. f.67v

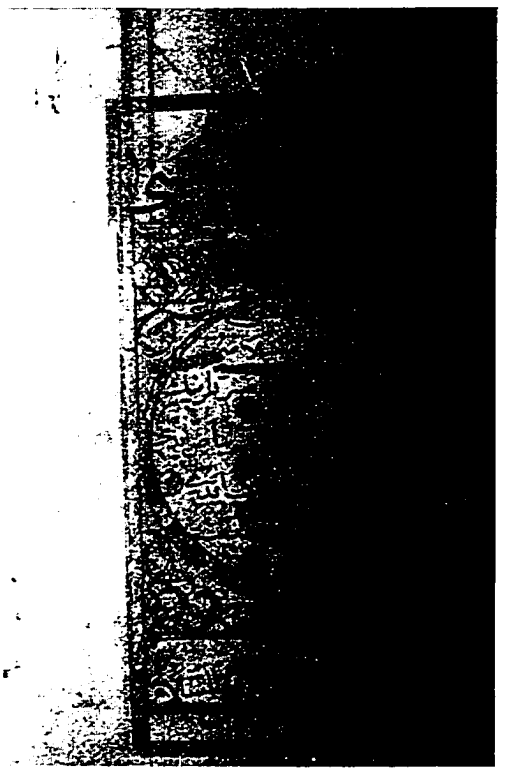


figure 25. 14. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 69

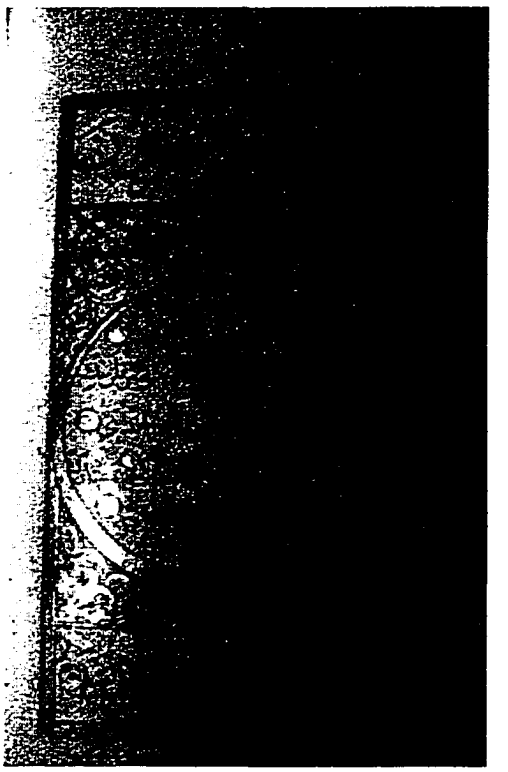


figure 25.13. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 68v



figure 25. 15. Dugumlu Baba 491, ff. 69v-70

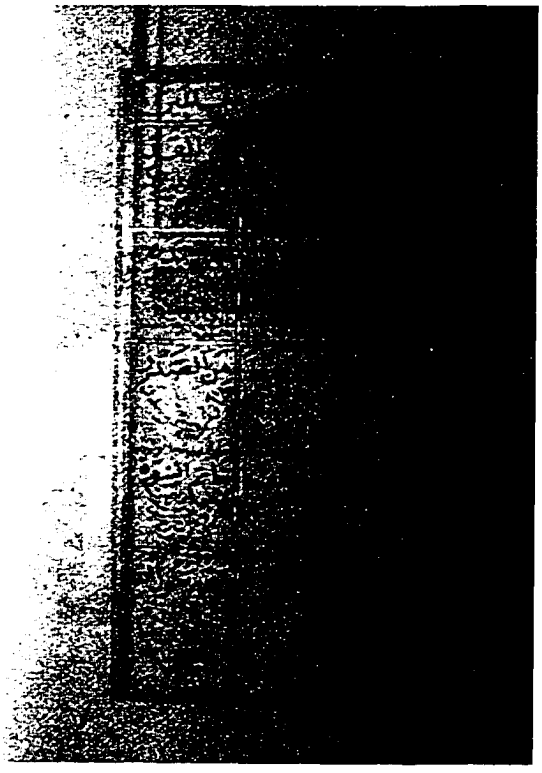


figure 25. 17. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 72

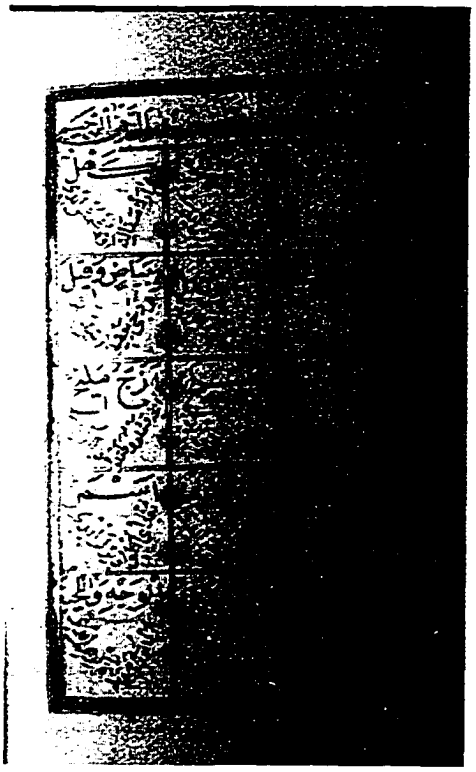


figure 25. 16. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 71v

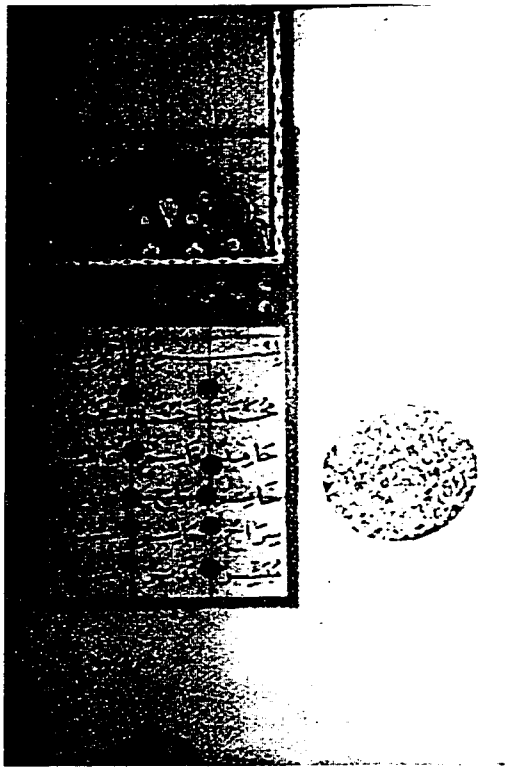


figure 25. 18. Dugumlu Baba 491, ff. 72v-73



figure 25. 20. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 75

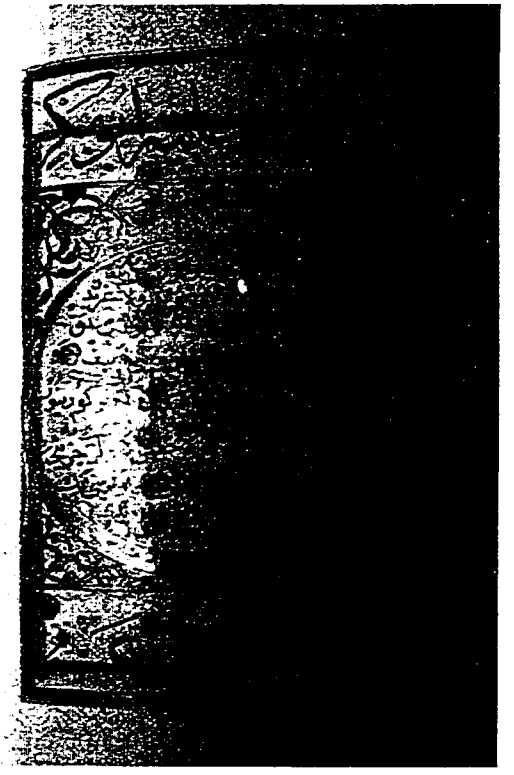


figure 25. 19. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 74v

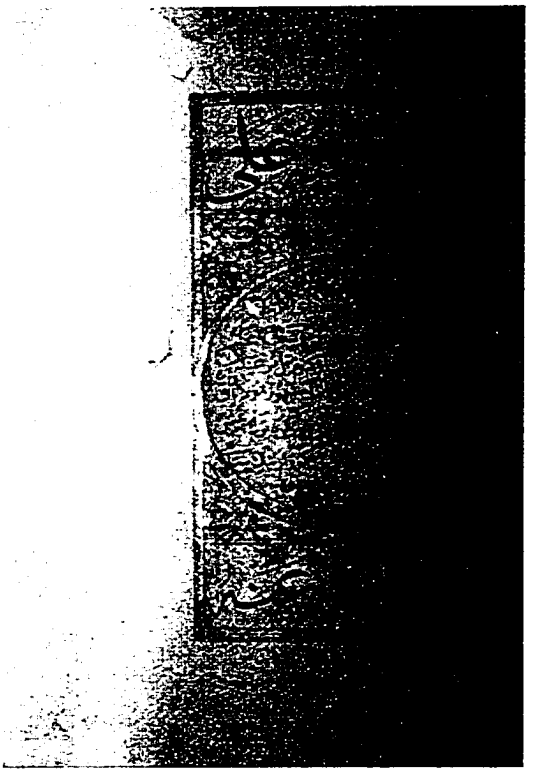


figure 25. 22. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 76

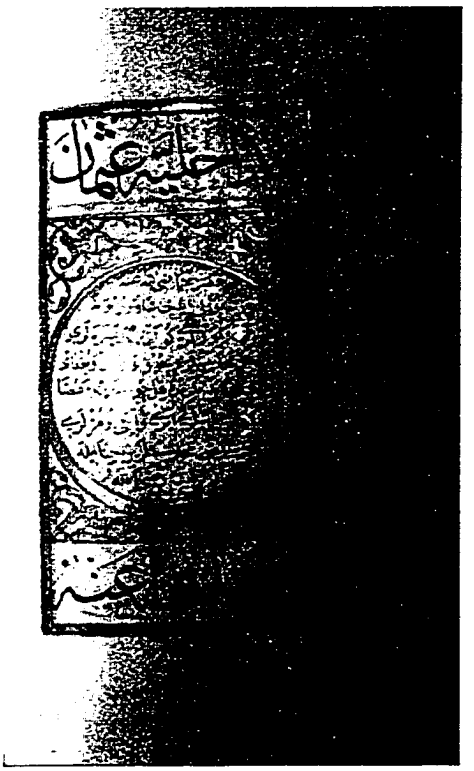


figure 25. 21 Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 75v

