A Pious Cure-All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library

The Lilly Library houses a pocket-size manual of prayers that was most likely produced in Istanbul during the second half of the nineteenth century (Misc. Uncat. II. C.4). Comprising a total of 119 folios dyed in a pink color, the work bears the Arabic title Surat al-İn'ān (The Cattle) in a gold cartouche immediately below the illuminated headpiece that adorns its opening page (Figure 4.2). Although the text’s title refers to a specific chapter in the Qur’an (Qur’an 6), here it is used in a more general sense to describe verses extracted from various suras, as well as a number of supplicatory prayers (du’as) written both in Arabic and in Ottoman Turkish. These Qur’anic verses and bilingual prayers are in turn buttressed by several interpretative texts—sometimes identified as a sūrah, or “explanation”—composed in Ottoman Turkish; these explicative texts describe the virtues of the verses and prayers, recount their abilities to bring succor in times of difficulty, or specify that the person who recites them will reap a number of rewards from God. Many of the prayers take the form of a litany, thus bearing the written imprint of oral Sufi practices of praising and remembering (dhikr) God and the Prophet Muhammad. These textual elements reveal that the Lilly manuscript is best described as a prayer book or prayer miscellany.

The Qur’anic verses and prayers in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in this manuscript are enhanced by a series of thirty-seven beautifully executed paintings and seal designs, which run between pages 187 and 233. Each painting bears the descriptive title “representation” or “painting” (rastūm) and depicts a variety of subjects, such as the two holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina (Figure 4.2), as well as objects, sites, and relics associated with the Prophet Muhammad, including his date tree and his lineage shaped as a rose (Figure 4.3). The manuscript also includes a number of non-representational graphic designs, which are identified in captions as seals. These include the Seal of Muhammad’s Prophecy and the Seal of Solomon; furthermore, each one of four additional seals is identified specifically as a “seal of healing” (mührit-i şifa). As suggested by the titles of the “seals of healing,” many of the graphic elements in the manuscript may have been considered to carry the potential to bless and even cure their viewers.

The manuscript’s inscribed prayers and invocations—written in Arabic and sometimes in Ottoman Turkish—maintain the miscellany’s bilingual idiom through even the non-textual aspects of its contents. This kind of diglossic illustrated prayer manual, which blends Qur’anic verses and supererogatory prayers with a wide variety of paintings and
seal designs, belongs to a larger corpus of illustrated devotional texts produced primarily (though not exclusively) in Ottoman Istanbul from ca. 1750 to 1850. This period of about one hundred years stands out for a number of reasons: it witnessed attempts at political reform and religious revivification in the Ottoman Empire after a period of perceived decline. At the same time, members of the Ottoman elite—including sultans, their family members, high functionaries, dignitaries, and other patrons—embraced shari'a-based Sunni orthodoxy, a trend that spread in Istanbul during the nineteenth century thanks in part to the Naqshbandi Sufi order.

Ottoman Turkish manuscripts containing parts of the Qur'an and extra-Qur'anic prayers did not, of course, arise abruptly, nor did they suddenly disappear at the end of the nineteenth century. Rather, late Ottoman manuscripts like the Lilly illustrated devotional manual were heirs to an older tradition of composing prayer books. The most famous among these is the prayer book composed during the sixteenth century by Ebu Su'ud Efendi (d. 1582/1574), Ottoman chief jurist and famous Qur'an commentator active during the rule of Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566). Like the Lilly manual, his devotional work includes prayers in Arabic with Ottoman Turkish explanations, helping the Turkish reader to memorize and to better understand the Arabic prayers contained within.

Similarly, the production of bilingual prayer books did not cease at the close of the nineteenth century. A number of twentieth-century printed miniature books including various Qur'anic verses must have fulfilled similar educational and piétistic functions, as do bilingual prayer books published in Turkey in more recent years. Thus, although Ottoman manuals produced ca. 1750–1850 belong to a long-standing tradition of producing prayer books over the course of five centuries, what distinguishes the Lilly manuscript (and others like it) is its inclusion of various paintings and seal designs.

Alongside religious revivification and other cultural and political factors, the addition of such pictorial motifs in prayer books at this particular time reflects the culmination of a number of internal
Ottoman-Islamic trends rather than a brief burst of production that responded principally to external pressures, such as European imperialism and the growth of Wahhabism. These internal trends include the absorption of Islamic works into Ottoman Turkish literature and the steady accumulation of relics associated with the Prophet Muhammad, both of which contributed to the Ottoman construction of its own understanding of Islamic orthodoxy.

Although these private illustrated prayer manuals can be viewed partially in light of the greater struggle for religious supremacy in the modern Middle East, as has been suggested previously by Alexandra Bain, this chapter instead argues that they are indicative of an internal trend toward a particular kind of Ottoman-Islamic orthodoxy that was expressed over the course of several centuries through the nexus of textual and visual production. Rather than acting as an overt manifestation of public religious identity, Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals like the Lilly manuscript bear witness to a kind of personal devotion, deployed in the private domain through pocket-size manuscripts that are both conservative in their textual contents and adaptionist in their choice of supporting pictorial representations and graphic signs.

Moreover, the Lilly prayer manual suggests that at least some of these small-scale Ottoman illustrated manuscripts functioned as vade mecums, useful not only for engaging in individual prayer but also as meditational devices in which both text and image are strategically employed so as to provide their owners with maximum protection, comfort, and healing. Qur’anic verses, supererogatory prayers, paintings of relics, and amuletic designs coalesce into a protective and palliative amalgam, creating a highly portable manuscript that was fashioned through the combination of text and image, as a versatile cure-all.

The eightheenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed attempts at political reform, social renovation, and religious revival throughout the Islamic world. The deployment of the rather malleable concept of renewal (tajdid), which encompassed these many efforts, was not a new one; rather, it emerged at various times, and many rulers were heralded as renewers (muqaddid) of the Islamic faith. For example, the Timurid ruler Shahrukh (r. 1401-1447) fashioned himself as a renewer of Sunni Islam in his attempt to revive the prophetic tradition (ihya’ al-sunnah) in Persian lands, and the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) himself was praised as a "renewer of religion" (miqaddid i din) who wished to abide by and to strengthen the Prophet's Sunna in Ottoman realms. The notion of tajdid was cyclical in character and could be evoked to promote any number of efforts and programs whose principal aim consisted in the improvement of cultural, social, and political circumstances. Tajdid thus formed the conceptual momentum to achieve a hoped-for "rise" at various times of perceived "decline."

From 1800 onward, however, the concept of tajdid was not only dictated from above, via royal decree, or solely sought at the individual level, but instead led to the establishment of various political movements seeking religious renewal, political reform, and social reconstruction in the wake of both internal anxieties and external threats, which included most especially European military and cultural expansion into the Middle East and Africa. In the modern context, tajdid could be a discursive tool for expounding a return to religious roots while also promoting political reform in order to stave off the destructive potential of colonial or centrifugal forces.

Attempts to revive and adapt the fundamentals of the Islamic faith in the modern period took on many forms, as Islam's main tenets have continuously been perceived, interpreted, and constructed in manifold ways. In Ottoman lands, the reformist call responded to both external and internal threats. Perhaps most important among these were Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Ottoman Egypt and the 1802 Wahhabi attack on Mecca during the reign of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1807), as well as the Greek Revolution of 1821 during Sultan Mahmud III's tenure. Facing the encroachment of European powers and breakaway acts committed by minority subjects, Ottoman rulers, dignitaries, and religious scholars at times called for the reestablishment and reactivation of Sunni orthodoxy as a vital prerequisite for socio-political unity—and thus survival.