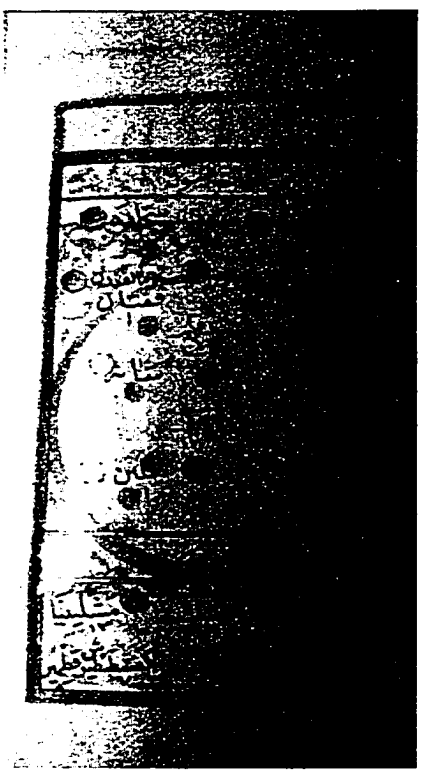


figure 25. 23. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 76v

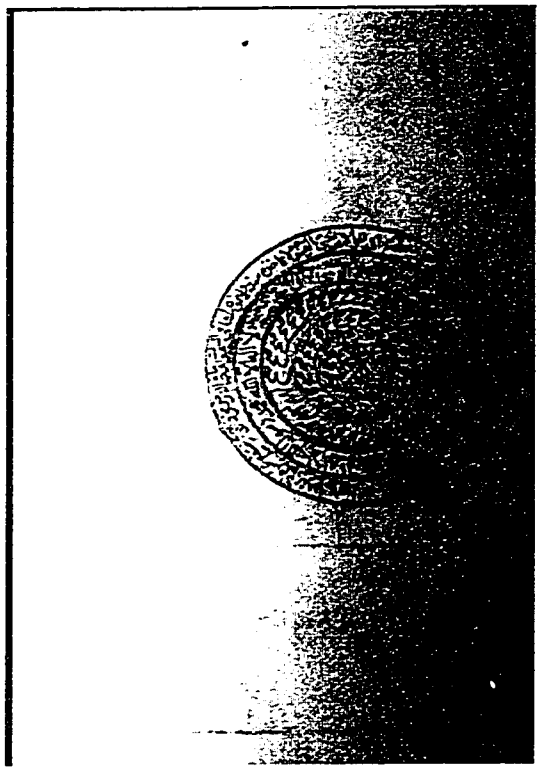


figure 25. 25. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 150

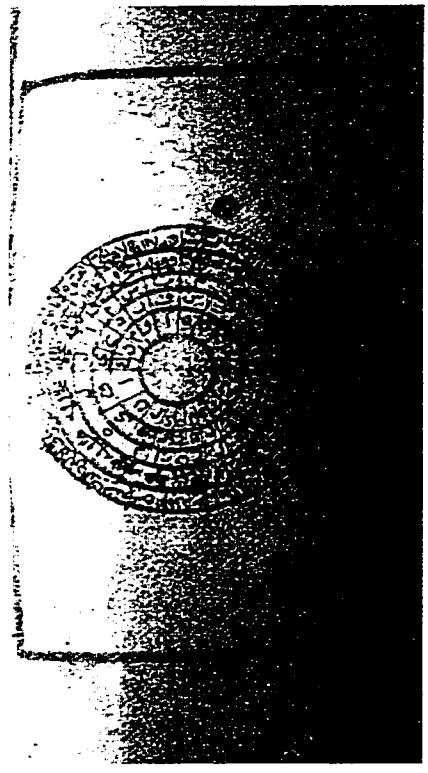


figure 25. 24. Dugumlu Baba 491, f. 149v



figure 26. 1. Spencer Turk 9, cover

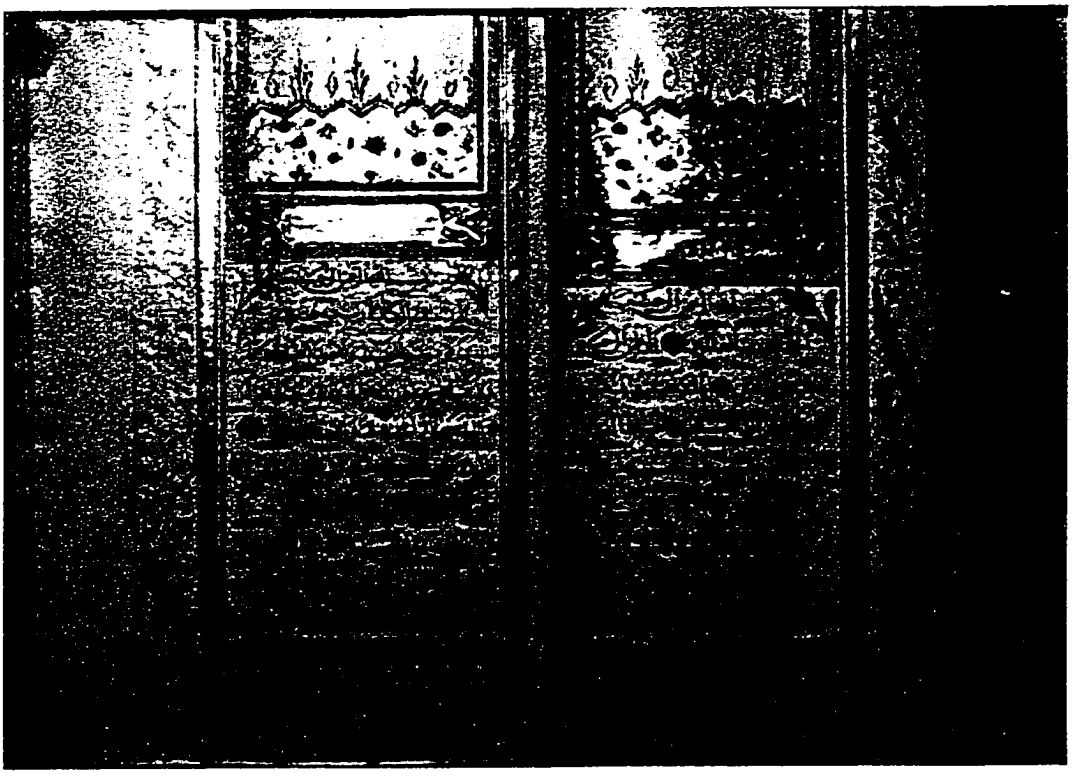


figure 26. 2. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 1v-2

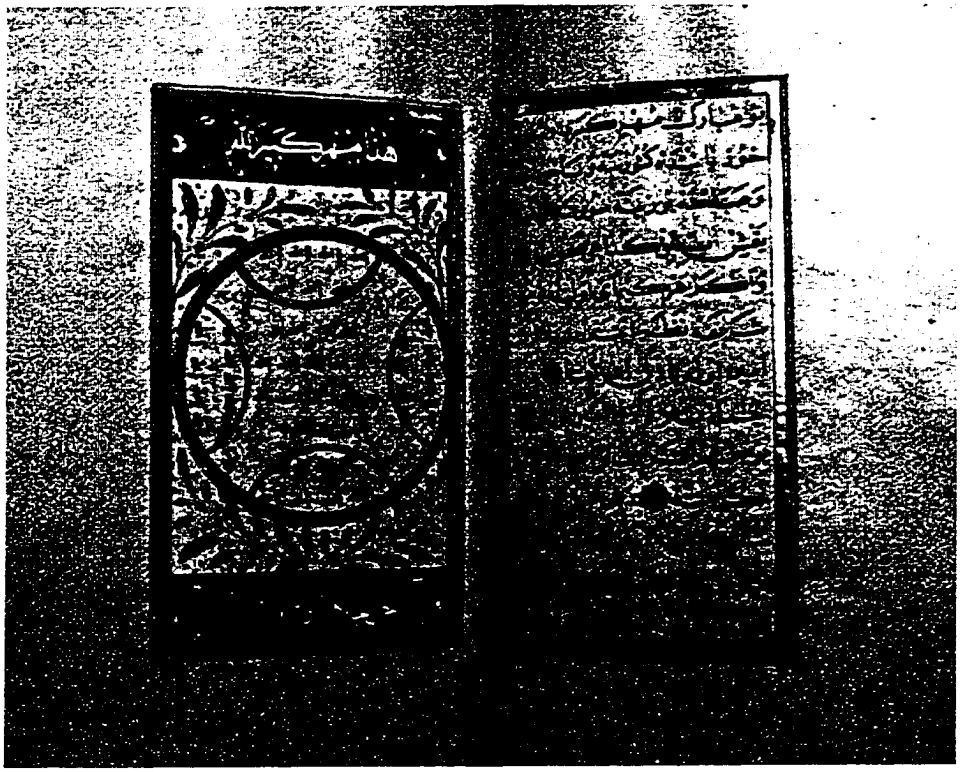


figure 26. 3. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 38v-39

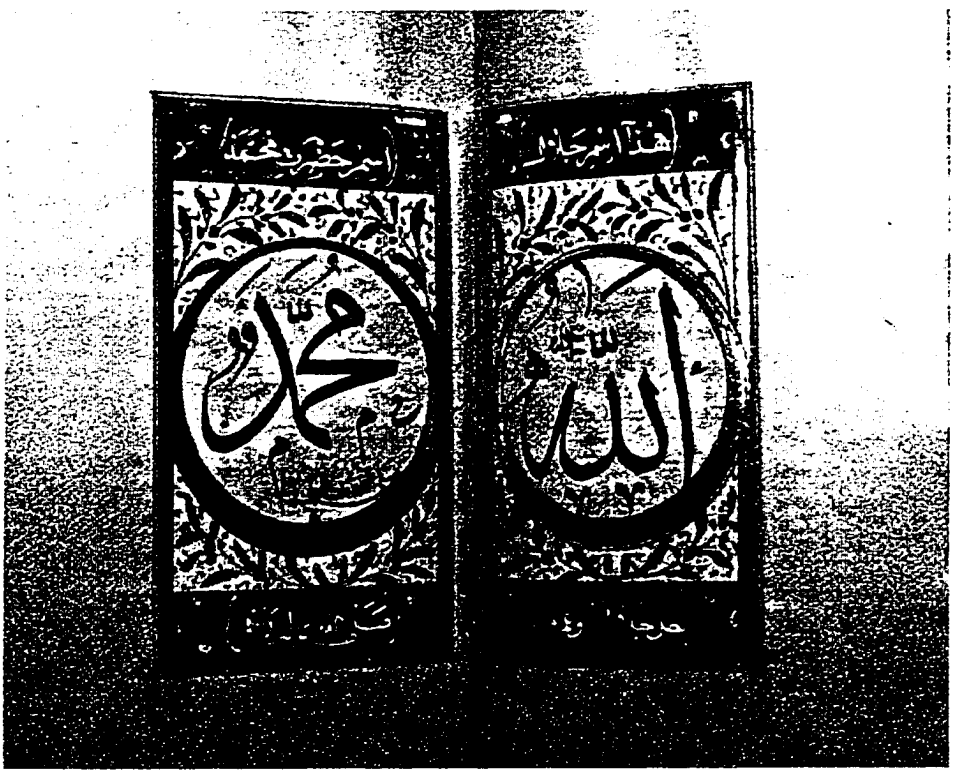


figure 26. 4. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 39v-40

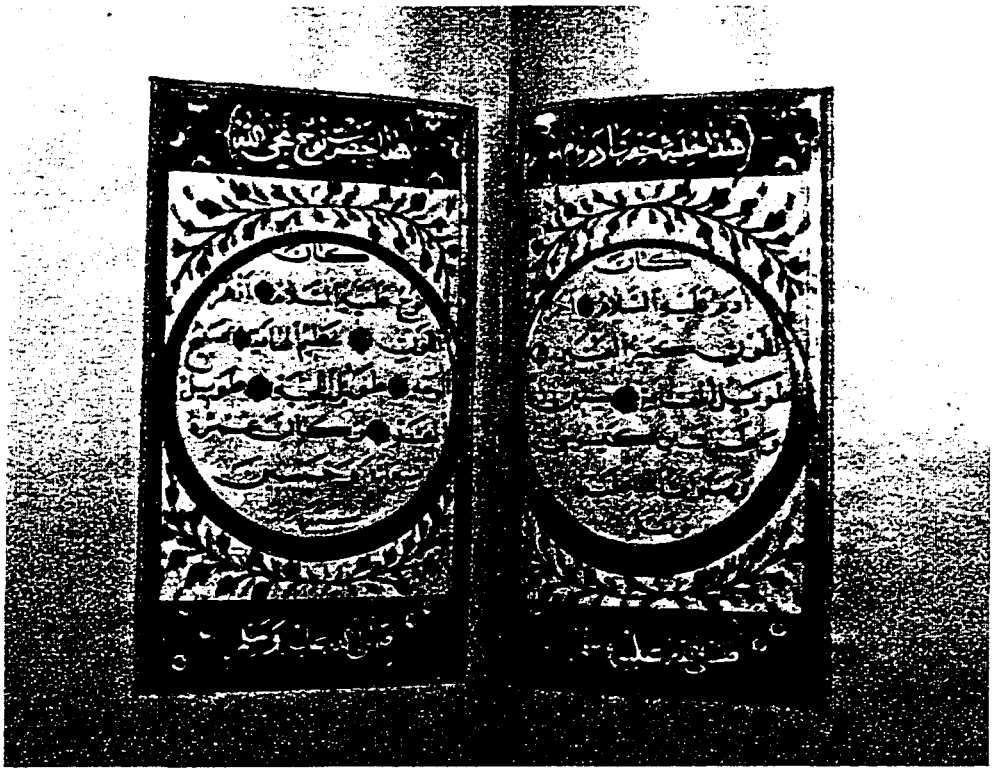


figure 26. 5. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 40v-41

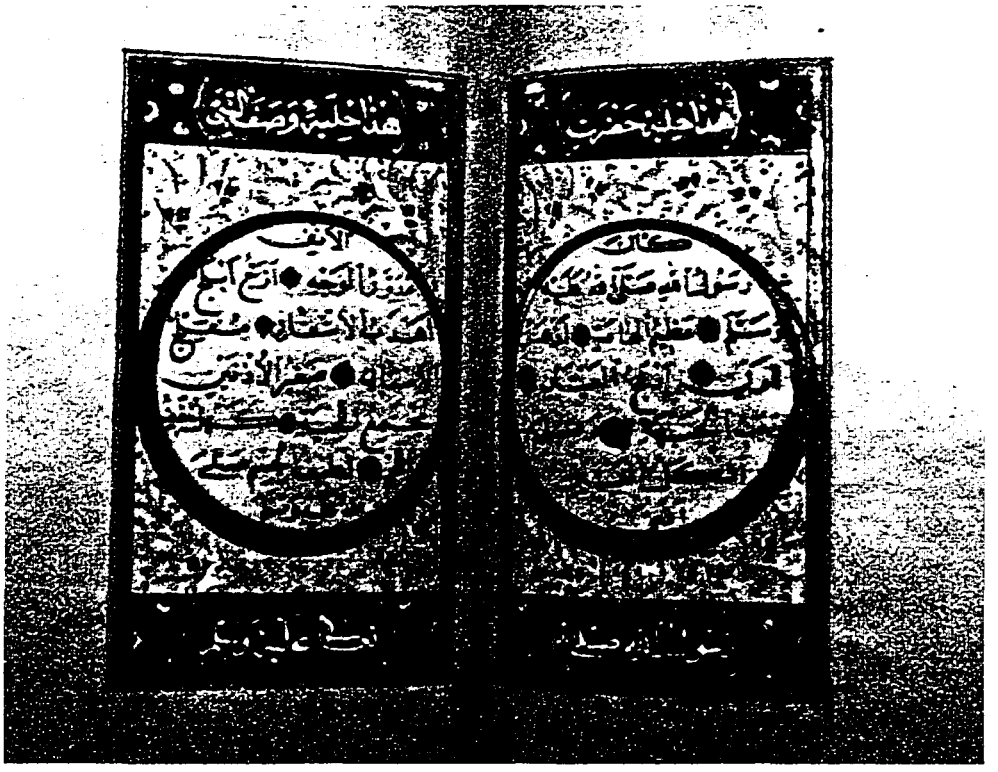


figure 26. 6. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 41v-42

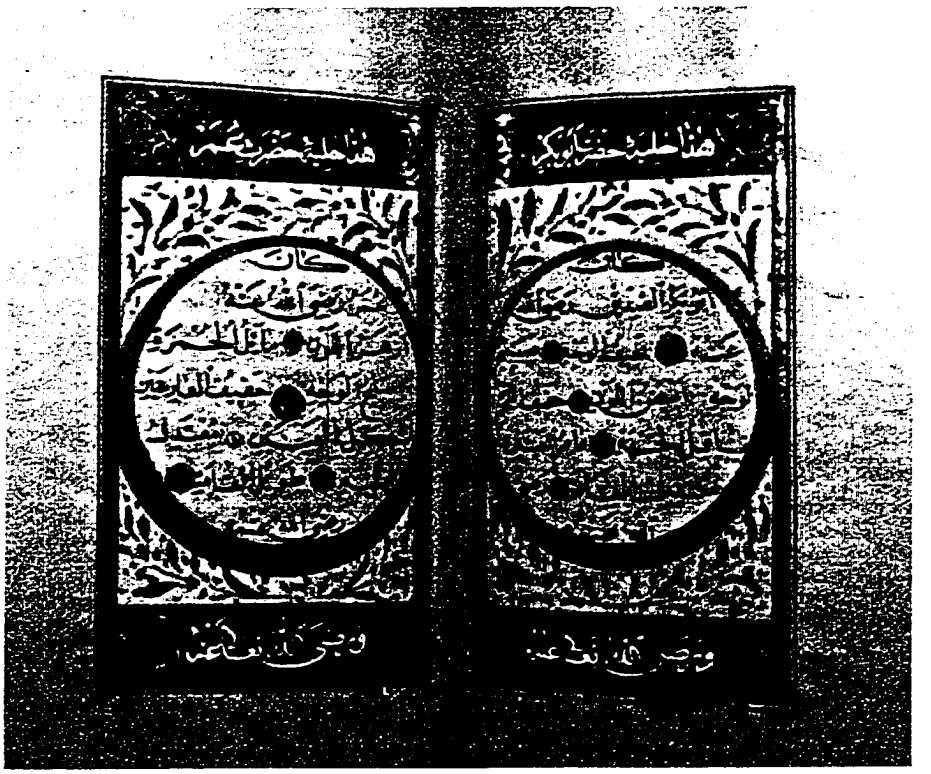


figure 26. 7. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 42v-43

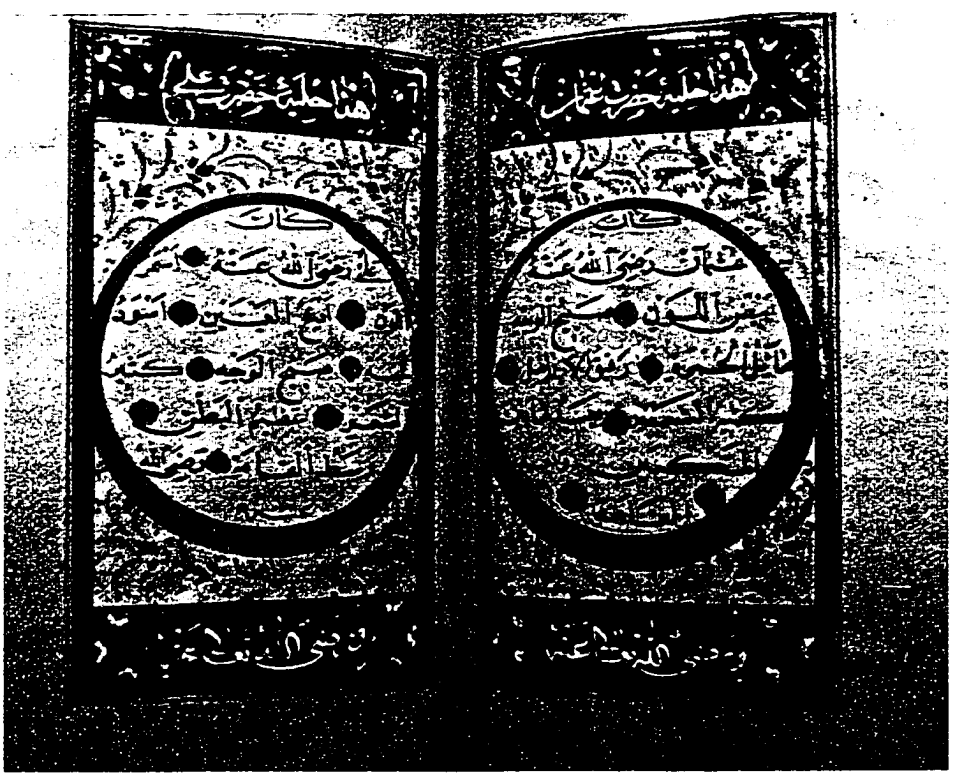


figure 26. 8. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 43v-44

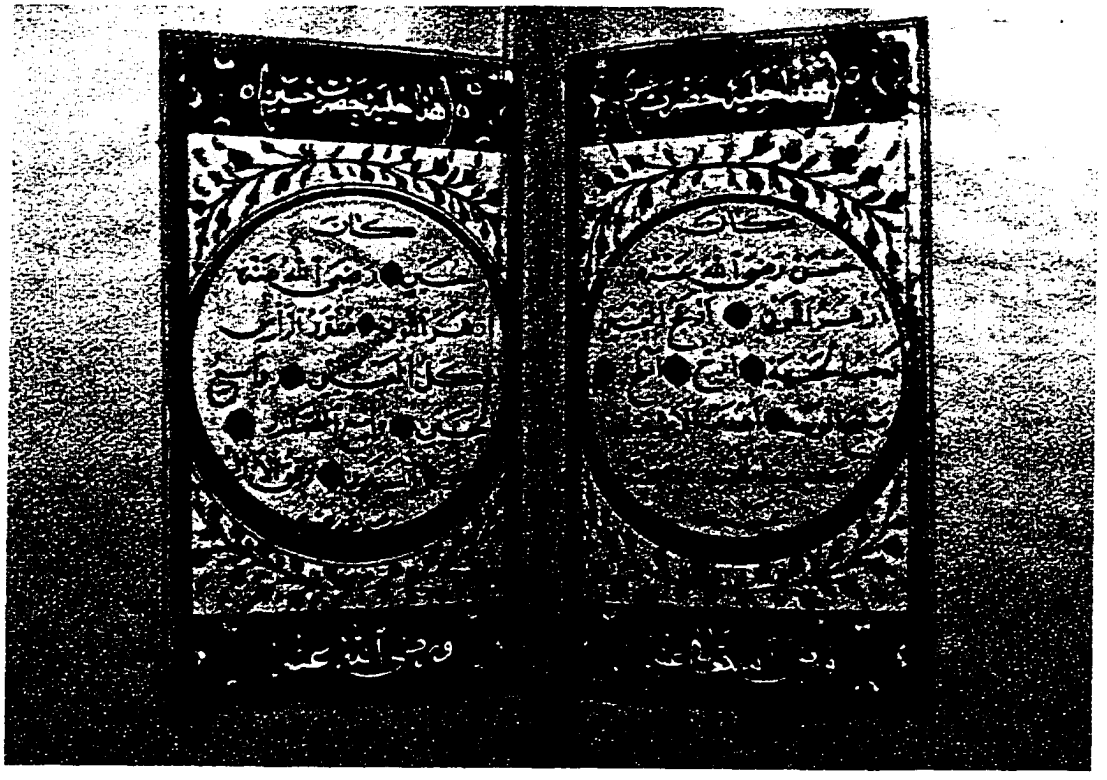


figure 26. 9. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 44v-45

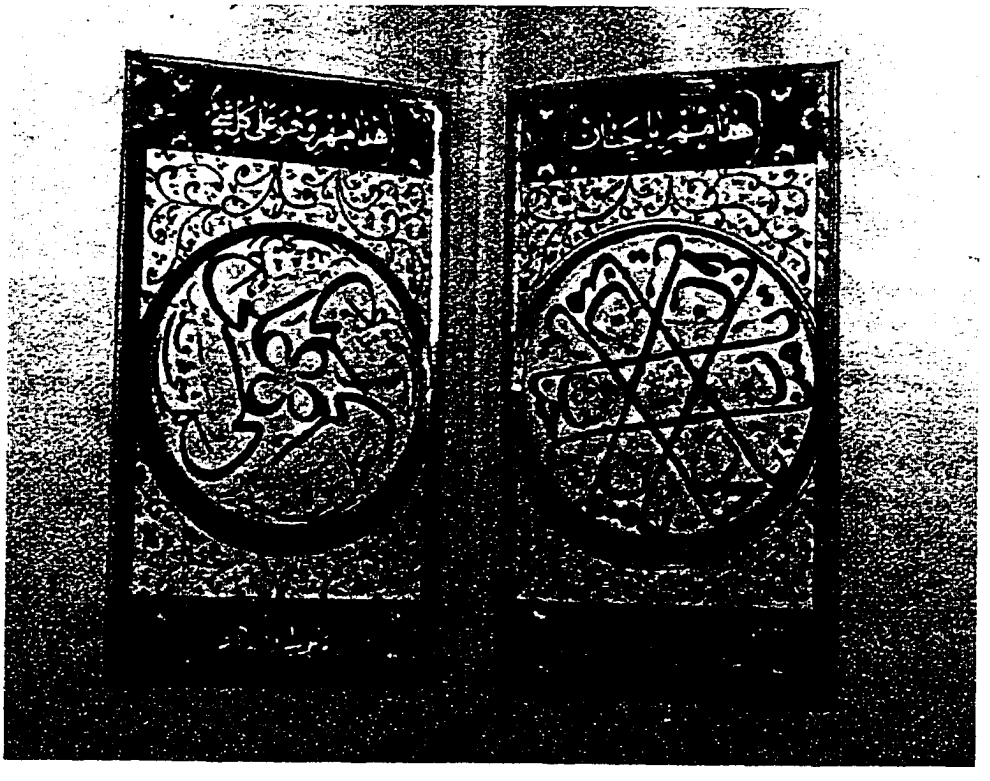


figure 26. 10. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 56v-57

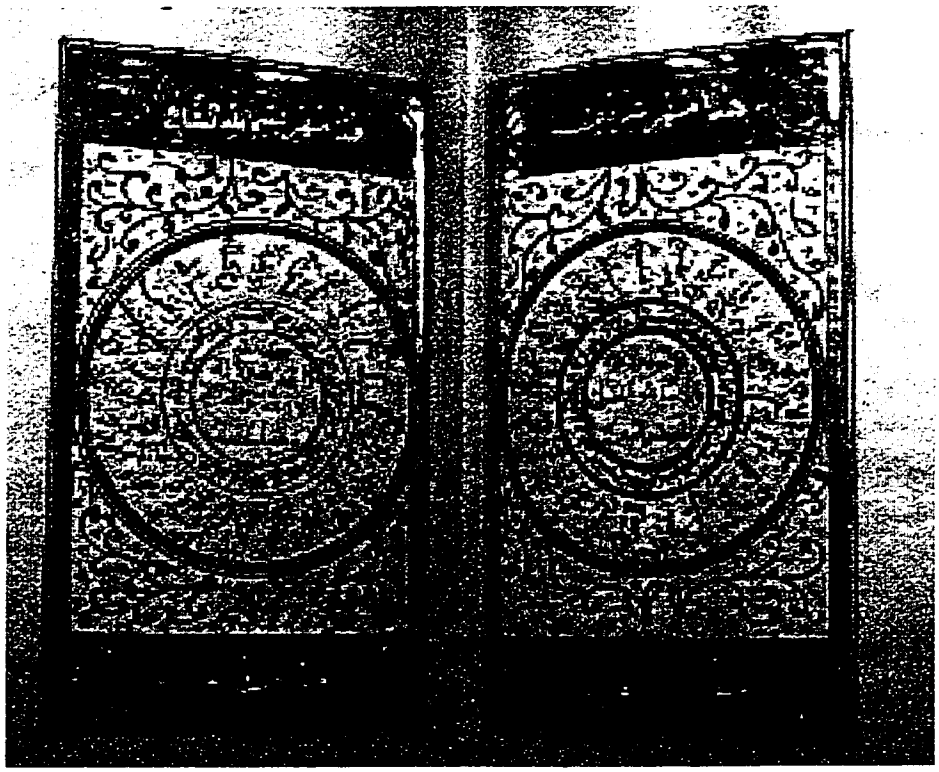


figure 26. 11. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 57v-58



figure 26. 12. Spencer Turk 9, 58v-59

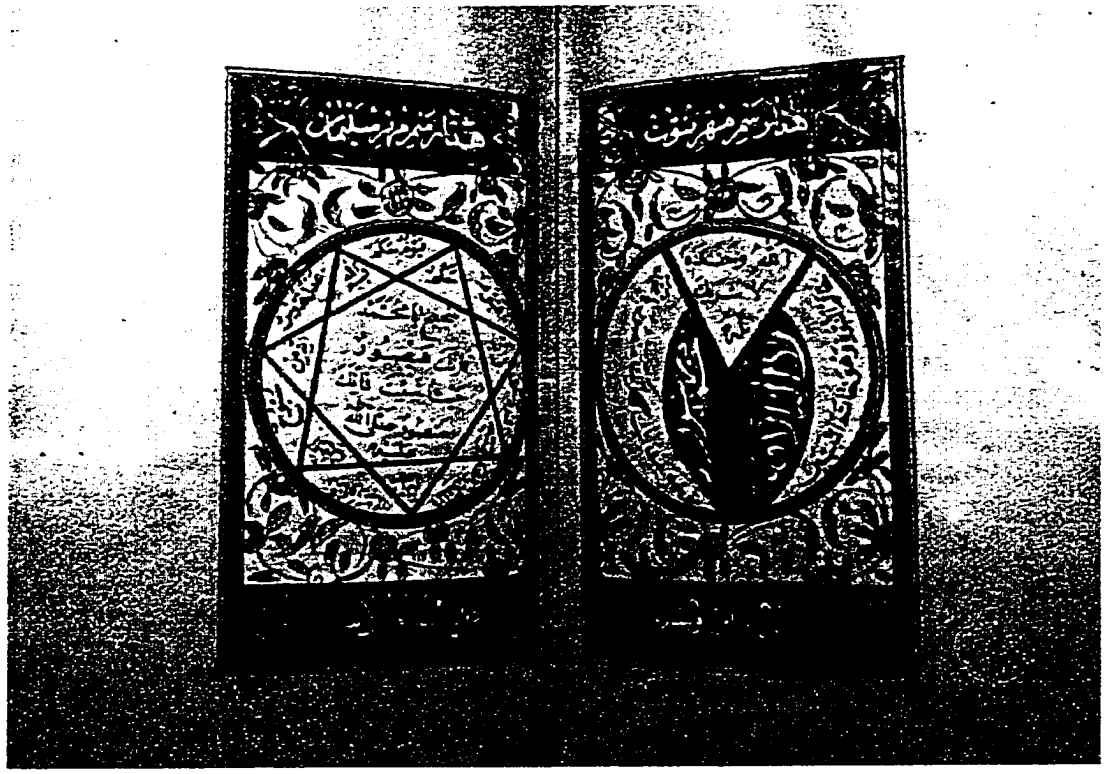


figure 26. 13. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 59v-60

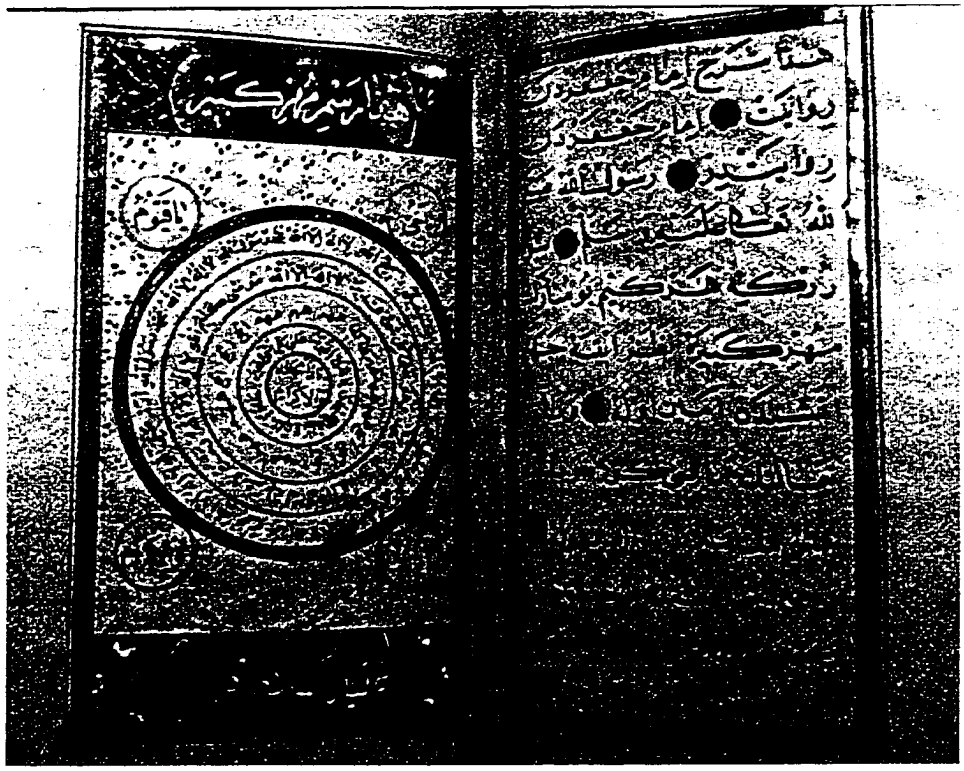


figure 26. 14. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 60v-61

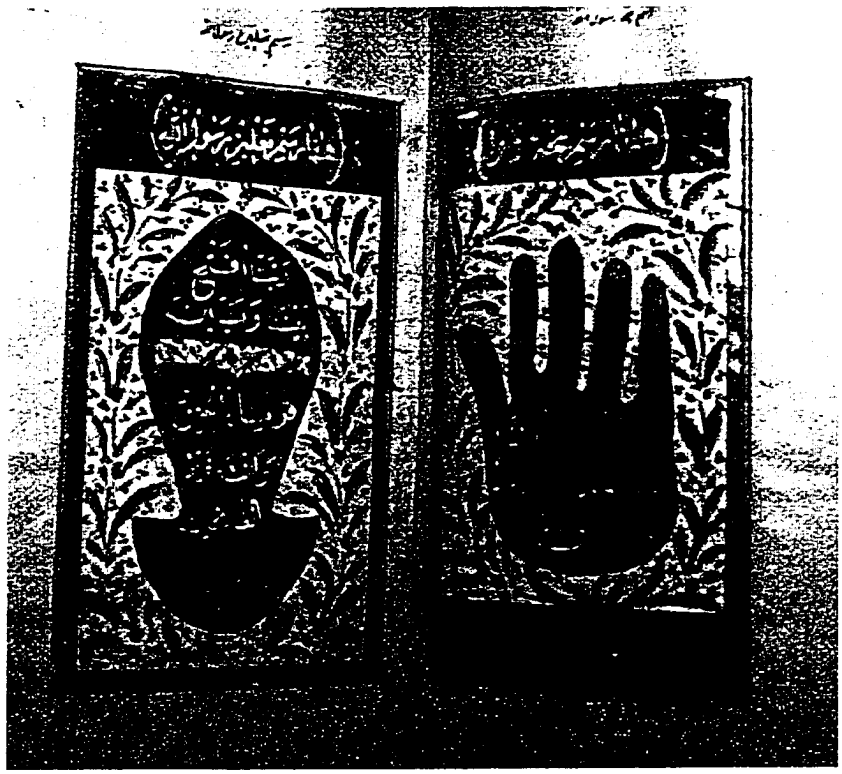


figure 26. 15. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 61v-62

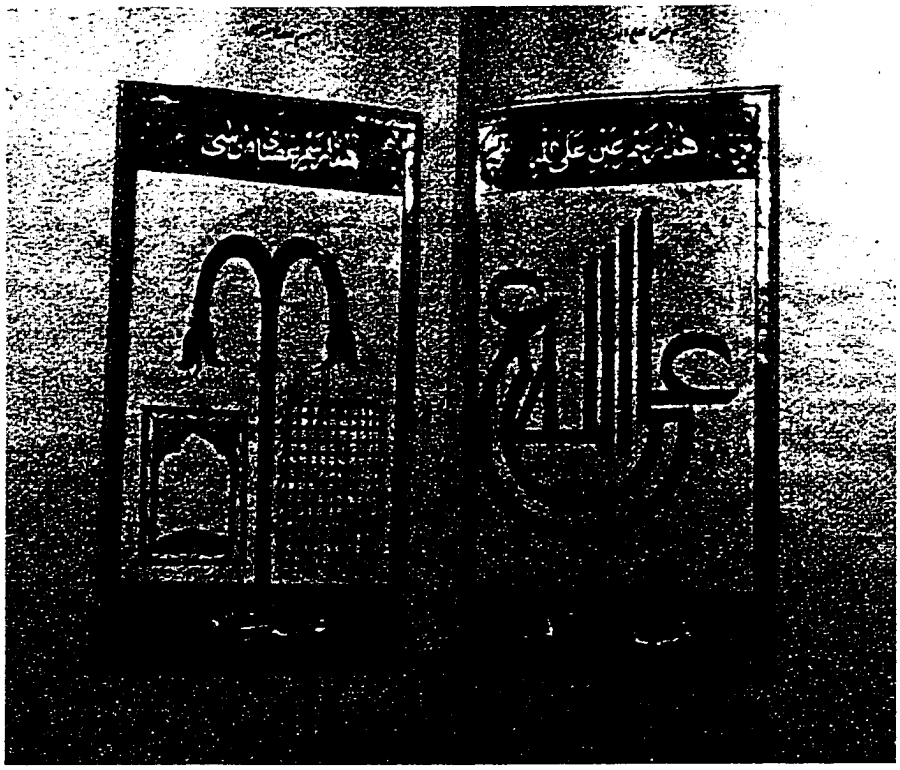