Centuries in the making, Ottoman Islam in the modern period positioned itself as the quintessential form of Sunni orthodoxy. During the nineteenth century in particular, the Ottoman-Islamic religious synthesis was best represented by the Naqshbandi Sufi order, which abided strictly to the shari‘a and embraced mysticism as a vehicle—rather than a hindrance—to proper religiosity. As one of the most popular "neo-Sufi" movements among the royal household and other officials during the late Ottoman period, the Naqshbandiyya stressed a more moderate and "conservative" kind of mysticism and a close adherence to a strict devotional regimen that was legally permissible rather than overly ecstatic. Thus, the Naqshbandiyya order professed itself to be fully in accordance with the Prophet's Sunna and with the shari‘a (masna‘ va masnu‘), and therefore came to represent the modern Sunni-shari‘a-Sufi revivalist synthesis that was embraced by some members of the Ottoman elite in Istanbul.

The Naqshbandiyya arrived in Istanbul during the late eighteenth century and quickly eclipsed other orders as the most popular Sufi tariqa, in no small part thanks to its overt emphasis on and promotion of Sunni orthodoxy. By the nineteenth century, the Naqshbandiya had an estimated fifty-four lodges (tekkes) functioning in the capital. One of the most active among these was the Selimiyye lodge in the Asian quarter of Uskudar, built by Sultan Selim III in 1805. In the late eighteenth century, Selim III and other individuals belonging to the upper echelons of government were active members and/or supporters of the Naqshbandi orders. Selim III’s successor, Sultan Mahmud II, openly received Naqshbandis in his restricted entourage, and he carefully crafted an image of piety both by reinstating Qur’anic discussions.
(huzur dersi) in the Royal Palace and by expanding the Selimiye tekke in Uskudar in 1835. Like Sultan Mahmut II, both princes and future sultans Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) and Abdülbaze (r. 1861–1876) memorized the Qur'an and received religious training in their youth. Many high-level functionaries under these four sultans also were connected to Naqshbandis and/or other orders. Some of them— including Selim III and Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, the wife of Mahmut II and mother of Ab- dulaziz—owned illustrated prayer books similar to the Lilly manual. 37

Although many orders proved popular, the apex of the Naqshbandiyya’s popularity in the Ottoman Empire coincides with the rules of the four aforementioned Ottoman sultans, that is, the period of ca. 1790–1853. Likewise, the period overlaps with strong reformist tendencies in the empire, which sought to position Ottoman conservatism against the ever-expanding growth of Wahhabism and pan-Islamism. 38 Wahhabism, a movement in the Arabian Peninsula founded by the theologian Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), espoused and promulgated a strict form of revivalist Islam, labeling a number of devotional practices as “innovations” (bid'a) that constituted either disbelief (kafir) or polytheism (shirk). In a number of his treatises, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab elaborates upon the topic, specifying that kafir includes making supplications to living or dead people (including the Prophet Muhammad), seeking their intercession, and praying at their tombs, while shirk includes the belief in and practice of magic, astrology, divination, and, by extension, the use of amulets and talismans. 27 For these reasons, his followers, joined by Şâ'üdi military forces, sacked a number of shrines and tombs in the Hijaz area, including Mecca and Medina, so as to do away with what they interpreted as the unacceptable devotional practices of seeking intercession from a deceased individual or worshipping at his burial place.

On the other hand, Ottoman Islam during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was overtly spiritual: it reaffirmed the believer’s commitment to the Qur'an as a source of knowledge, to the person of the Prophet Muhammad for guidance and intercession, and to ritual practice as a focus of meditation on the unity of God. It also provided a direct challenge to the fervently anti-Sufi Wahhabi movement, which promoted a rather severe, despertalized, and demystified form of Islam. 28 Although the debate and battling over the construction of a normative “orthodoxy” in Ottoman lands and in Arabia at this time revolved around the “correct” interpretation of scripture and therefore acceptable ritual practice, it also reflected a vying for cultural and religious supremacy at a time when the important political players of the Middle East were forced to reconfigure and to redefine their respective polities. These various modern constructions of Islam—or Islams—were in competition with one another, and, as a consequence, so were the multiple definitions of what exactly constituted “orthodox” Islam.

Illustrated prayer books like the Lilly manual belong to this historical and religious period of competition surrounding the delineation and activation of (a perceived) “orthodox” Islamic theology and practice in the modern age. Within the Ottoman tradition, these kinds of small manuscripts therefore bear material witness to a revival and strengthening of personal piety, achieved by the collating of Qur'anic verses with supplicatory prayers and mediational visual devices. Rather than shying away from spiritual devotion and the painterly arts, Ottoman patrons may have deemed these two practices as powerful vehicles for the expression of “normative” piety in line with both Sunnã and shari'a.

Although to a certain extent the Ottoman-Wahhabî conflict may have accelerated Ottoman Islam's contrastive definition of itself, internal factors such as the gradual Ottoman Turkish translation of Arabic devotional poems like al-Busiri's Burda (Mantle Poem), 39 the accumulation of sacred objects and relics associated with the Prophet, and the appeal of conservative mysticism must have provided stronger internal impetuses for the creation of illustrated prayer manuals, which functioned within the restricted realm of private devotion rather than the public domain of political posturing.

Many surviving Ottoman prayer manuals were not illustrated and thus reveal that they were popular among various levels of society. They combine prayers and litanies that follow the days of the week, correspond to specific Islamic festivals, or are directed toward the commemoration of various saints. 40 In such prayer books, verses are frequently extracted from the Qur'an and recited in their entirety, or inserted into devotional prayers in Arabic or other Islamic languages. Replete with Qur'anic verses or Qur'anic echoes, these devotional texts thus serve to reinforce the sacred dimension of individual worship.

The Lilly prayer manual epitomizes this dual strategy, with free-standing Qur'anic verses and Qur'anic expressions and/or Arabic-languagé pious invocations woven almost seamlessly into the manuscript's Turkish-language devotional texts. As will become clear, the Qur'anic verses and devotions selected for inclusion address certain choice themes, all of which revolve around the concept that only God is capable of providing assistance, guidance, protection, and healing in times of difficulty and illness. The Lilly prayer manual's texts, whether Qur'anic or extra-Qur'anic, Arabic or Ottoman Turkish, repeatedly stress the notion of ṣifâ—a term that can be defined broadly as a medicine, remedy, or cure—and therefore underscore that a text can provide protection or facilitate healing to its carrier or owner.

The first nine pages of the Lilly prayer manual contain Qur'anic verses almost exclusively. These run from pages 170 to 179 and include, in order of appearance, all seven verses of al-Futûha (The Opening, Qur'an 1); the first five verses of al-Baqara (The Cow, Qur'an 2:211–215); the last three verses of al-Baqara (The Cow, Qur'an 2:284–286); verse 51 of al-Tawba (The Repentance, Qur'an 9); verse 107 of Yumus ( Jonah, Qur'an 10); verse 6 of Hud (The Prophet Hud, Qur'an 11); verse 60 of al-Ankabut (The Spider, Qur'an 29); verse 56 of Hud (The Prophet Hud, Qur'an 11); verse
In his Khawass-i Ayat of 1234/1818–1819, the Persian author ‘Abdulrah b. Muhammad b. Husayn records the Prophet Muhammad as having stated that *al-Fatihah* can cure all illnesses, and in his treatise on prophetic medicine, Ibn al-Qayyim also declares that *al-Fatihah* is "of such value [that it] should be used in healing from illnesses." In the Lilly manuscript, the protective value of *al-Fatihah* is further solidified by the hadith transmitted by Ka’b b. Al-Akbar as well as the selection of Qur’anic verses that follow.