figure 26. 16. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 61v-62

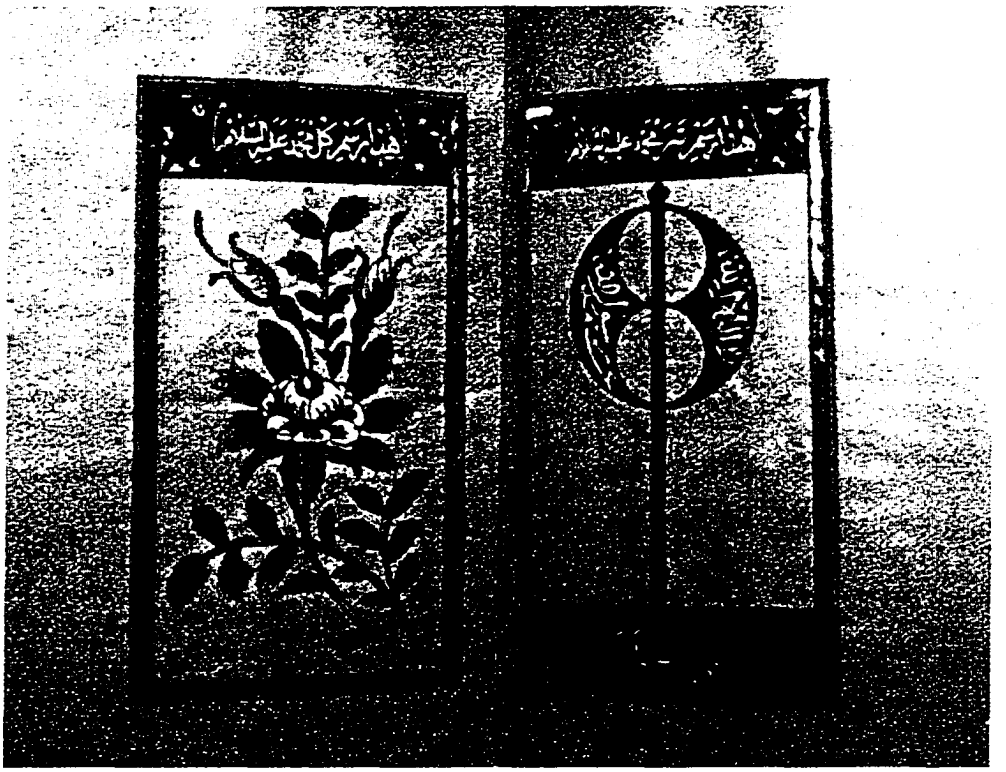


figure 26. 17. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 63v-64

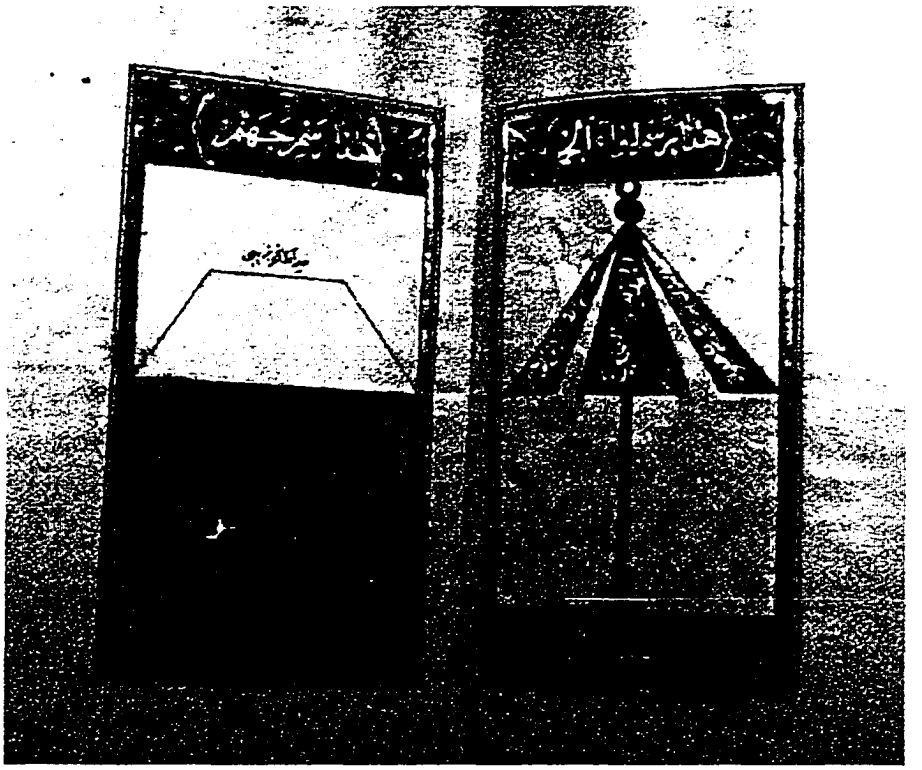


figure 26. 18. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 64v-65



figure 26. 19. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 65v-66

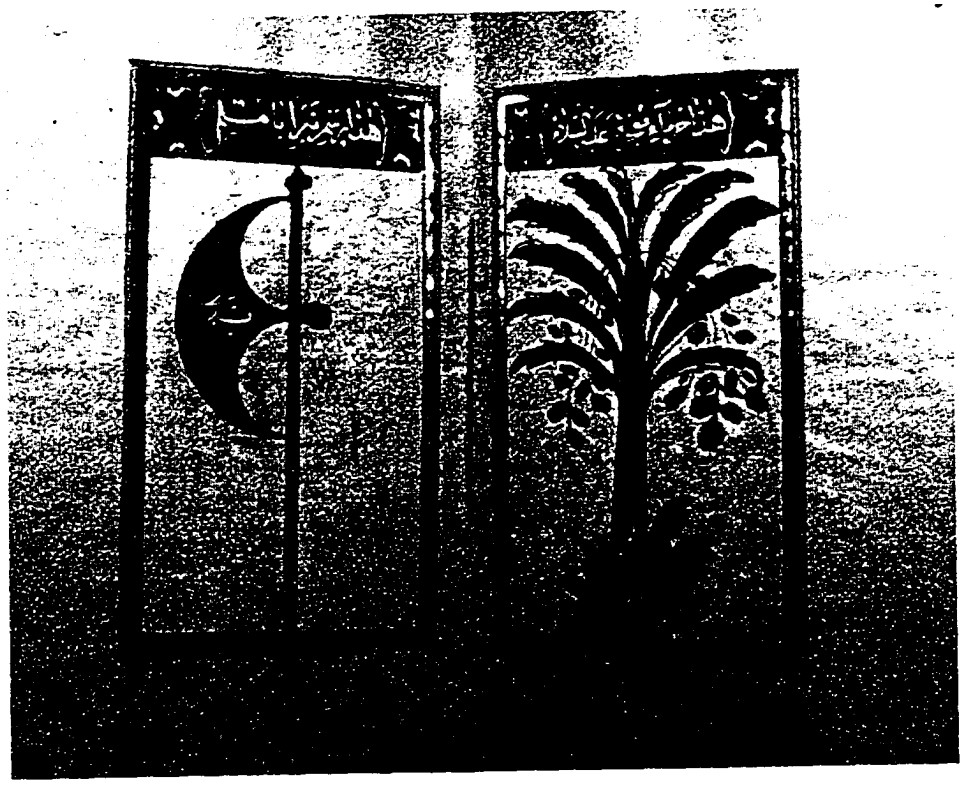


figure 26. 20. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 66v-67

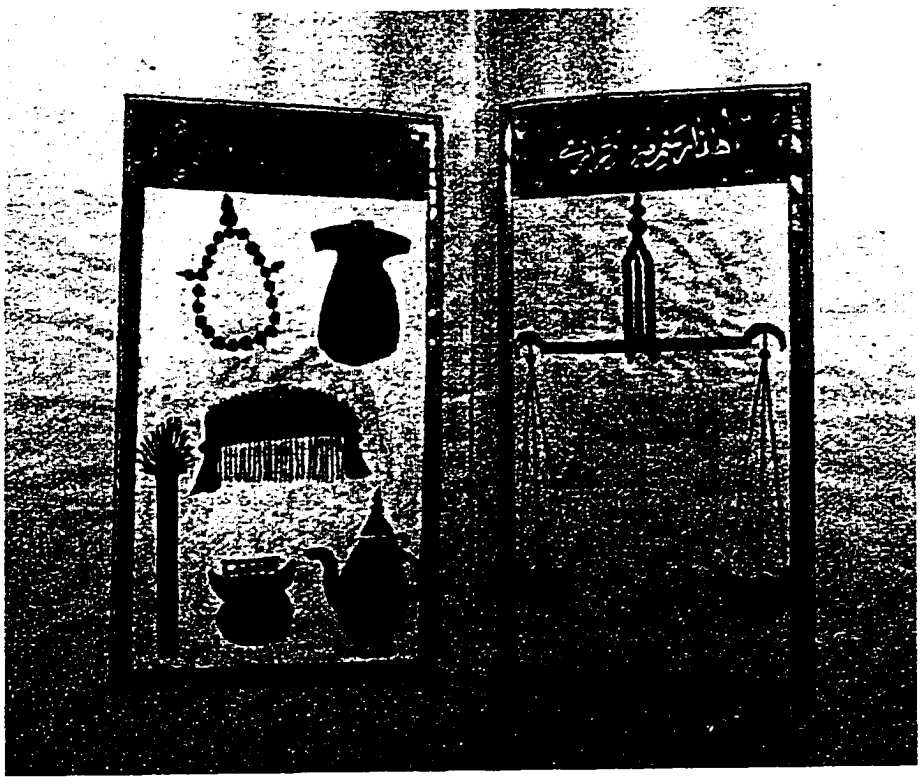


figure 26. 21. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 67v-68

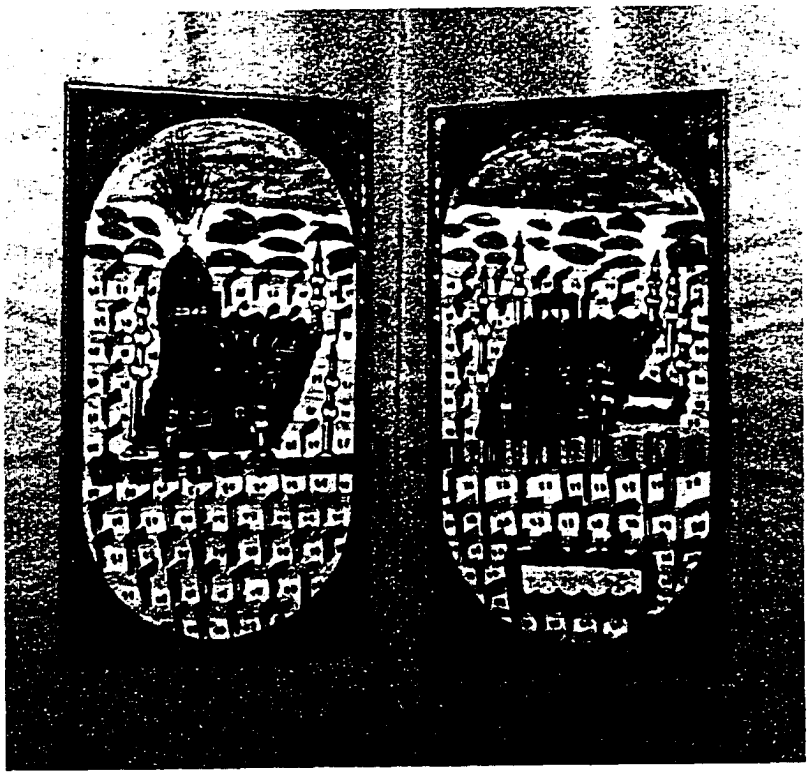


figure 26. 22. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 68v-69

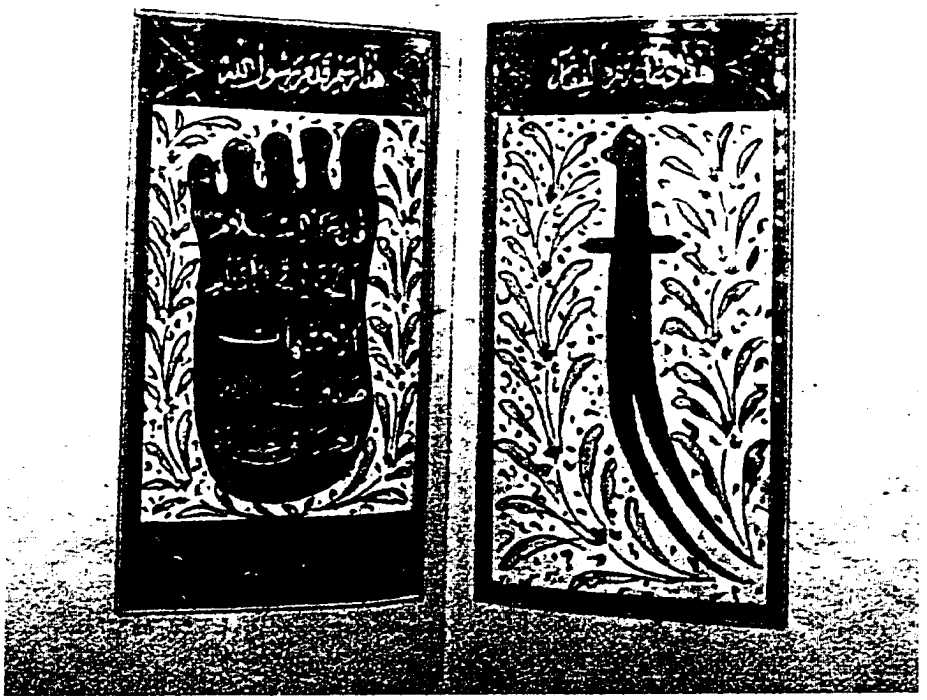


figure 26. 23. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 69v-70

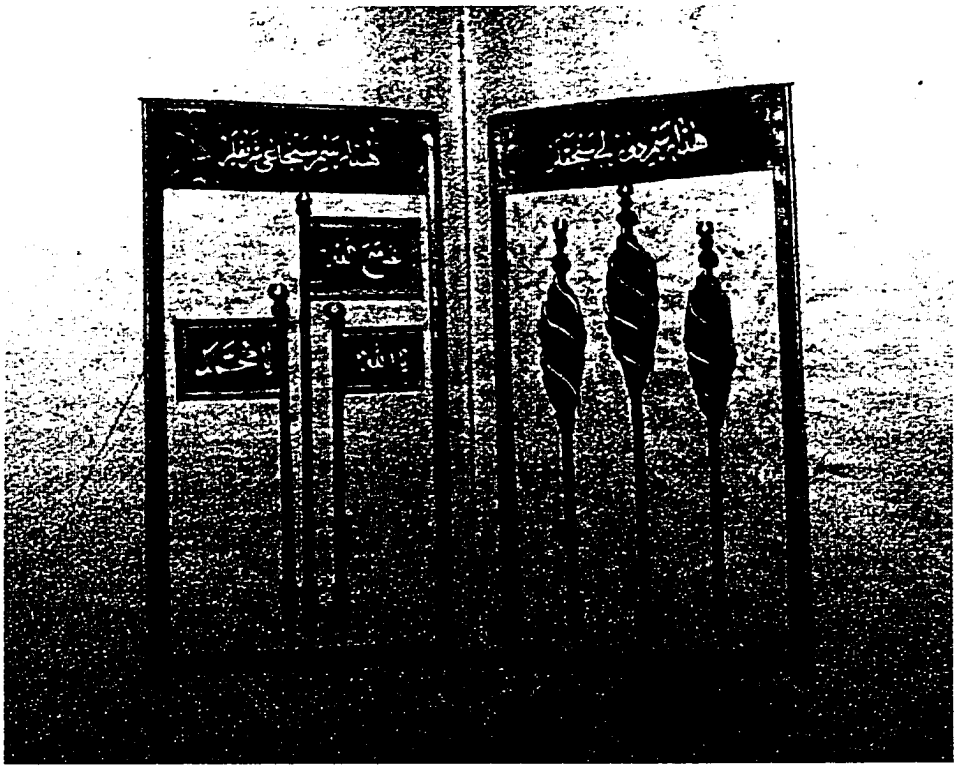


figure 26. 24. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 70v-71