Next appear the first five and last three verses of *al-Baqara* (Quran 2:15 and 284–286), themselves belonging to a *surah* that, as the Khawwas-i Ayat emphasizes, is believed to make all pains disappear. *Al-Baqara’s* first five verses inform the believer that the Holy Book provides guidance and prosperity to those who believe in God and the unseen, who have faith in the Hereafter, and who perform prayer. Its last three verses praise God’s omnipotence and His holding men accountable for their actions; they also confirm Muhammad’s prophetic status. The inclusion of the first and last verses of *al-Baqara* appears to have been intended to encompass the entirety of this *surah*, which, at 286 verses, is the longest chapter in the Quran and therefore too onerous to transcribe within the confines of a pocket-size prayer manual. Thus, the incipit and the close of this Qur’anic chapter were meant to symbolize the entire *surah* synecdochically, incorporating some of its most powerful verses, including the famously apotropaic *ayat al-kursi* (the Throne Verse, Quran 2:255).

All following Qur’anic extracts in the Lilly prayer manual are single verses drawn from a variety of *surahs* and these verses are all related to one another through their combined emphasis on humankind’s obligation to trust in God. In other words, the verses make a reiterated case that cures must be sought only in and through God rather than through other supernatural powers or magical devices. Quran 50:13 orders the believer to proclaim that “Never can anything befall us except what God has prescribed for us. He is our Lord, and in God let the believers place their trust.” Quran 10:107 states that only God can dispense grace and that “if God should touch you with misfortune, none can remove it but He; and if He intends good for you, none can remove His bounty.” Both 11:6 and 39:60 extol God as providing sustenance for all living creatures, while Quran 11:196 leads the believer who has trust and puts his confidence (tawakkul) in God, because God is the only straight path (al-strut al-mustaqim). Quran 35:2 and Quran 39:38 state that only God can grant and withhold kindness from humankind, and that He can inflict ill or give grace and cure. Thus God, and no other entity, must be invoked for mercy. Finally, Quran 39:38 commands the believer to say, “God is Enough for me. In Him trust those who put their trust.”

These verses all revolve around belief in God’s unity (ta’wih) and His ability to provide guidance (hidu), but they also proclaim that humankind must put complete trust (tawakkul) in the Lord to determine a...
future course of action and to seek remedy in times of struggle or sickness. Moreover, the verses frequently include synonyms or derivatives of the verb “to cure” (ṣifa) and, like other verses in the Qur’an, can be described as curative and therefore “verses of healing.” Perhaps this theme should not come as a surprise, as the Qur’an itself is understood as the best of remedies. In its own text, the Qur’an is described in two instances (Qur’an 10:57 and 41:44) as a cure (ṣīfa) and a guide (ḥuda), while Qur’an 17:82 states, “We send down the Qur’an that which is a medicine (ṣīfa) and a mercy (raḥma) to believers.” Reiterating the Qur’an’s proclamation about its own self-sufficiency in his Tibb al-Nabi, Ibn al-Qayyim declares confidently that the Qur’an indeed provides a “complete healing and effective protection.”

As a result, the Qur’anic verses included in the Lilly prayer manual could be used to propitiate, to prevent, and to alleviate a supplicant from various pains, illnesses, and misfortunes. Not a haphazard patchwork of auras and ayas, the Qur’anic extracts are, in this particular case, selected and collated into the miscellany because of their coherent themes, which focus principally on God as the quintessential (and only) Protector and the Qur’an as the ultimate antidote. Furthermore, that the Lilly prayer manual does not contain a single verse that mentions war or conquest strongly suggests that it did not have a military application (as in the case of other Ottoman prayer miscellanies). Rather, its curative verses indicate that it was consulted by a private patron as a form of spiritual treatment and an acceptable—one could even say “orthodox”—form of divine medicine used for a variety of potentially preventative and curative measures.

Besides the Qur’anic verses, the Lilly prayer manual also includes a prayer to the Most Beautiful Names of God (al-asma’ al-husna), entitled “This is the Prayer of the Noble Name.” This du’a includes invocations to God and His many names and epithets, which are laid out in a grid pattern. God’s Beautiful Names are mentioned in four verses in the Qur’an, and their exoteric and esoteric meanings have formed the subject of philosophical inquiry by Muslim writers, most famous among these the celebrated scholar al-Ghazali (d. 1111). The Beautiful Names also appear in Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals, and one example specifies that the prayer of God’s Beautiful Names can rescue its owner in a situation of emergency. More than a simple listing of divine appellations, God’s Beautiful Names can form a vocative litany that the user can activate when seeking divine succor.

In the Lilly prayer manual, the prayer to God’s Beautiful Names is followed by a list of the Prophet Muhammad’s many names (asma’ al-nabi), also inscribed in a checkerboard and terminating with a mirror-image of Muhammad’s name painted in gold on a blue-green grassy ground (Figure 4.4). The Prophet’s name includes variations on the Prophet’s first name Muhammad and its root letters h-m-d (to praise), the mystery letters of the Qur’an (Ta-Ha and Ya-Sin), his position as Prophet (rasul or nabi), his name in opposition to God’s own name (e.g.,

the “Beloved of God,” Ḥabib Allah, or the “One Who Speaks to God,” Kālim Allāh), and a great variety of epithets and attributes praising his many qualities and virtues. Recalling God’s Beautiful Names, Muhammad’s many names form an elaborate ontological system by which the faithful can conceive of Muhammad’s total being, and mystics belonging to various Sufi orders intone these many names as part of sustained dhikr procedures intended to commemorate God and His Prophet.

Like every single Beautiful Name of God, each one of the asma’ al-nabi is inscribed in a single cell belonging to a larger grid, or jadwal, that recalls a magic square (waqf). Jadwals function as powerful graphic ciphers and often appear on talismanic bowls and shirts, where they are inscribed with magical numbers or letters. Grids are considered models of the universe, since they appear all-encompassing, as well as powerful graphic stand-ins for life in endless flux. In the Lilly prayer manual and other Ottoman materials like hilîye (verbal descriptions of the Prophet), they also can function as textual evocations of God. In one Ottoman hilîye made in Istanbul in 1356/1745 and shaped like a
ritual prayer (salah), but nonetheless form a part of devotional worship (‘ibada) that links a supplicant with God in a very direct manner. Indeed, the personal prayer is so central to the expression of individual devotion in Islam that even the Prophet is recorded as having stated that “du‘a is the marrow of worship.” It can be said, therefore, that in terms of symbolic importance, the individual’s devotion to God is on par with, if not superior to, communal prayer because the former practice is self-motivated and unmediated.

A du‘a is usually understood as a personal praise of God and a confidential colloquy (munaja‘) in which the petitioner, with purity of heart and intent, makes a humble request of the Lord. The guarantee of divine reply is offered forthrightly in the Qur‘an, in which God himself decrees: “Pray, and I will answer” (Qur‘an 40:62). Devotional prayers afford the devotee the possibility to endeavor to be heard, and the more they are repeated, the better and more thorough the praise of God and the greater the promise of His reply. Accordingly, du‘as are characterized by a repetition of prayer formulas seeking to praise and petition God in a cantillated format resembling a chanted litany. Although arduous and rather formulaic, this repetition is believed to allow the supplicant to be heard by God. Through the meditative rhythm brought about by an oral intonation (uttered silently or a visible voice), the recital of du‘as also expedites the utterer’s entrance into an exulted state of spirituality. As al-Ghazali fittingly states regarding the merits of repeating prayers to God: “Truly when a man loves a thing, he repeatedly mentions it, and when he repeatedly mentions a thing, even if that may be burdensome, he loves it.”