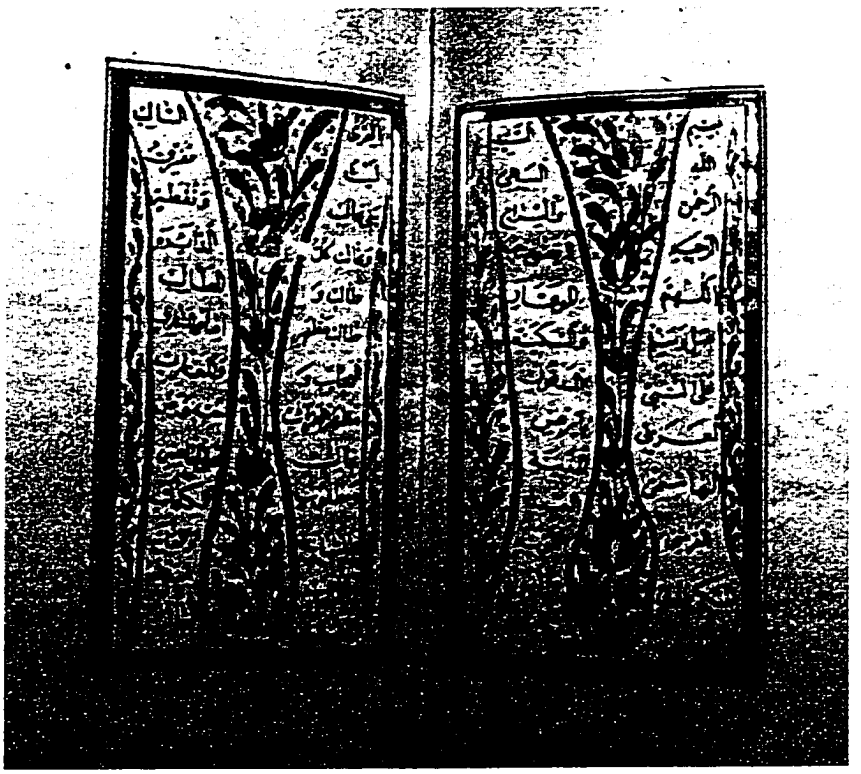


figure 26. 25. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 71v-72

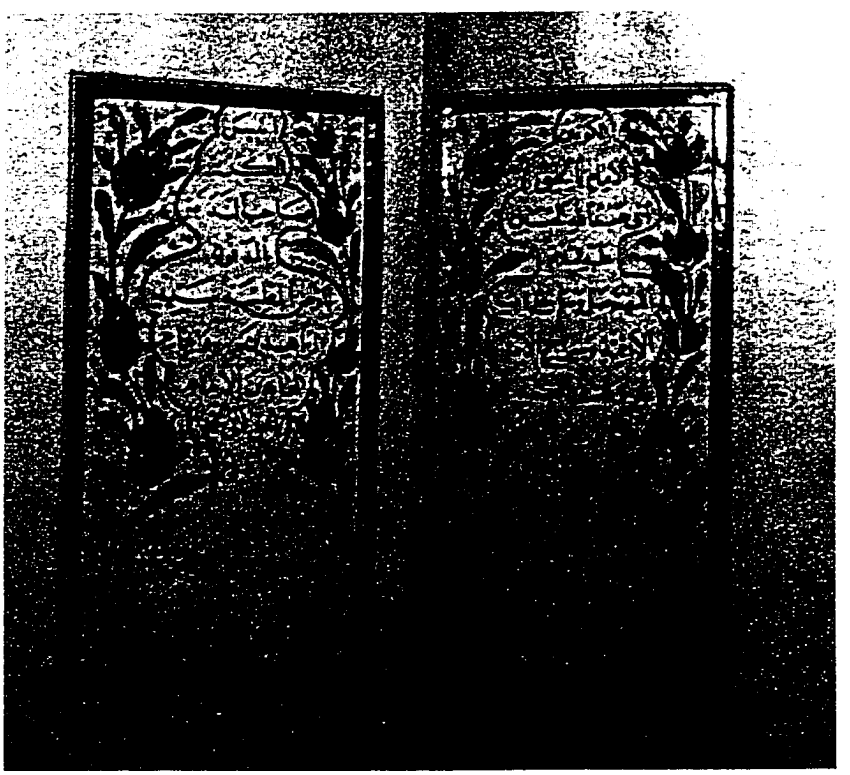


figure 26. 26. Spencer Turk 9, ff. 74v-75



figure 26. 27. Spencer Turk 9, f. 143

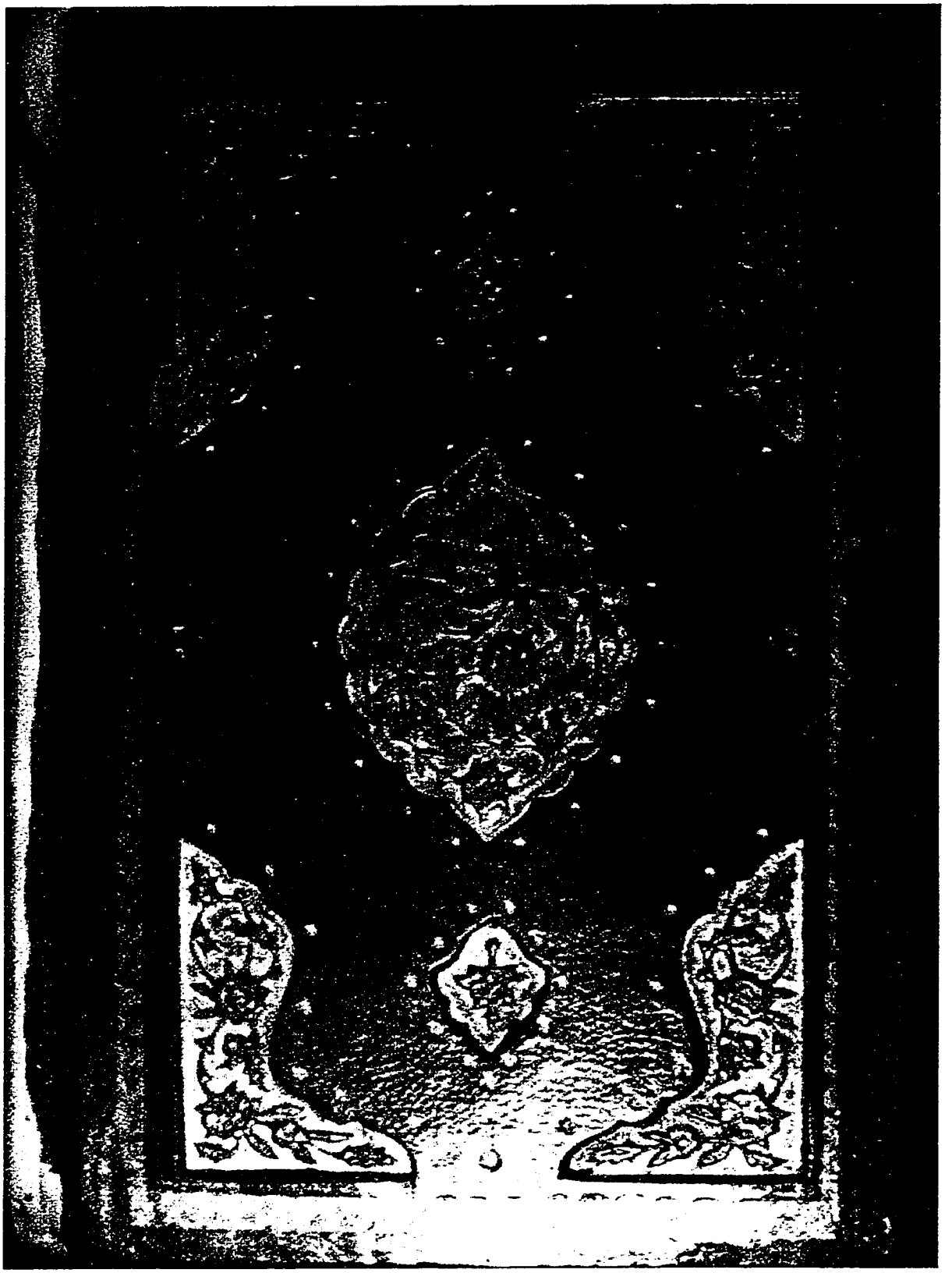


figure 27. 1. M&A Arab 22, cover



figure 27. 2. M&A Arab 22, ff. 2v-3



figure 27. 3. M&A Arab 22, ff. 158v-160



figure 27. 4. M&A Arab 22, ff. 159v-160

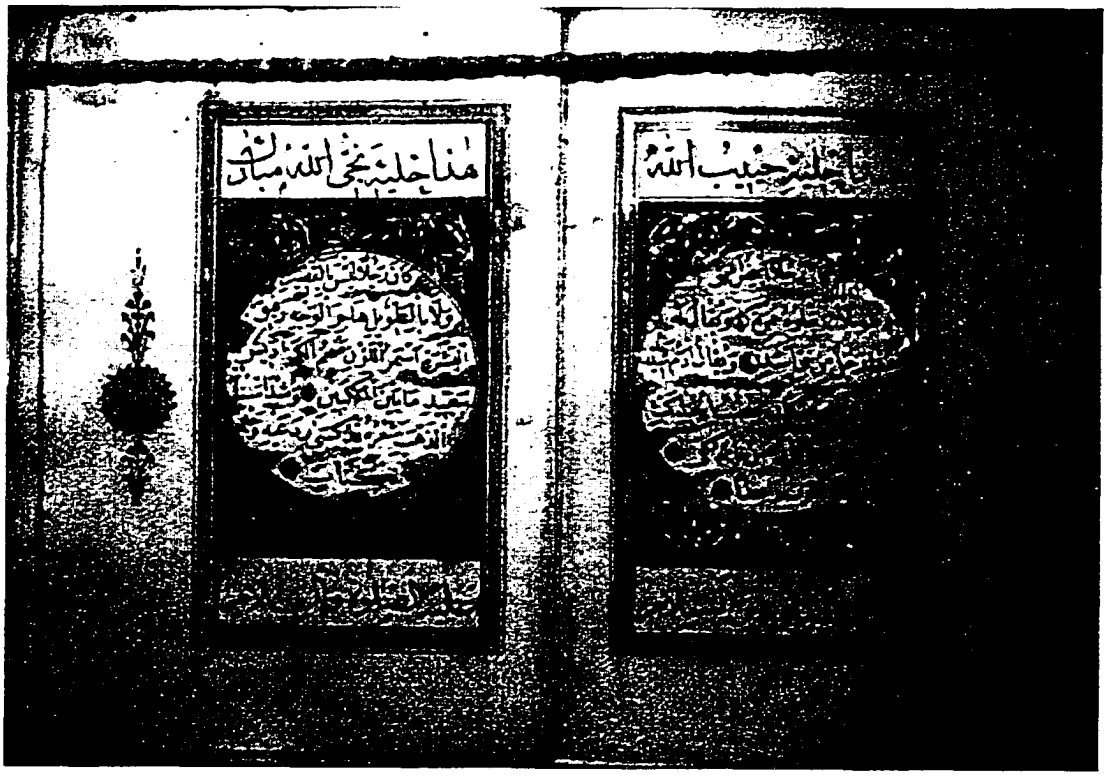


figure 27. 5. M&A Arab 22, ff. 160v-161

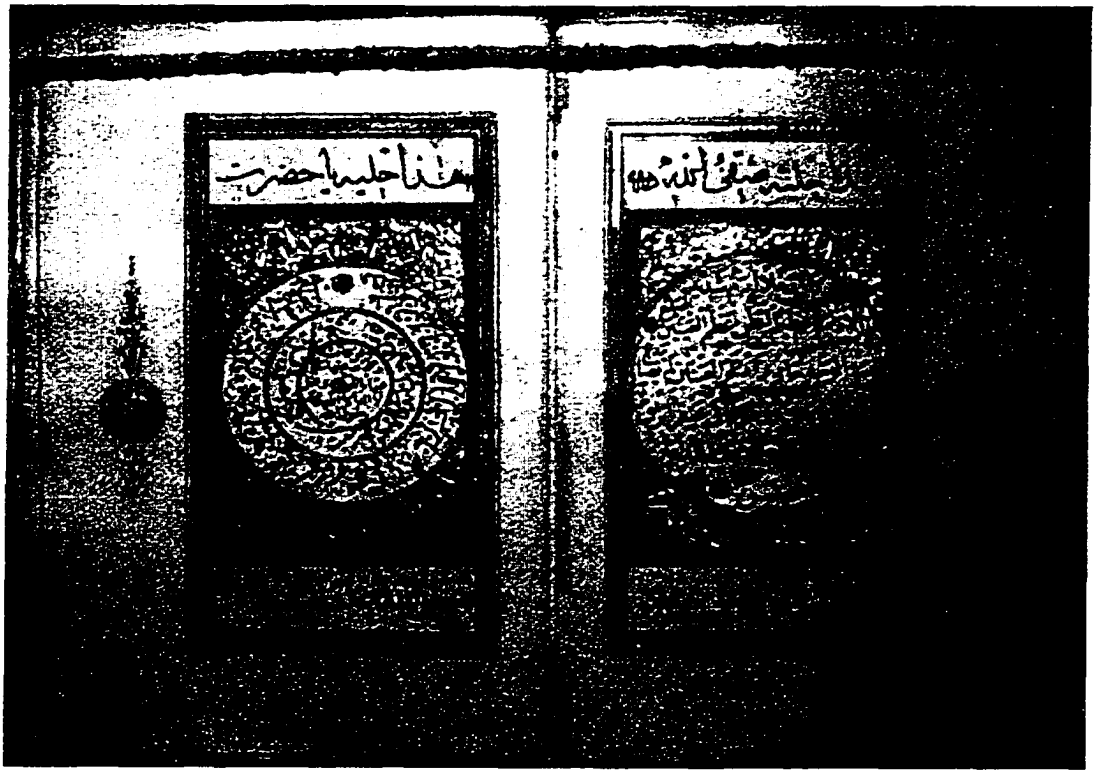


figure 27. 6. M&A Arab 22, ff. 161v-162



figure 27. 7. M&A Arab 22, ff. 162v-163



figure 27. 8. M&A Arab 22, ff. 163v-164



figure 27. 9. M&A Arab 22, ff. 164v-165



figure 27. 10. M&A Arab 22, ff. 165v-166



figure 27. 11. M&A Arab 22, ff. 166v-167



figure 27. 12. M&A Arab 22, ff. 167v-168



figure 27. 13. M&A Arab 22, ff. 168v-169



figure 27. 14. M&A Arab 22, ff. 169v-170



figure 27. 15. M&A Arab 22, ff. 170v-171