The lengthy repetition of du‘as as included in the Lilly miscellany extends and pays homage to the long-standing tradition of praising and petitioning God. The prayers come together to form a pietistic product that is internal to Islamic devotion rather than a momentary, aberrant, or partisan invention. The manuscript’s prayers include, for example, an Arabic-language “Large Prayer of Greetings,” accompanied by an Ottoman Turkish explanatory preface that informs the utterer that he will receive rewards for invoking God and the Prophet; three Arabic and Ottoman Turkish “Prayers of Forgiveness” that ask God for His mercy; two vocative prayers addressed to God directly; a prayer on the primordial light of God; a “Prayer of Covenant,” which promises the intercession of God on the Day of Judgment; and a closing prayer that once again invokes God and the Prophet Muhammad and provides a fitting “seal” to the Lilly prayer book. Although the exact wording of these du‘as varies to a certain degree, their inclusion in Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals seems rather standard.

The Lilly prayer manual also includes some specific du‘as that are rather unusual and thus of particular interest, as they can provide some contextual evidence for the manuscript’s production and its subsequent use. Two of these are entitled “The Prayer of the Cup.” The first prayer consists in an expository prose text in Ottoman Turkish that includes...
a saying on the Prophet's ascension (mi'raj) as transmitted by Anas b. Malik. The saying describes Muhammad's success in selecting a cup of milk when angels offered him three cups (filled with water, wine, and milk) and his ability to ignore the voices of other religions, tempting him toward apostasy, on his way from Mecca to Jerusalem. This text ends with the moral that Muhammad's prayer (du'a) to God helped save him from the tempting voices and thus led him onto the straight path. The second "Prayer of the [Noble] Cup" is in Arabic and, rather than explaining the merits of the Prophet's ascension, it provides a litany of prayers in Arabic directed to God and Muhammad.

Both "prayers" revolve around the cup or goblet, a characteristic motif of ascension narratives. These goblet prayers hint that the Lilly prayer manual may have been produced for a patron specifically for use on and/or as a memento of the yearly commemoration of the Prophet's ascension on 27 Rajab, a festival known as the "Night of the Ascension" (Arabic, laylat al-mi'raj, or Turkish, mi'raj geceesi or mi'raj kandili). Along with other religious holidays observed in Ottoman Turkey (and still celebrated in Islamic lands today), the "Night of the Ascension" celebrates Muhammad's investiture of prophecy, the continuation of his miraculous deeds, and, perhaps most germane for our manuscript, the divinely ordained decree of the five daily prayers. While the Ottoman explanatory text explains the salvific power of prayer, the Arabic goblet-du'a in the Lilly prayer manual provides a litany of praises that may have been uttered by the manuscript's owner specifically on the night of the religious commemoration of the Prophet's ascension.

Although the Lilly devotional miscellany may have been prepared for the occasion or produced in commemoration of the ascension, it appears to have been consulted on a more regular basis. For instance, one bilingual Arabic-Ottoman Turkish prayer near the end of the manuscript, entitled "The Prayer of His [God's] Name, 'O Loving One," offers praises to God as the ultimate Protector, Forgiver, and Knower of the unseen. This prayer's title also tenders a hopeful directive (written in Ottoman Turkish) to its reciter: "May One Read this Prayer Once in the Evening and Once in the Morning Everyday." This unmistakable instruction—combined with other Qur'anic "verses of healing" and non-Qur'anic supererogatory prayers, some of which are clearly connected to the Prophet's ascension—suggests that the Lilly prayer manual was made for and/or to memorialize this specific religious festival and that it also could have been used on a daily basis as a protective and palliative tool.

From the sixteenth century onward, the Prophet formed the center of Ottoman-Islamic piety through textual and visual production. By means of written texts, Muhammad could be remembered as the conveyor of the Qur'an, and thus an embodiment of the vessel of God's divine logos. Similarly, his oral sayings (hadiths) could be interpreted as his "oral remnants" put to text, perpetually extant and diachronically reminding the Islamic community of the rules governing communal conduct. Besides these text-based "relics," other ways of remembering the Prophet emerged in Ottoman lands as well during the early modern period. These included the proliferation of verbal descriptions of the Prophet (hilye), as well as the amassing of his clothes and other vestigia (asar). Religious texts, calligraphic products, and relics all functioned as powerful synecdochal remains, representations, and connectors to a prophetic past that could revitalize the spiritual well-being of a modern community of believers—in other words, they could catalyze a revival of the "orthodox" tradition.

Appearing as a series of six circles inscribed in rectangular panels in the Lilly manuscript (Figure 4.6), the hilye consists of a verbal description of the Prophet traced back to his cousin and son-in-law 'Ali, in which 'Ali informs us that Muhammad was not tall or short, was of medium height, his hair was not short or curly, he had firm flesh, a round face, rosy skin, large black eyes, long lashes, strong bones, broad shoulders, and large feet. He also notes that Muhammad leaned forward when walking, that the seal of prophecy was placed between his shoulders,
and that he was generous-hearted, gentle in nature, and that everyone liked him. This verbal description emerged from a number of textual sources concerned with describing Muhammad's physical features and moral characteristics (şama'î) written in Arabic by authors over the course of many centuries. Such texts entered Ottoman literary production over the course of the sixteenth century and eventually led, in 1578–1579, the Ottoman author Mahmud Hakanî (d. 1606–1607) to write his famous poem Hilye-i Şerif (The Noble Description), also known as Hilye-i Hakanî. The principal goal of Hakanî's poem consists in demonstrating that the prophetic description of Muhammad's physiognomy can protect its wearer and thus carries miraculous and prophylactic qualities. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, a number of hîye texts similar to or possibly inspired by Hakanî's example, some written in verse form, were penned as well. These late Ottoman texts attest to the appeal of this particular textual genre concerned with praising and describing Muhammad's prophetic attributes.

Perhaps inspired by Hakanî's Hilye-i Şerif, the famous seventeenth-century Ottoman calligrapher Hafiz Osman (d. 1698) created the first calligraphic hîye. Inscribed on a panel, it consisted of several parts, including a top or head register (başmakarn), a central section or omphalos (göbek), a crescent (hilal), a lower register or skirt (etek), and side panels or sleeves (kolculuk). As the Turkish terms for these particular structural sections indicate, the hîye's form was conceived in a corporealisizing manner so as to recall semantically the Prophet's presence via a graphic construct. At the same time, Ottoman hîyes can be thought to function as Sunni visualizations of the hadith, symbolically placing the Prophet Muhammad between the realm of the sacred and that of humankind. The visionary and curative potential of the hîye was not just expressed through its structural vocabulary; it was confirmed by the Prophet Muhammad, who is recorded in the hadith as having commented on the hîye's prominence on numerous occasions. In one instance, the Prophet declared:

My community who could not be honored by me will show their love by looking at the written hîye. Those who see and read my hîye, the illiterate who rub it on their faces and eyes and bless my soul with their prayers will feel as if they have seen me. Anyone from my community, men or women, who would thus bear my hîye shall be saved from the fires of hell. . . . The ones who carry it cordially will attain all their desires. They will be protected and guarded by the Creator. [The] hîye will be a remedy for all kinds of hardship. If a sick person looks at it, he will be cured.

Such statements confirm that the hîye was intended to represent the protective presence of the Prophet well after his death. The hîye was thought to be capable of protecting a dwelling, a newborn, and a traveler; curing the ill; helping the unfortunate; and saving an individual from hellfire. Moreover, it can bring about beneficial qualities especially through an individual's direct tactile contact with it via rubbing and kissing. Indeed, as will be demonstrated, the hîye was not the only item in the Lilly manuscript that could have been rubbed in some manner by an owner who sought to garner blessing and protection.

In Ottoman-Islamic traditions, other items that were venerated and touched because of their power to offer protection, cure, and blessing (burka) also included the Prophet Muhammad's relics, most especially his mantle (burka), his footprint (kadem), and his sandal (mufî). By the nineteenth century, when the Lilly prayer manual was produced, these and many other Islamic relics were preserved in a special room, today called the Pavilion of Relics and Sacred Trusts, in the Ottoman Royal Palace. This pavilion housed Christian relics that had come into Ottoman possession after Mehmed II's (r. 1451–1481) conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Mehmed II showed deep respect for the Christian relics, which included Christ's stone of nativity and an arm bone and part of the skull of St. John the Baptist.

To these Christian relics were added Islamic ones: after Selim I's (r. 1512–1520) conquest of Cairo in 1517, the Prophet's relics were sent to Istanbul from Cairo and Mecca, and from that time forward other prophetic vestigia scattered in Islamic lands came into Ottoman possession and were transferred to the capital city. The influx and purchase of Islamic relics appear to have quickened particularly during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, in 1783 an imperial edict ordered the transferal of a footprint of the Prophet from Havar (in Syria) to Istanbul. During the nineteenth century, at which time Wahhabi power expanded in the Arabian Peninsula and resulted in the plundering and destruction of relics (as in the sack of Mecca in 1803), the Ottomans became increasingly concerned with acquiring and preserving these sacred objects associated with the Prophet Muhammad.

For the Ottomans, the Prophet's relics were not objects to be feared or worshipped, nor were they dangerous "innovations" that could lead to disbelief and polytheism, as Wahhabi doctrine claimed. Rather, as Mouradgea D'Ossborn (1740–1807), secretary to the Swedish ambassador to Istanbul, is keen to point out in his Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman (published in Paris in 1788), the relics were kept in a special "chapel" in the Royal Palace, which sultans frequently visited to perform one of their daily prayers (namaz). Here, the relics were honored, not worshipped, because they served as links to God and the Prophet, intercessory mechanisms with the divine rather than workers of miracles. D'Ossborn's contemporary account serves as confirmation that such relics were understood in Ottoman quarters as acceptable and blessed links to a prophetic past since they could bolster—rather than diminish, dispute, or abrogate—true and absolute devotion to God and the Prophet.

European chronicles and Ottoman Books of Ceremonies inform us that Ottoman sultans, ministers, and other high offices at the court
were in the habit of visiting the relics on Fridays, holidays, before embarking on military campaigns, during state ceremonies (such as accessions to the throne), and at the annual cleaning of the relics room.63 Both the Prophet’s seal and his mantle also were cleaned annually, and one cannot help but wonder whether late Ottoman illustrated prayer books that include depictions of Muhammad’s relics—such as his mantle, comb, toothpick, rosary, water pitcher, and ablutions flask—might not have been produced for a patron in the sultan’s entourage, for the commemoration of or use in such ceremonies (Figure 4.7).64 In such a case, illustrated devotional missals could have served either as religious mementos or “reliquary” guidebooks for prayers performed in the Pavilion of Relics.

From a ceremonial point of view, the Prophet’s mantle (hirka), his footprint (kadem), and his standard (sancak) were the most important items within the royal repository. For example, D’Ohsson informs us that Muhammad’s hirka was taken out and unfolded on the fifteenth day of Ramadan every year, at which time the sultan and his officers took turns kissing it. After each individual’s kiss, a functionary wiped off the saliva with a handkerchief made of muslin and presented it to each person as a blessed souvenir of the ceremonial washing of the mantle. The part of the robe that was kissed was then washed with water, and drops of this “sacred” water were added to the glasses of water that officials at the court drank to break fast during the remaining fifteen days of Ramadan.65 Similarly, Ottoman Books of Ceremonies also record the ceremony of the washing of the holy mantle, specifying that the saved water was also kept in some vessels in the palace and, because this “relic water” was believed to have curative powers, it was used as a potion to heal the sick.66 Finally, official chronicles of the nineteenth century describe various rulers (including Selim III in 1808) praying at the Prophet’s hirka to secure the welfare of their subjects.67 The mantle’s healing potential, as transmitted through the conduits of water and saliva, as well as through the “religious theatrics of sovereignty,”68 endowed the relic with a perceived talismanic and thaumaturgic force.

The Prophet’s footprints and sandals likewise performed similar functions (Figure 4.8). Although footprints of the Prophet are not preserved in Mecca today, the Ottoman historian Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682) records in his Sehâyunname (Book of Travel) that during the seventeenth century there was a footprint of the Prophet in Mecca (although it has since disappeared and textual sources remain rather mute on the subject; it may have been the impression left behind when the Prophet lifted the Black Stone into place in the Ka‘ba). This footprint was typically filled with rosewater, and pilgrims to Mecca would collect the water and rub it on their faces.69 After the footprint in Mecca, surely the most famous footprint was the one left behind on the Temple Mount when the Prophet ascended from Jerusalem into the heavens on the night of his ascension. The Jerusalem footprint was a highly venerated physical trace of the Prophet, and in 1609 the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617), who is recorded as having a particular fondness for Muhammad’s footprints, ordered the fabrication of a new grille to enclose and protect it.70

Besides Muhammad’s footprints left in situ, other prophetic impresa on various stones, including on porphyry and marble, found their way to Istanbul and were housed in the Pavilion of Relics. One print of Muhammad’s right foot was brought from Tripoli and presented to Sultan Abdülmecid by an army commander named Ahmed Bey. In Istanbul, the footprint’s broken heel section was bound with silver wires, and in 1877 Sultan Abdülmecid II (1876–1909) ordered a new gold cover to be made for it (Figure 4.9).71 These prints on stones must have been understood as bearing special properties, not only because they retained the physical impression of the Prophet but also because in Islamic traditions stones are believed to carry special beneficial properties.72 Indeed, in Ottoman Turkey stones were frequently rubbed by a petitioner seeking the granting of a wish or miracle.73 Like other prints and prophetic relics
held in the Royal Palace, Muhammad's lapidary imprints were probably touched, rubbed, and kissed in order to stimulate the release of their therapeutic qualities. Perhaps the owner of the Lilly prayer manual also could activate the various blessings provided by "image of the noble footprint" by the simple action of thumbing through the manuscript.

Like his footprints, the Prophet's sandals were protective motifs deployed in a variety of contexts and objects, including Ottoman talismanic shirts and nightcaps. They also appear in Ottoman tile designs, including tiles located in the Ashrafiyah and Darwishiyah madrasas in Damascus. Damascus was a center of worship and learning in the Islamic world that also housed a leather sandal of the Prophet: in 1872 the city's prized relic was ordered sent to Istanbul for placement in the Pavilion of Relics. Further objects linked to the Prophet Muhammad were sent to Istanbul during the nineteenth century, where they were received with ceremonial pomp and pious declarations. Without a doubt, the steady influx of prophetic relics attests to the Ottoman rulers' keen interest in acquiring and preserving prophetic relics during the century that, perhaps not coincidentally, witnessed an unprecedented flourishing in the illustrated prayer book genre.

This was not the first instance of a sandal of the Prophet arriving in the Ottoman capital, however. Writing in the second half of the eighteenth century and basing his work on an Ottoman dynastic chronicle, D'Ohsson informs us that the Ottoman ruler Mehmed I (r. 1413-1421) acquired from an old man a pair of sandals said to have belonged to the Prophet Muhammad. The ruler showed reverence to the sandals by kissing them and rubbing them against his eyes. He also purchased them, later stating to officers at his court that, although he knew that the sandals were fake relics, he acquired them nonetheless in order to put a halt to the old man's sham and thus to remove them from causing further confusion in the public domain. What is particularly intriguing about this anecdote is the sultan's assessment or assumption that the sandals were counterfeit and that, despite such knowledge, he felt the need to kiss and rub them publicly—an action that revealed to those in his presence his deep piety and reverence to the Prophet's relics.