figure 27. 16. M&A Arab 22, ff. 171v-172

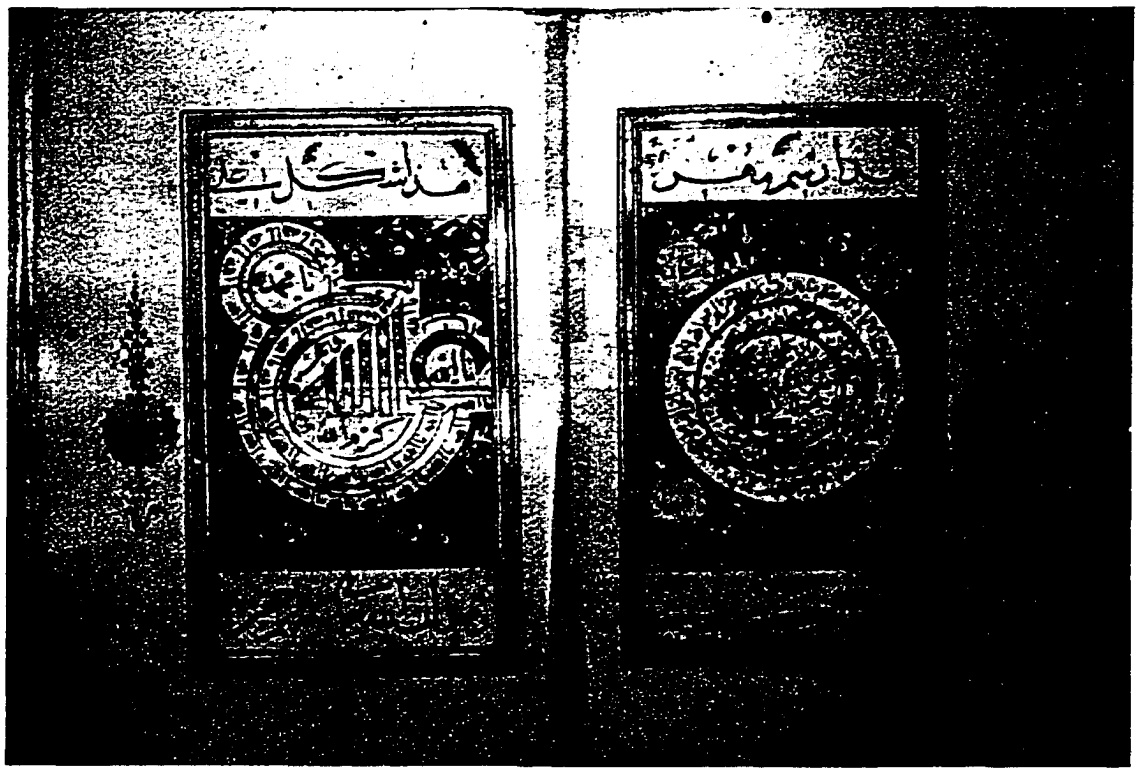


figure 27. 17. M&A Arab 22, ff. 172v-173



figure 27. 18. M&A Arab 22, ff. 173v-174

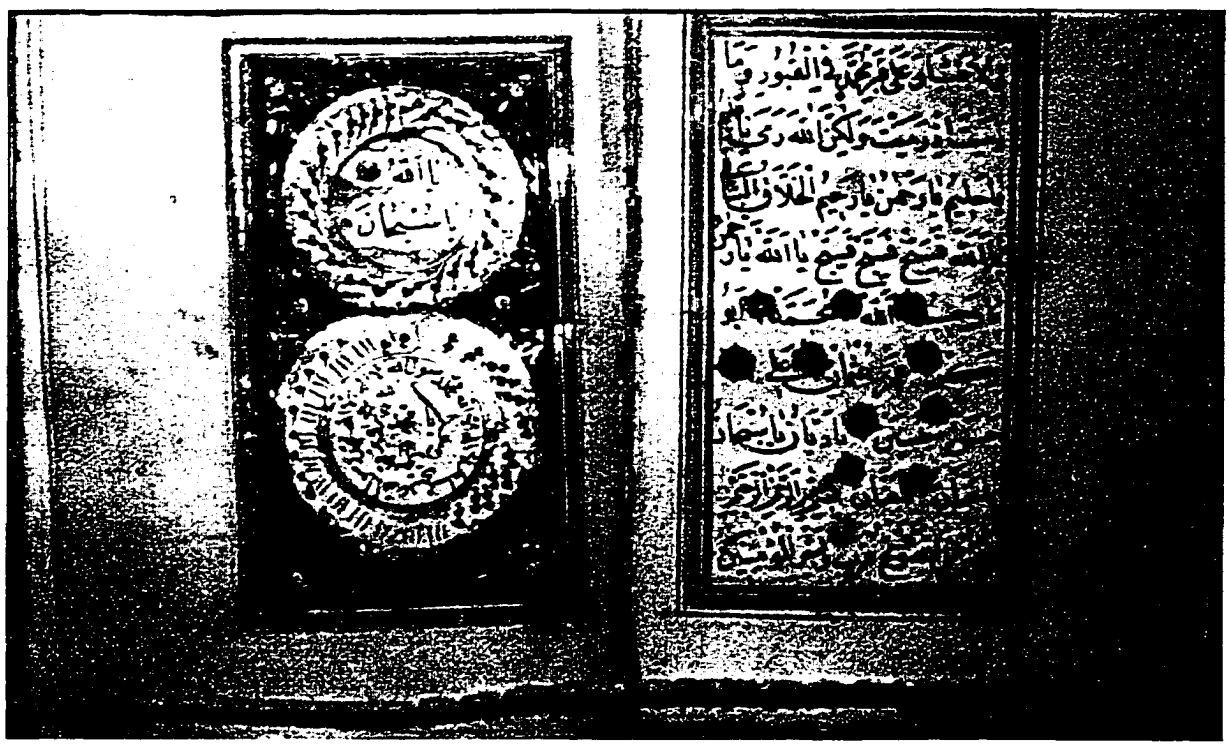


figure 27. 19. M&A Arab 22, ff. 194v-195



figure 27. 20. M&A Arab 22, ff. 199v-200



figure 27. 21. M&A Arab 22, ff. 200v-201

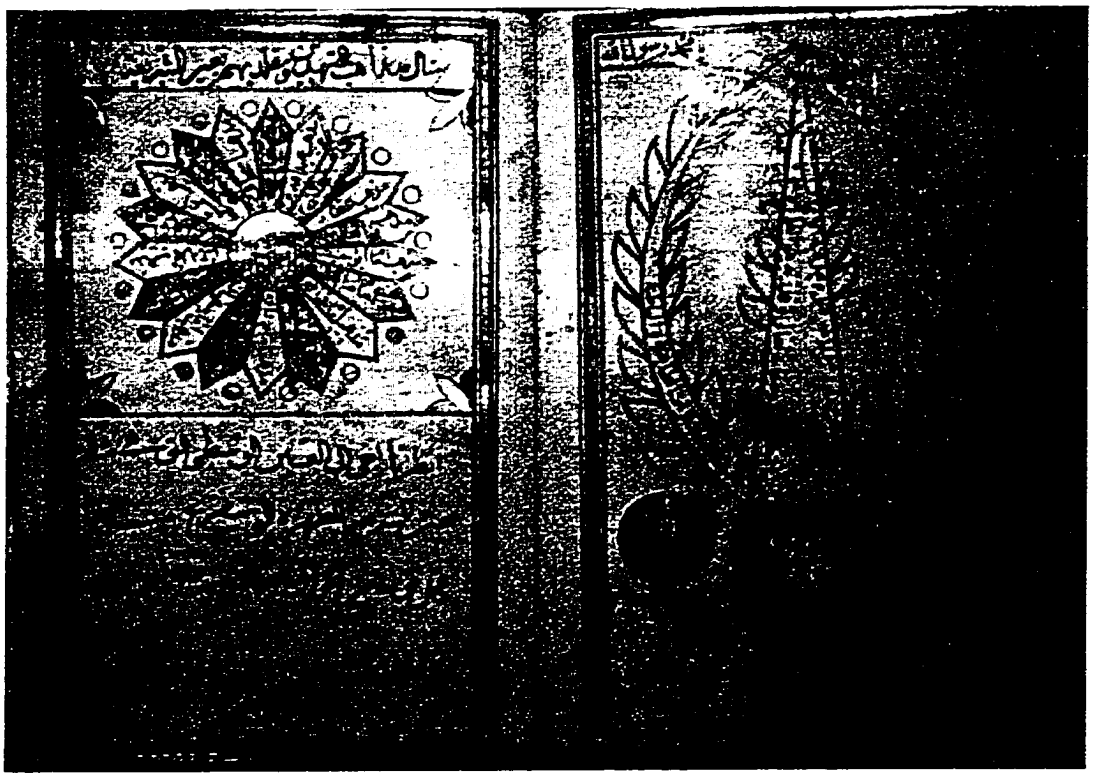


figure 27. 22. M&A Arab 22, ff. 201v-202

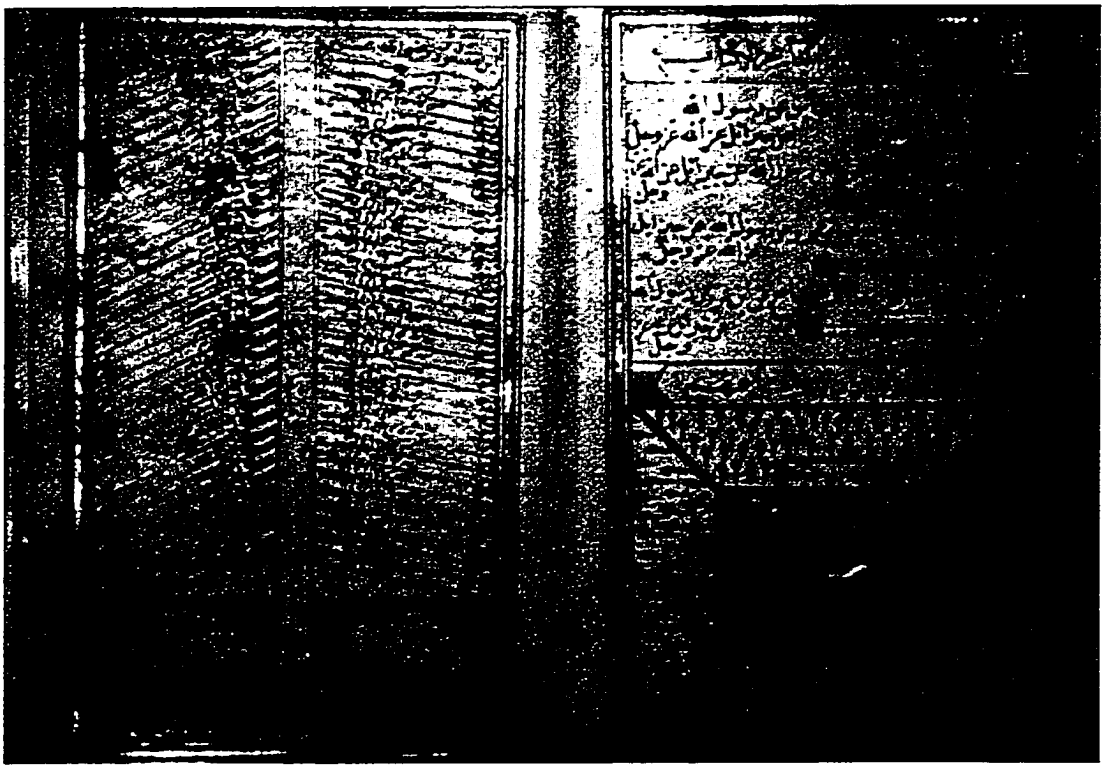


figure 27. 23. M&A Arab 22, ff. 202v-203

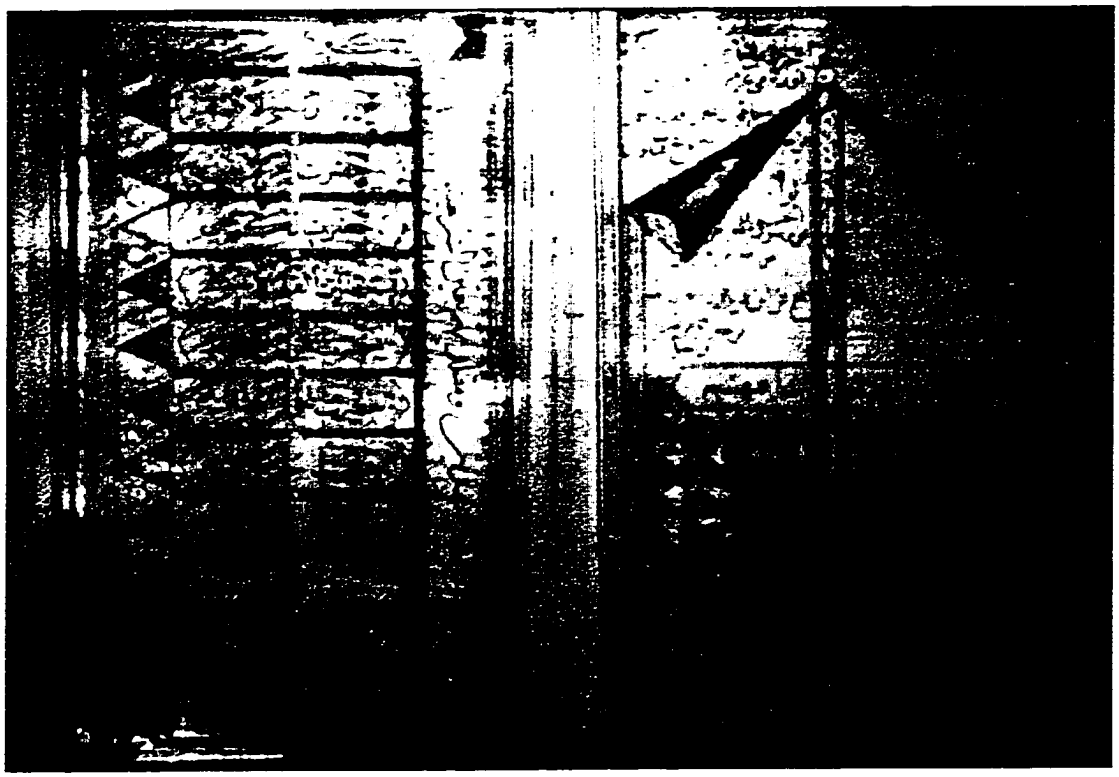


figure 27.2 4. M&A Arab 22, ff. 203v-204

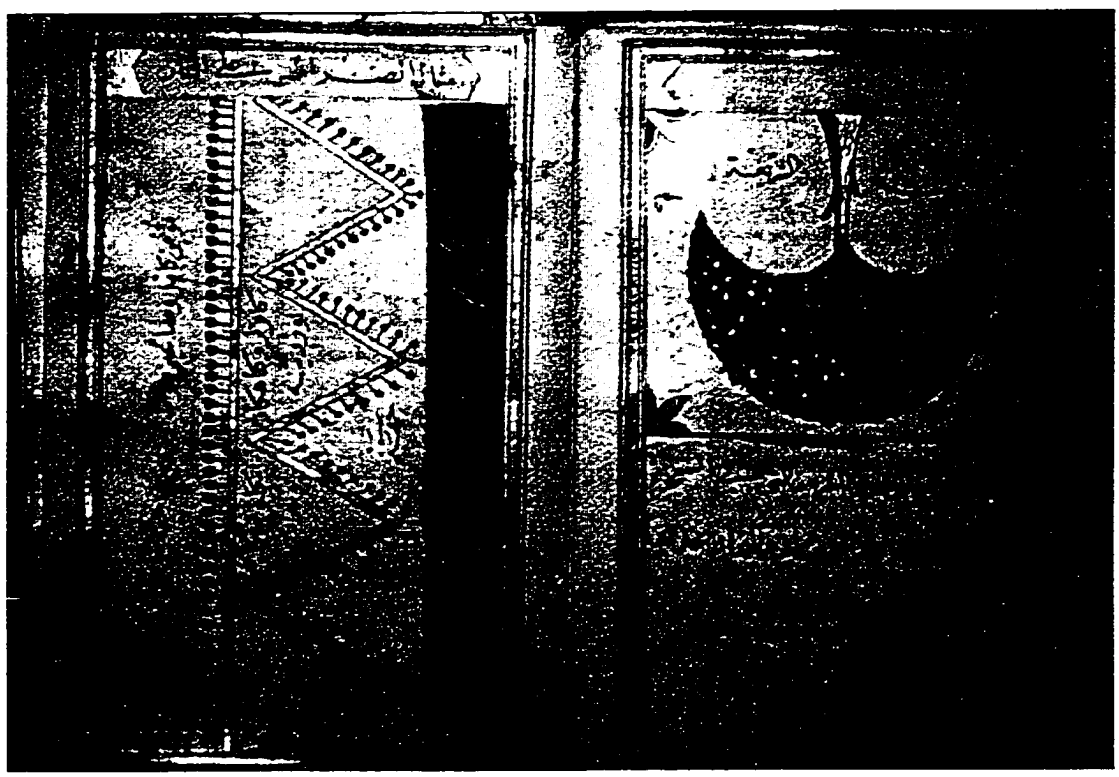


figure 27. 25. M&A Arab 22, ff. 204v-205

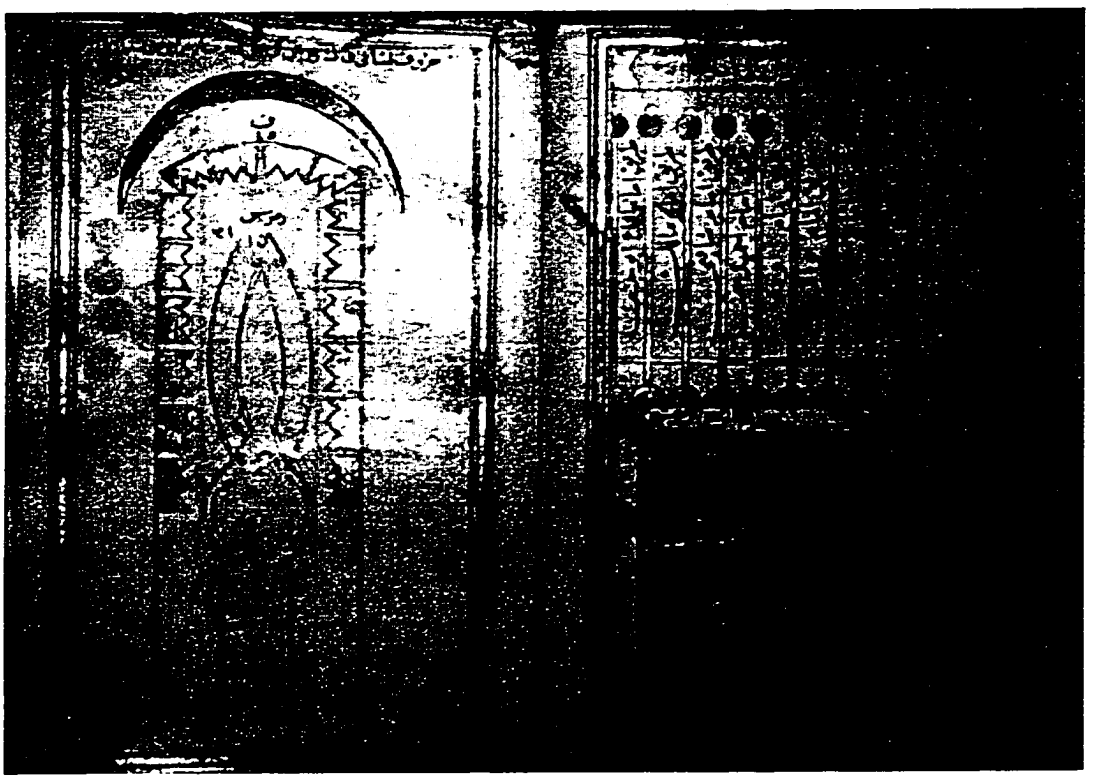


figure 27. 26. M&A Arab 22, ff. 205v-206



figure 27. 27. M&A Arab 22, ff. 206v-207

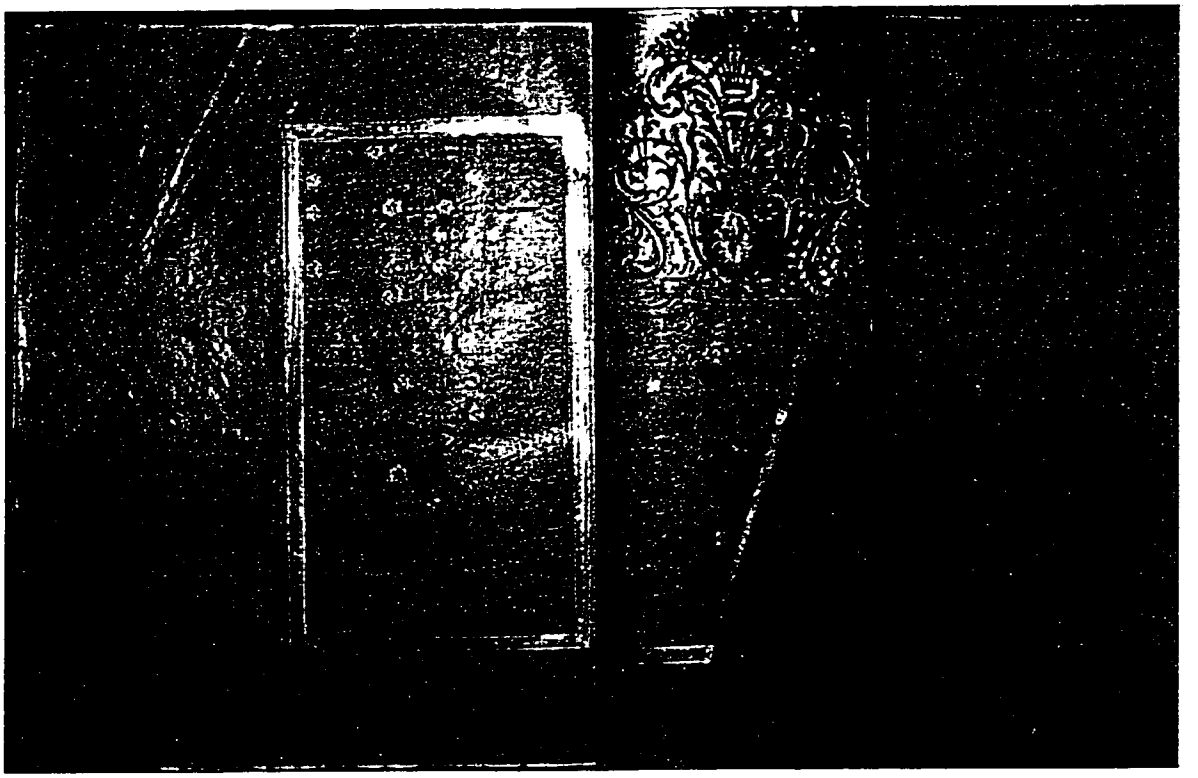


Plate 1: *Mizanü'l hatt*, f. 1v-2, Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, **Ali Emiri Efendi**, Fatih Millet Library, Istanbul.

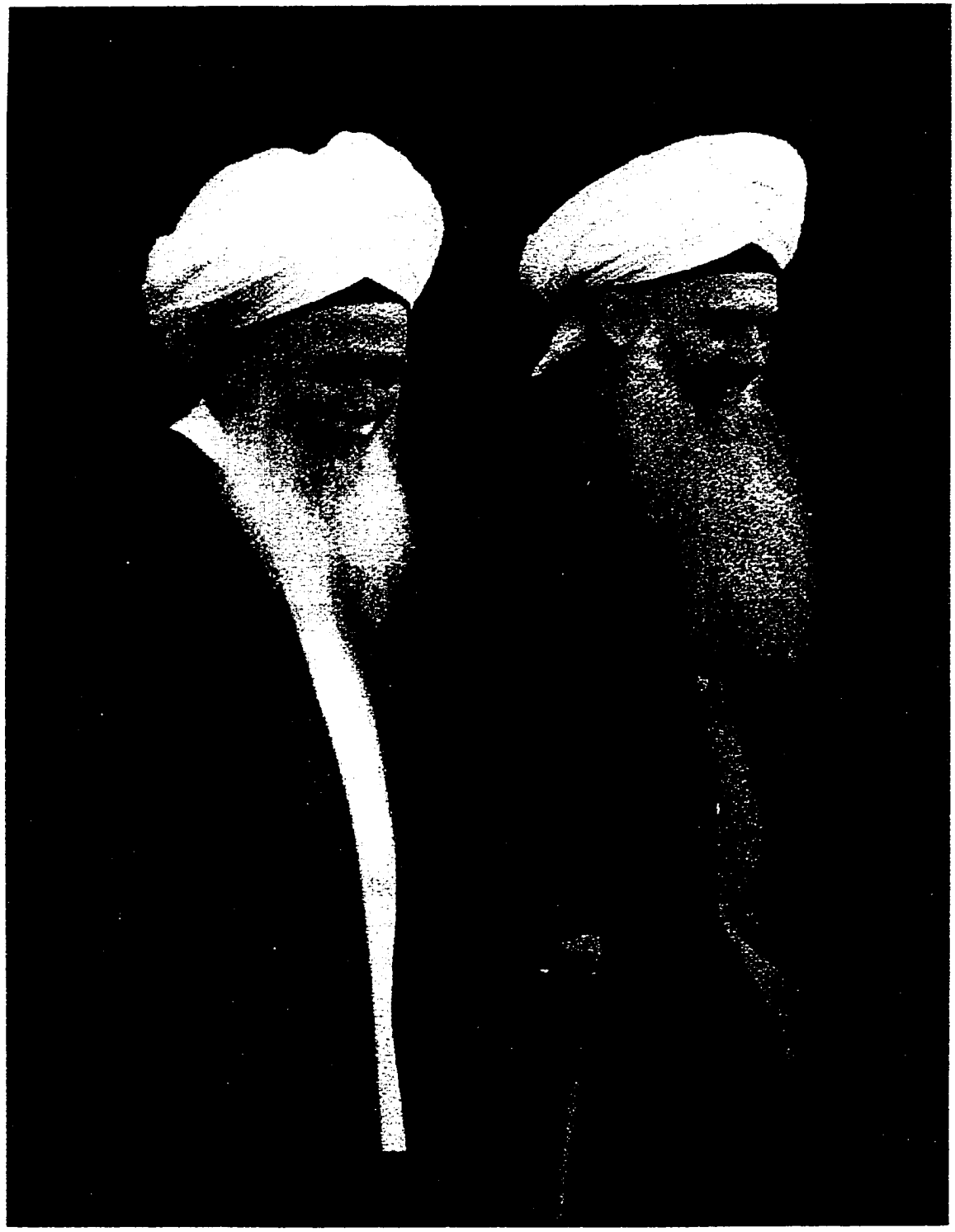


Plate 2: Shaykh Nazim al-Haqqani (left), and Shaykh Hisham Kabbani (right)

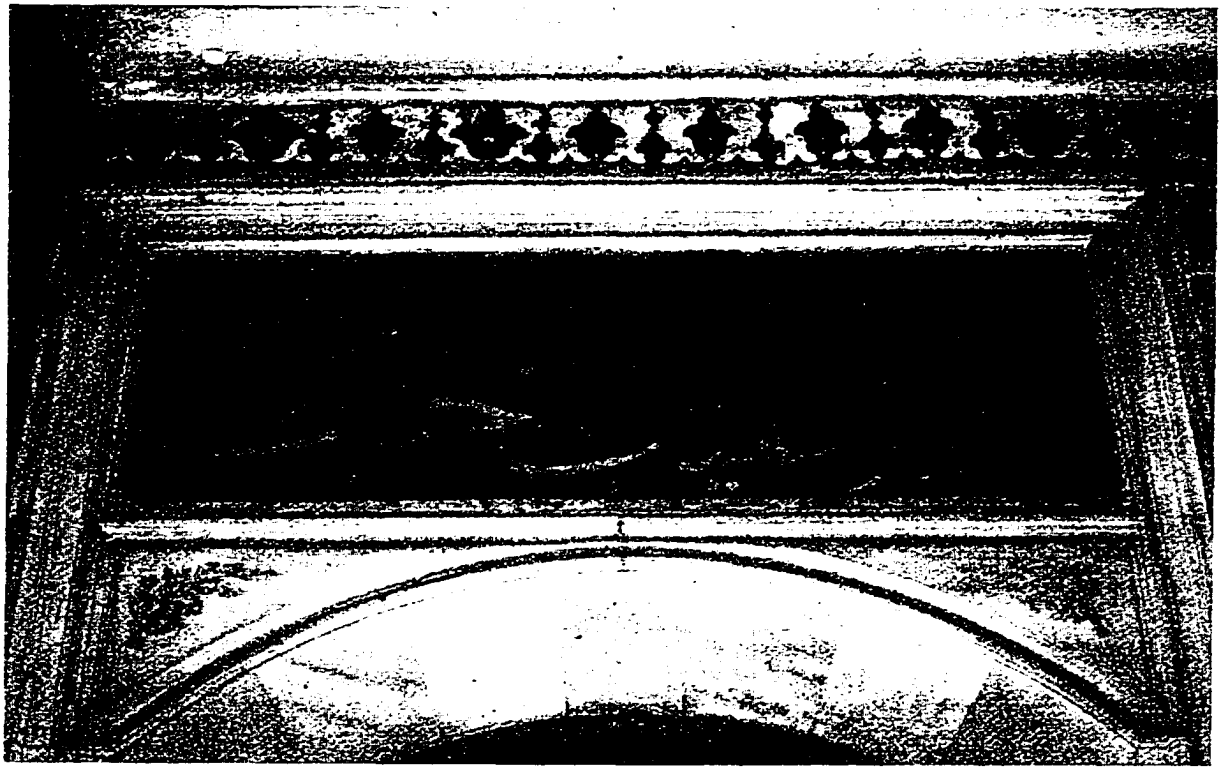


Plate 3: "Peace be upon you, O Beloved of God," inscribed above the doorway of the entrance to the *Hırka-i sa'adet* of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul.



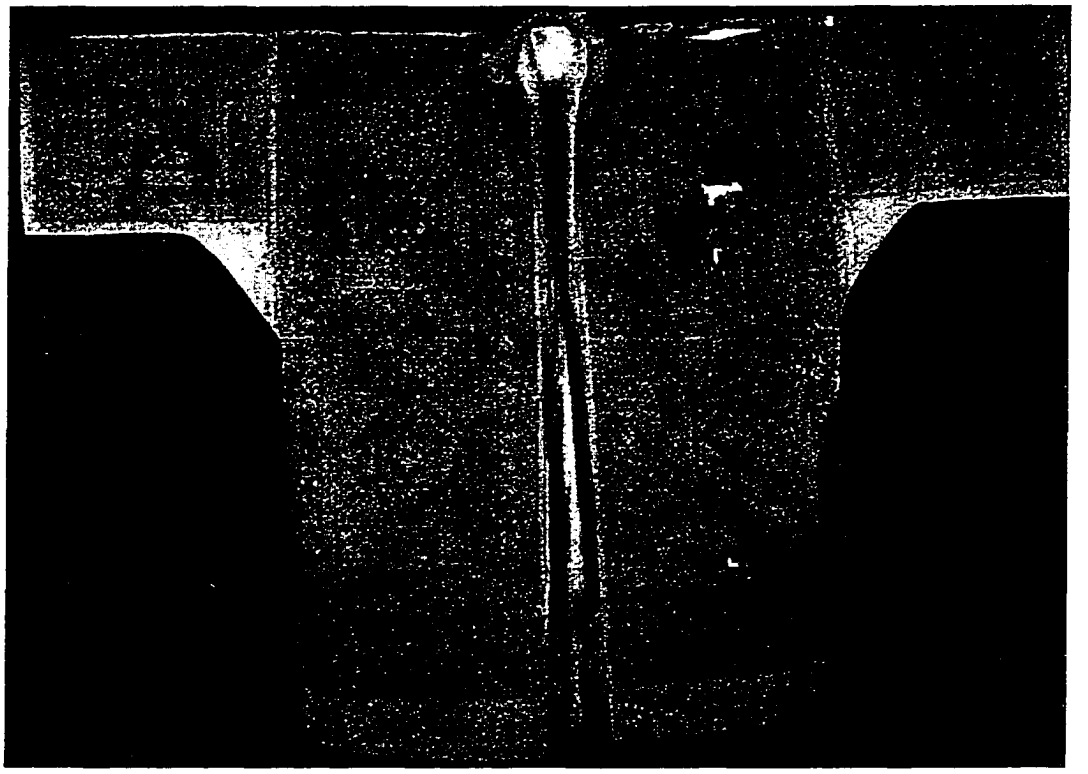
Plate 4: The Prophet's Tomb in Medina from al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-khayrat*, copied in the Maghrib by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Aziz ibn 'Ali al-Balansi al-Andalusi, dated 1025/1616, M & A Arab 5, The New York Public Library.

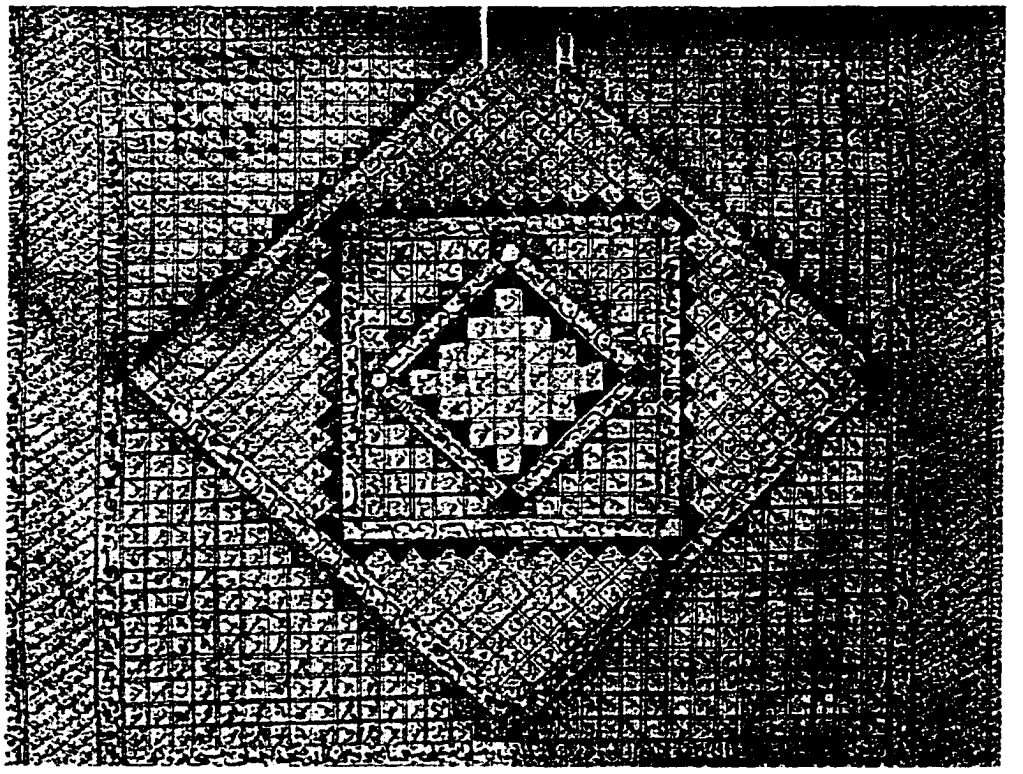


Plate 5: Pamphlet from an exhibition "The Evil-Eye and Healing," held May 22 to June 22, 1996, at the Yidiz Palace Museum in Istanbul.



Plate 6: Silver *muska* case from an exhibition "The Evil-Eye and Healing," held May 22 to June 22, 1996, at the Yidiz Palace Museum in Istanbul.





Plates 7 and 7a: Talismanic undershirt from the tomb of Bayezid I, TIEM 539, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul. Published in *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.* eds. Ahmet Ertug et. al. Istanbul, 1993, Plates 24A-B.

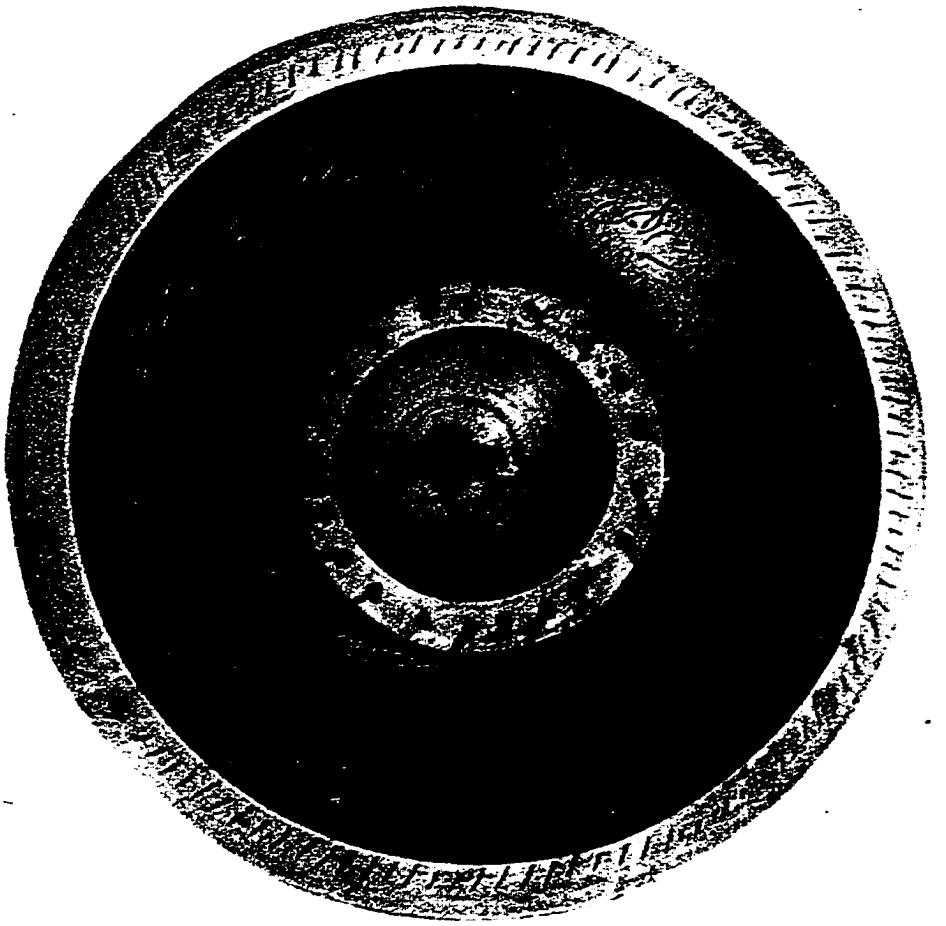


Plate 8: Inscribed *shifa' tasi*, or healing bowl from an exhibition "The Evil-Eye and Healing," held May 22 to June 22, 1996, at the Yidiz Palace Museum in Istanbul.



Plate 9: The angel Gabriel in his original form from the 840/1436 *Mi'raj-nama* written in Herat by Malik Bakshi. Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Turc 190, f. 36. Published in Marie-Rose Séguy's *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet*, George Braziller: New York, 1977, Plate 33.