Returning to the issue of the 1872 transferal of the Damascene sandal to Istanbul, it appears that this particular sandal caused quite a stir among the Ottoman elite. In the very same year as its arrival in the capital city, a 235-couplet-long poem on the Prophet's sandal (Na'il al-Risal al-Ma'amun al-Saad) was composed, most likely in its honor. Other poems followed, as did its representation on tiles and talismanic shirts.

Its relocation, however, seems to have been prompted by a growing fascination with the Prophet's sandal initiated by Abdullah, under whom no fewer than three copies of the Arabic-language text entitled Rawdat al-Safa fi Wasif Ni'al al-Mustafa (The Garden of Purity in Describing the Pure One's Sandal) were produced sometime between 1839 and 1861, each one bearing a series of images (mi'ithals) of the sandal (Figure 4.10).

This unstudied text is highly illuminating for a number of reasons. First, it compiles many hadiths and descriptions of the Prophet's sandals in its first and second chapters, and the third chapter is devoted to the sandals' special properties (kuwass), virtues (jawa'id), and benefits (manaf'). The Prophet's sandals, including those held in the Ashrafiyah madrasa, are mentioned and referred to as blessed items (mubarak) that provide protection from evil and healing from illness. Moreover, the author of the Rawdat al-Safa states without qualification that the sandal's use is legally acceptable (maslaha) —a proclamation in tune with the revivalist shari'a-Sunni spirit prevalent among various classes of Ottoman society at the time.

The Rawdat al-Safa appears to have been composed for a number of reasons. Its Arabic language and its compilation of hadiths suggest a certain amount of conservatism as well as a reliance on sources that formed the core of the Prophet's Sunna. The text's legitimization of the sandals as blessed items that are also protective and curative thus emerges from a legally acceptable text, and therefore can be seen in direct contradiction to Wahhabi assertions that honoring the Prophet's relics is nothing but shirk and kafir. The Rawdat al-Safa's heralding of Muhammad's sandals as prized items, alongside its specific mention of the sandal in the Ashrafiyah madrasa, may in fact have lead to the 1872 transferal of the sandal relic from Damascus to Istanbul. If so, then the text functions as a kind of "manifesto" that endorses the legality of accumulating and paying tribute to the Prophet's relics, while also making a strong case for taking immediate action to preserve prophetic items scattered in Islamic lands that were still not under the watchful protection of the Ottoman rulers.

Based on contextual evidence and textual sources, it becomes clear that the Prophet's vestiges were at the heart of late Ottoman-Islamic religious traditions. Items associated with Muhammad, such as his mantle, footprints, and sandals, were believed to act as protective and healing devices, especially if they came into direct tactile contact with an individual. Embedded into prayer practices, whether in daily or festival devotions, or in pictured form, as in the Lilly prayer manual, the items also could act as expedient and efficacious devices to mediate upon Muhammad and the impresa and vestigia left behind. These traces were intended to commemorate his prophetic status while simultaneously reactivating their presence and power.

Alongside representations of the Prophet's relics, the Lilly prayer manual is embellished by a series of graphic designs, each one identified specifically as a seal (mi'ihir). Seals are powerful items because of two distinct factors: first, because they are used to impress an imperial mark, and second, because they can function as amulets. In the Lilly prayer manual, the amulet functions as an authoritative symbol as well as a sign that can protect an individual from harm, trouble, and illness. Therefore

![Image of the Prophet Muhammad on paper and encased in gold (cover added in 1875). 190. 20. x 17.5. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.](image)
acts as a device that supports the eminent status of an individual, who in turn makes the seal operational according to his own wishes.

As a mark of power and rulership, the seal equals the regal attributes of the crown and the throne, while as a mark of authority and authenticity, it seals documents shut so that they cannot be altered. As amulets, on the other hand, sigla carry curative and protective powers. The seal's shielding potential is hinted at by the shapes of the Lilly manuscript's seal impressions, which are arranged as ring-shaped or circular cartouches. These forms recall signet rings or bullae (bubble seals), but their qualities are made overtly religious through the inclusion of highly legible Qur'anic verses and prayers. Not cryptographic and thus magical in nature, the Lilly prayer manual's seals are meant to be viewed and read—even recited. As a result, the manuscript's epigraphic impressions come together to form a cabinet of two-dimensional seals, themselves endowing this manuscript with its (manifestly declared) curative power and religious character.

In his famous seventeenth-century Seyahatname, Evliya Çelebi relates that at his time there were many engravers active in Istanbul who produced stone and silver seals and talismans. These Ottoman amulet-makers placed Qur'anic verses within various figures and magic squares inscribed in amulets and talismans. They also made specific amulets, such as the Seal of Prophecy and the Seal of the Glorious Name of God, both of which are included in the Lilly prayer manual (Figures 4.4.11 and 4.4.12). In their design and structure, these seals seem to have been transferred from non-paper media—such as glass, bone, metal, and clay—to the codex, where they are compressed to the flat plane of the paper's surface.

Textual sources inform us that the Seal of Muhammad's Prophecy consisted in a mole or a fleshy and/or hairy protuberance located on his back between his shoulder blades. Some authors even specify that it looked like a cupping glass, a pigeon's egg, or the mark left behind by a leech. How the mark appeared between Muhammad's shoulders is subject to various interpretations: some narratives claim that it was a scar-like fastening that closed shut his chest after it had been split open and his heart purified, while others narrate that it was the imprint left by God's cold hand that was pressed on Muhammad's body when the
two entered into intimate dialogue on the night of the Prophet’s ascension.\(^{18}\) Whether acquired in his youth or during his mi‘raj, the Seal of Prophecy was a concrete and recognizable mark of divinely granted prophecy and purity on Muhammad’s body.

The Seal of Prophecy in the Lilly manual is circular and thus may recall a mole. It is also inscribed with the proclamation of faith (shah\u00e1da) and the identification of Muhammad as the “Seal of prophets.” In the silver omphalos appears the promise written in Arabic: “[Do] as you wish because you are successful.” Although the manuscript’s text does not provide directions for using this seal, other Ottoman devotional miscellanies tell us that it should be touched in order for its protective qualities to emerge. For example, one prayer book dated 1808 includes the Seal of Prophecy, inscribed with a promise to its owner: “Go wherever you wish, for verily you are well protected.”\(^{19}\) Another, dated 1877, tells its reader that “whoever rubs the seal on his face morning and night will be absolved from eighty years of sins; and whoever looks at the Seal at the beginning of the month will be safe from all misfortune.”\(^{20}\) The pressing and rubbing of the seal on the viewer’s eye activates the emblem’s healing and protective powers.

Additionally, the Seal of Solomon attests to Solomon’s utmost rank among humans and his authority over supernatural forces, a form of licit magic known as the “praiseworthy method” (al-tariqa al-mahmun\u00e0).\(^{21}\) Solomon could control humans, jinn, and the winds thanks to the abilities given to him by God. A sign of this divine gift—that is, the seven signs of God—was engraved in a star-shaped hexagon into his signet ring.\(^{22}\) Essentially a six-pointed star, the Seal of Solomon actually is intended to represent the Seal of the Glorious Name of God,\(^{23}\) and in the Lilly manuscript it is inscribed with two Qur’\u00e2nic verses (Qur\u00e2n 27:30–31) that ask the petitioner to surrender himself to God.\(^{24}\) Besides its importance as a mark of authority, the Seal of Solomon also was believed to carry protective properties. According to Evliya Çelebi, it was sometimes designed or drawn on the walls of Ottoman fortresses, acting as a defensive bonus when bricks and stones were thought insufficient.\(^{25}\)

The Seal of the Glorious Name of God, identified as the “Glorified Name” (ism-i cedd\u00e7a) and the “Greatest Name” (ism-i s\u00e7am), takes on two different shapes over two pages in the Lilly prayer manual (Figure 4.12). The first includes several checkerboards inscribed with God’s name in the vocative, contained within a circle whose parameters four semi-circles call out God by His epithets, “The Living,” “The Existent,” “The Possessor of Glory,” and “The Most Generous.” The second depicts a calligram that reads “eye upon God” (‘ayn ‘ala Allah), specifying that this seal is the “shape of true belief” (shakl al-yaqin). Other prayers and verses are also inscribed in checkerboards below the “eye upon God” painted in gold.

The Glorious Name of God is God’s hundredth name: unlike the ninety-nine Beautiful Names, it remains unknown by humankind. When inscribed on amulets and talismans, it is believed to possess magical properties;\(^{26}\) moreover, when it appears on Ottoman blankets, it is believed to be protective and curative.\(^{27}\) Although the Lilly prayer manual does not give directions as to how to use this Seal of the Glorious Name of God, a contemporaneous Ottoman illustrated prayer book includes the same design and provides specific instructions in Ottoman Turkish: “If this seal is placed to the forehead seventy years of sins will be erased; and if you look at it on the first day of the month you will be preserved from all dangers.”\(^{28}\) Yet another informs us that whoever looks at this seal and rubs it on his eyes will receive innumerable rewards from God.\(^{29}\) Like the other seals in the manuscript, it too functions as a graphic safeguard, especially if it enters into contact with certain key parts of the human body.

In the Lilly prayer book, four more seals are specifically designated as curative by their title, “noble seal of healing” (m\u00f6hr-i s\u00e7a-yi yer\u00e7e), thereby providing final confirmation of the manuscript’s potential to protect its owner and to serve as a spiritual recourse or remedy in times of difficulty (Figure 4.13). Shaped as a diamond—and thus perhaps paying tribute to the gemological arts—each one of these four seals includes four invocations to God (through his many names) inscribed in the rectangle’s corners. In the circular center of the diamond seal appears the believer’s promise: “I seek refuge in God from the evil Satan.” Around this petition appear Qur’\u00e2nic verses that state that God sent down the Qur\u00e2n as a cure and mercy to the believers (see Qur\u00e2n 12:82).

These “seals of healing” bring us full circle, back to our initial discussion of the Qur\u00e2n as the ultimate remedy for humankind. Besides giving further amuletic force to the Holy Book and its curative powers,
these seals are capped by the very last graphic construct that includes the terminal assertion that "God is the Best Protector and the Most Merciful One,"22 These "seals of healing" and the declaration that God is the sole source of protection and mercy provide a fitting close to the manuscript. By visually reinforcing the Qur'anic verses and prayers that appear both before and after its cycle of pictorial and amuletic "equipment," the Lilly prayer manual's graphic program carefully combines text and image into a veritable armory of portable curative devices put to operative use within the boundaries of the book format.

The Lilly manuscript poses new questions about the development of religious expression in Ottoman Turkey from ca. 1750 to 1875, a time when the production of prayer books was widespread and thus rivaled the Qur'an in popularity.23 While unillustrated devotional texts appealed to a wide range of social classes, lavishly illustrated prayer books were made for elite patrons, including sultans and their family members. These kinds of late Ottoman prayer books put to picture may have been purposefully inward-looking and anachronistic, essentially making the Qur'anic past immediate for a modern viewer engaged in devotional acts, while simultaneously serving as conduits to revive the prophetic Sunna during a period of intense debate over the construction of "normative" piety on the domestic front and in the international arena.

Late Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals like the Lilly miscellany also force the question, is there such a thing as "illustrated scripture" in Islamic traditions? As a general rule, the answer is no, and scholars have stated with confidence that the Qur'an was and is never illustrated.24 There are exceptions to this rule, however, and exceptions prove illuminating even if they are very rare. For example, there exists
1. The manuscript includes page numbers, rather than folio numbers, written in Arabic numerals. Those running from page 170 (the text's opening page) to page 958 (the undated colophon signed by the calligrapher Muhammad al-Ḳadāẓī) yield a total of 389 pages, or 596 folios, each measuring 14 x 21 cm (8 x 12 inches). Three numbers suggest that there were 346 pages (or 54 folios) of a text or texts that preceded the prayer book and, therefore, that it most likely formed part of a larger com- plement of texts before it was removed and bound as a separate volume. For the sake of consistency, the Arabic numbering system as present on the manuscript's original folios is maintained in this chapter.

2. For an overview of the most frequently extracted Qur'anic verses and the major prayer in unilluminated Ottoman prayer manuals that were set on the battlefield in the Billâns, see Florian Sobolew, "Reportory of Texts and Prayers in a Collection of Ot- tomans Manuscripts," Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph 39 (2006), 363-380.

3. The titles of these prayer books vary depending on how they are catalogued. They are referred to as Zâ'a Kitâb (Prayer Book), Zâ'a Muṣâṣhar (Prayer Compendium), and Enâm-ı _ENCê (The Noble Cattle, a title based on the Qur'anic chapter Surât al-Encê). See M. Uğur Demir, Calligraphers and Ilhanin: collection of the Baghdad Section, Beştepe Archives, Istanbul (París: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2003), ch. cat. no. 22, cat. no. 41, cat. no. 47, cat. no. 16 and 32, cat. no. 24. Alexan- dra Bata, who has analyzed select Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals, refers to them collectively as Enâm-ı _ENCê. She uses the term on'tem specifically to describe an illustrated prayer book. Although the title is not (appropriately), Buls does not provide an explana- tion for her decision to use these very specific titles for every Ottoman illuminated or illustrated prayer book in her "Late Ot- tomans Enâm-ı _ENCê Sacred Text and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book," Ph.D. disserta- tion, University of Victoria, 1999, and idem, "The Enâm-ı _ENCê Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book," Archives of the Ottoman Empire 19 (2009): 135-158. In this chapter, I prefer to refer to such materials as prayer manuals, prayer books, or collections of prayers because many of these texts do not include titles and I wish to avoid the potential confusion between these compendia of prayers and Surât al-Encê proper. Other appropriate titles include "selected Qur'anic sections," if the manuscript contains only excerpts from the Qur'ān, and "differentiated calligraphy" and "de- notional manual," if it includes both Qur'anic verses and petitionary prayers. For these three descriptive titles, see Nabil Safwat, Golden Pages: Qur'anic and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 120-131, cat. no. 52; and 268-275, cat. no. 40, and idem, The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 16th to 20th Centuries, ed. Julian Raby, NDERCA, vol. 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 50, nos. 15-16.

4. For a complete list and description of the manuscripts thirty-seven paintings and seal designs, see this chapter's Appendix A.4.


6. As Bâsin has shown in her two studies ("The 21st-ENCê" and "The Late Ottoman Enâm-ı _ENCê"), most illuminated prayer manu- als seem to have been produced in Istanbul. However, many still remain to be discovered.

**APPENDIX A.4 PAINTINGS AND SEAL DESIGNS IN THE LILLY PRAYER MANUAL**

There are thirty-seven paintings and seal designs included in the Lilly Manual. These runs between pages 161 and 183. Pages number follows the Arabic numerals written on the manuscript's original pages.

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1. p. 169: Muhammad's name painted in gold on a silver-blue-green background. This painting marks the end of the section on the "Names of the Prophet" (La Kitâb al-Encê) Family al-Encê Manual.