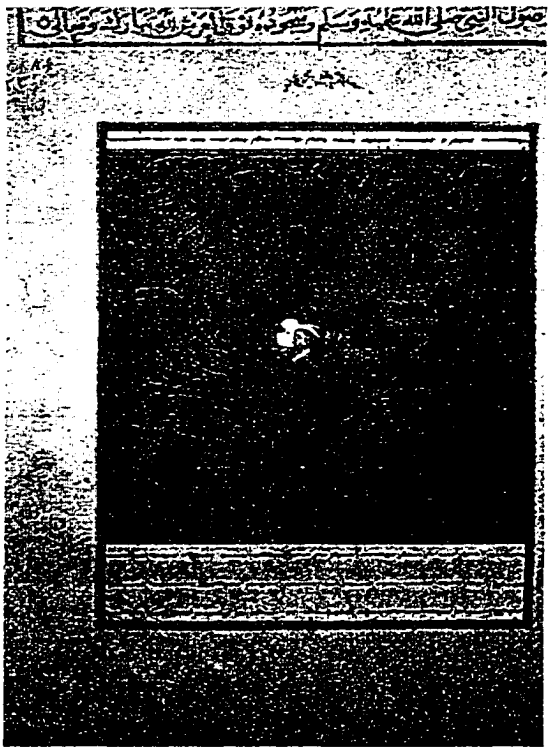


Plate 10: from the 840/1436 *Mi'raj-nama* written in Herat by Malik Bakshi. Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Turc 190, f. 44. Published in Marie-Rose Séguy's *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet*, George Braziller: New York, 1977, Plate 38.

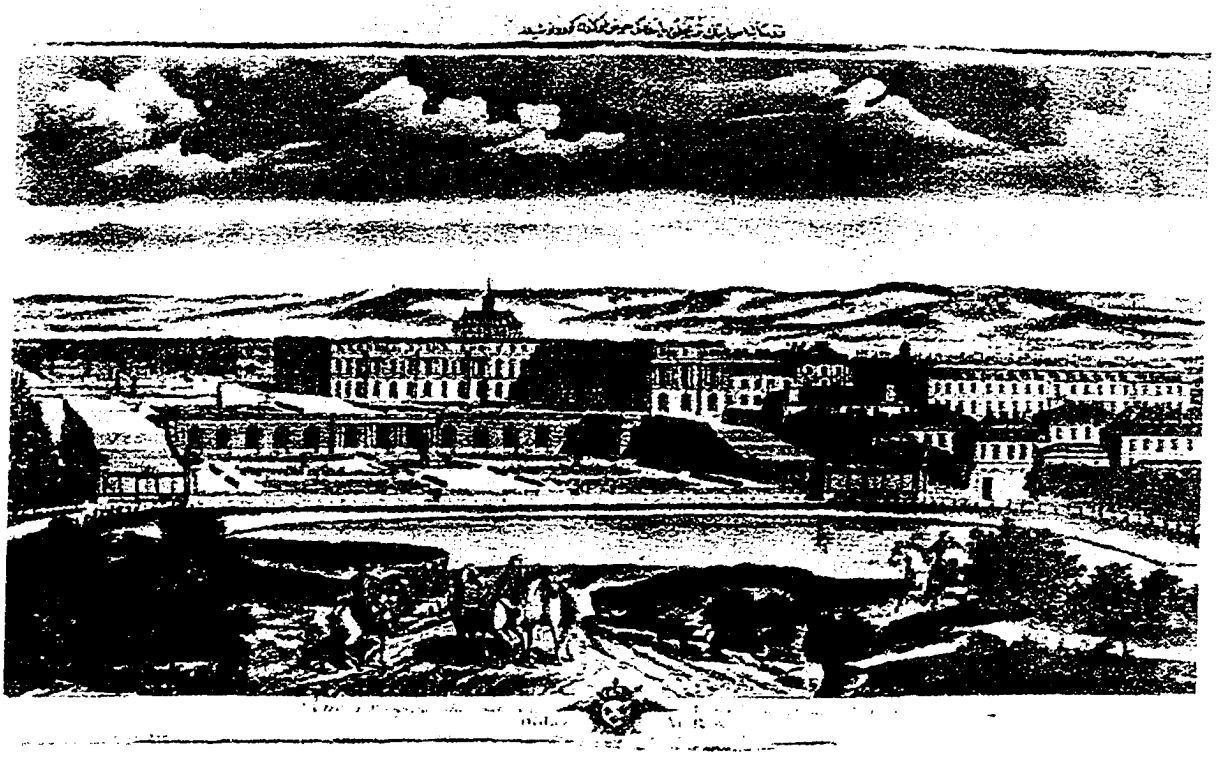
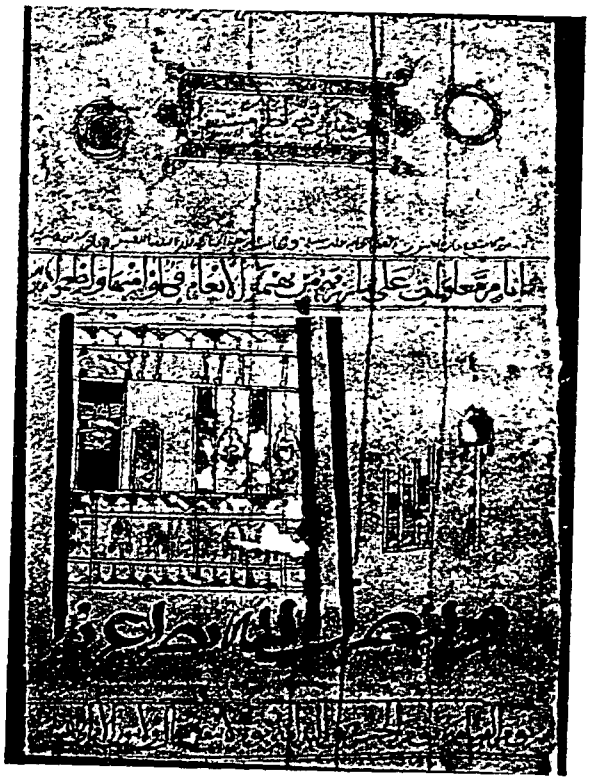
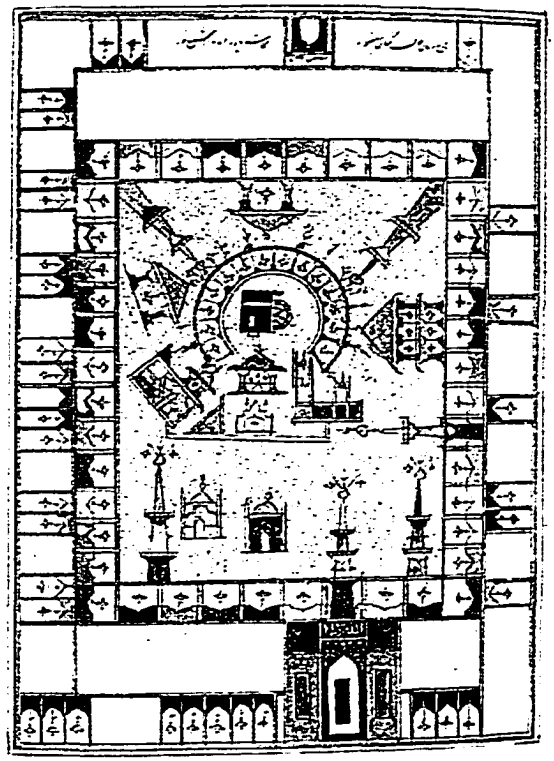


Plate 11: Engraving of the Palace at Versailles, c. 1720, in Fatma Müge Göcek's, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century*, Oxford University Press: New York and Oxford, 1987, p. 76.





Plates 12a and b: An early image of the Ka'ba from a pilgrimage scroll prepared for the lady 'Umm Said, dated the 9th of *Dhu'l Hijja*, 584/January 29, 1189. In Ahmet Ertug's, *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of art from The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Istanbul, 1993, pp. 9-10. Plate 7.



Plates 13: Image of the Ka'ba from Muhyi al-din ibn Lari's *Futuh al-haramayn*, dated 1540 C. E., **TSM R 917**, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul.

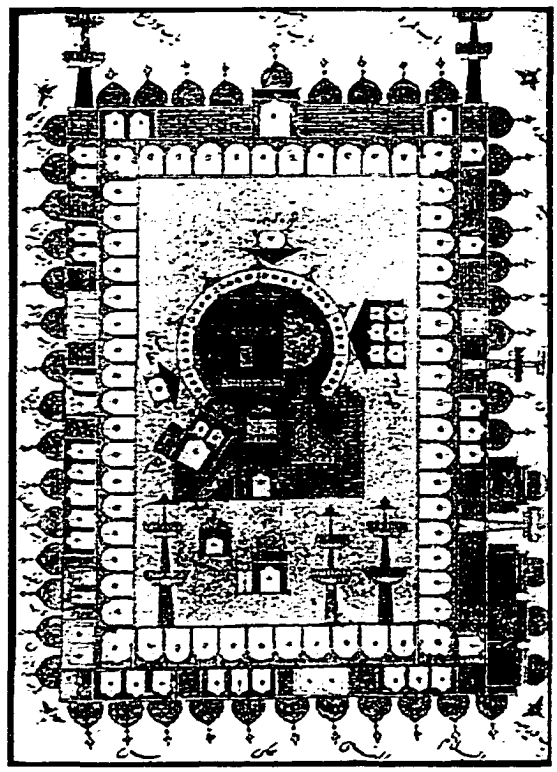


Plate 14: A pilgrimage guide written in 990/1582, by Mahmud ibn Jan Mahmud of Balkh. **Harvard MA 1985.265A**, Harvard University Museum (previously in the Binney collection). Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland Art Museum: Portland, Oregon, 1979, p. 155.

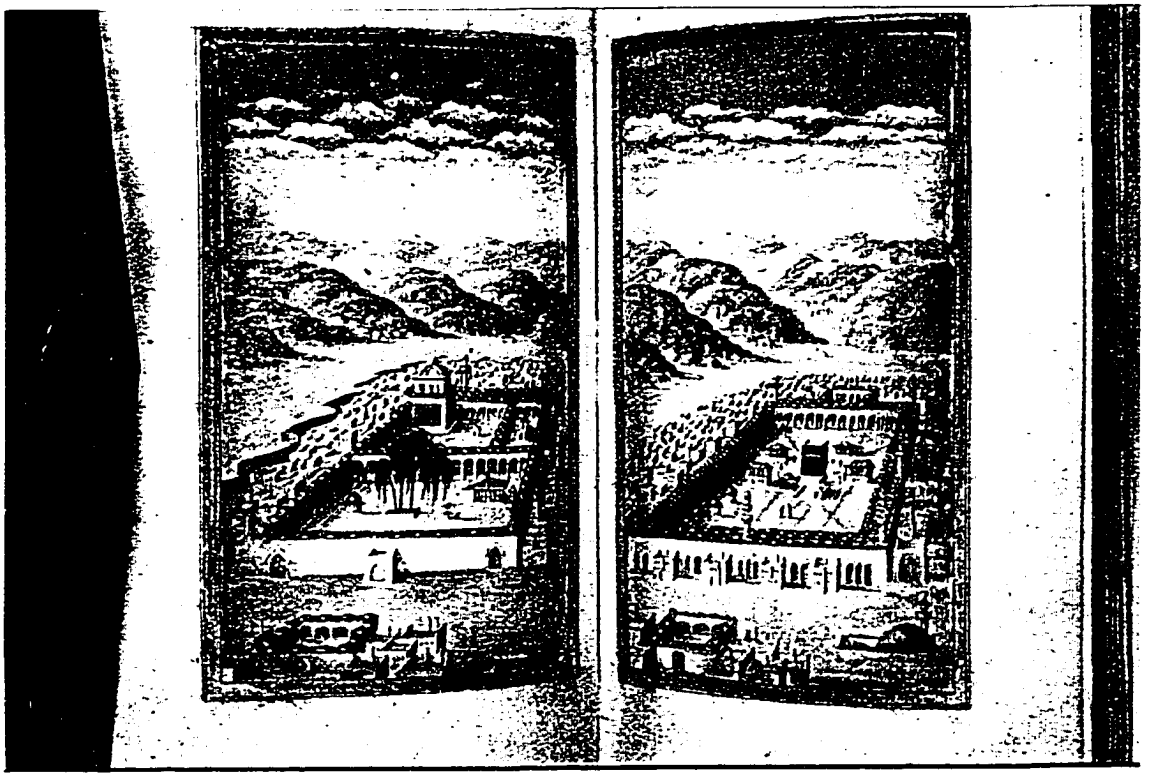


Plate 15: Images of Mecca and Medina in a *Dala'il al-khayrat* by Yesârîzâde Ismail Efendi, dated 1155/1742. In U. Derman, Kıymet Giray, and Fulya Bodur Eruz, *Sabanci Collection*, Akbank Culture and Art Publication: 60, Istanbul, 1995, p. 40.



Plate 16: *Qadam serif*, or the Prophet's footprint, Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul

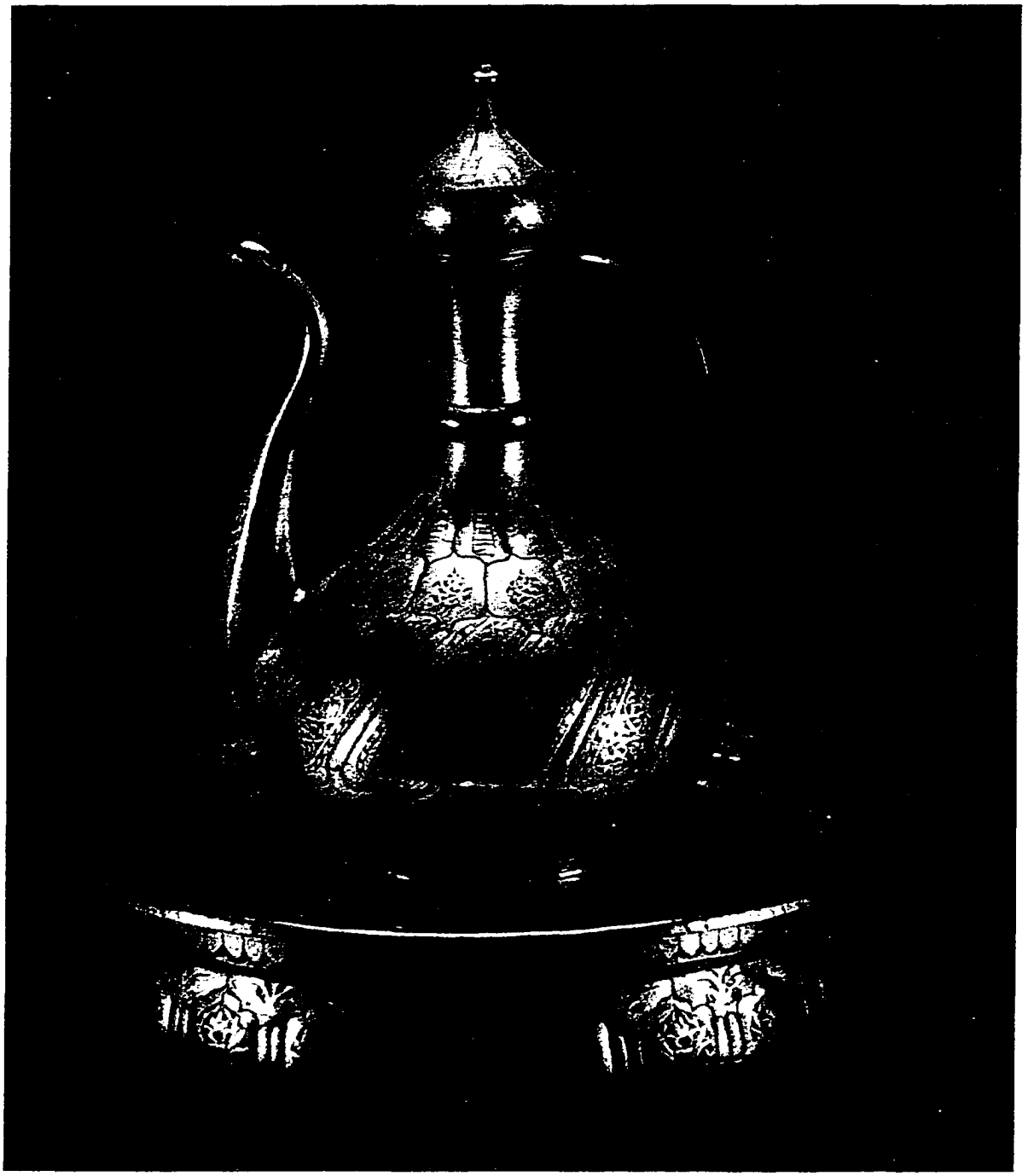


Plate 17: Nineteenth-century Ottoman ablution ewer and basin. In Ahmet Ertug's, *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of art from The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts*, Istanbul, 1993. TIEM 4219.