2. p. 170: God's name painted in silver on a green-blue-green background, framed by a red background decorated with gold arabesques.

3. p. 175: Muhammad's name painted in silver on a gray-blue-green background, framed by a red background decorated with gold arabesques.

4. pp. 190-191: Six continuous lines of the Prophet Muhammad containing "Allâh's" verbal description of his physical traits and attributes.


and studied. For example, one illustrated manuscript dated 1381/82 (New York Public Library, Spenser Collection, Turk 541) may have been executed in Medina rather than Istanbul. See Barbara Schmidt, Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library (New York: New York Library; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 48–49. 111, fig. 1, fig. 7–8.

47. The question of Ottoman decline has been posed within the context of various issues and events in Ottoman literature and criticism, and the debate continues to be largely unresolved. See for example the studies of Almut B. Topal and Emine Çelik (Istanbul: Yeni Asya, 1988), 55. 48. The concept of a "Golden Age" has been applied to various periods of Ottoman history, from the 16th to the 19th century, with varying degrees of success. See for example the works of Necla Kelek and Ismail Tatar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 1983), 136–92.

49. For example, the work of Haci Ahmet Efendi (1748–1817) was highly influential in this respect. See the study by Necip Polat (Istanbul: Bilgin Yayıncılık, 1989), 136–92.

50. The question of the decline of the Ottoman Empire has been the subject of much debate and speculation, with various explanations and interpretations. See for example the works of Necla Kelek and Ismail Tatar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 1983), 136–92.

51. The concept of a "Golden Age" has been applied to various periods of Ottoman history, from the 16th to the 19th century, with varying degrees of success. See for example the works of Necla Kelek and Ismail Tatar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 1983), 136–92.

52. The concept of a "Golden Age" has been applied to various periods of Ottoman history, from the 16th to the 19th century, with varying degrees of success. See for example the works of Necla Kelek and Ismail Tatar (Ankara: Türk Tarih Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 1983), 136–92.

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Ali Razz (d. 1326) wrote his Qasidah al-Huda (Manate Odol), an Arabic-language panegyric poem in honor of the Prophet, to think Muhammad for appearing to him in his sleep and for covering him with the Prophet’s mantle (hija), thereby curing his paralysis.

The Buraḵa became a favorite devotional poem that was often recited during the festive occasions commemorating the Prophet’s birth on 23 Ilaḥ. It also was frequently translated into other languages: in its Ottoman Turkish transcription, it existed in the popularity of Slavonic genre’s disciples (d. 1507) Meškić i Šefić (Nobles Birth). For an English translation of ali-Burā:k’s Buraḵa, see Arthur Jeffery, A Reader on Islam: Passages from Standard Arabic Writings Illustrative of the Beliefs and Practices of Muslims (7th-19th Century: Mouton, 1982), 605-612.

Unillustrated prayer books popular in the modern period are examined in detail in Constance Padwick, Muslim Devotion: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926). One exception to this rule is ali-Israili’s (d. 1684) Dalal al-Khayrāt (Prayers of Good Deeds), which was frequently put to illustration during the Ottoman period; see Jun Iwamoto, The Battle of the Images: Mecca vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of ali-Israili’s Dalal al-Khayrāt, Beiruter Texte und Studien 45 (2007): 67-82.


So far as we know, this is the first mention in literature, together with the imperial sultan’s imperial emblems (rub). Both in the beginning and the end of the manuscript. See François Massignon and Emilie Savage-Smith, Science, Tools and Magic. Part I: Body and Spirit, Mapping the Universe, ed. Julian Raby, NELIGA, vol. 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 139-167. 170, 171; 172-173; 174-175; 176-177; 178-179.

The Library Misc. Uncat. II. C. pages 174-175. Six al-Atlādī was a Jewish convert to Islam and one of the Prophet Muhammad’s companions who transmitted a number of sayings.

There are a number of texts that describe the special attributes and beneficial properties of the Qur’an (a gene generally known as khawāṣ al-Qur’ān). These include, for example, al-Yamani’s (9th century) and al-Bashar’s (d. 1228) treatises, both entitled Manaqī al-Qur’ān (The Benefits of the Qur’an). See Peter Perković and Emilie Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic Medicine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 149; and Tsou-Chih Fu, Khawāṣ al-Qur’ān, Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1944), vol. 133-134. On the virtuous and merits named (ruqūṣ) of reciting and writing the Qur’an also see Anna Alfaydhi, The Excellence of the Qur’an: Textual Sacrality and the Organization of Early Islamic Society, Journal of the American Oriental Society 132.1 (January-March 2012): 1-24.

Qur’ānic chapters pertaining to warfare include most especially Surah at-Futūh (The Victory, Qur’an 40:61-89), Surah al-Mā’ṣīr (The Conquest, Qur’an 9:103-127), and Surah al-Iṣāf (Al Battle Array, Qur’an 6:127). For a further discussion of the martial context of the Qur’an, see Heather Cobbler’s chapter in this volume; and for Ottoman battle scenes, see Hülya Tercan, Topkapı Sarayı’ndaki Şifalı Çocuklar: Işıklarımın Işıkları, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2006; and Oğuz Şah Gökben, İslam Gökben, Türk Fotograflarda Anıt现有: Filmler (Anı现有: Filmler: Türk İslam’ın Fotografları ve Anı现有: Filmleri, Istanbul: Yeniçağ, 2010).

The al-Qiyam, Question of the Prophet, 35.


Qur’an 7:28-30; 27:10, 24:20 and 2:234. In English translations of the Qur’an, the expression allah a’lahumna (Allah is my Lord) is repeated either as “The Most Beautiful Names of God (of)” or “The Most Perfect Attributes of God”.


Closely associated with the concept of the “beautiful Names” of God, the idea that the Prophet Muhammad had many names can be traced back to the hadith. For example, of al-Bukhari reports in his Sunnah (Hadith) that the Prophet said that he has five names: “I am Muhammad and Allah; I am al-Mahi’ through whom God will create; I am al-Haffect who will be the first to be resurrected, the people were resuscitated there after; and I am also al-Af’af (i.e., There will be no prophet after me)” (al-Bukhari, Sahih al-Bukhari, The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari: Arabic, English; ed. tr., trans. Muhammad Mahdi Khan (Medina: Dar Abya ‘Us-Sunah al-Mawdbah, 1937), vol. 4, 481-492, Book 66, Number 753). For a further discussion of the names of the Prophet Muhammad, see Anna Lentricchia, Muhammad and Islam: His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 195-205.

Magic squares are also called hadith (for an explanation of this term, derived from a 4 x 4 square inscribed with letters in the rub, see Schuyler Cameron, Islamic and Indian Magic Squares: Part I: History of Religion 85 (1991): 190; 191). The inscription of one name per cell comprises the format known as a Latin square (with magic), see Cameron and Savage-Smith, Science, Tools and Magic, 110, and Fig. 44 upper, for a Latin square with al-amīn al-husna inscribed singly in each cell. Several of these prayers are directly addressed to God in the hopes of securing his mercy and forgiveness. They blend Arabic prayers and Qur’anic expressions and also include Ottoman Turkish invocations to God, in which God is addressed in the informal “You” (see rather than the; for example, one finds the repeated expression “Rabbiba semnî ‘aina” (“You are my Lord”) and “Zardus paygül,‘sahh hal”: “There is no god except you”) (al-Ghazali, The Message of Truth, Tafsîl, and Other Invocations, in Nakamara, Ghazali on Prayer (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1973), 20, 21.

For these reasons, Anna Lentricchia notes that devotional poetry is not just about petitioning or asking, but rather forms everlasting praise. See her “Some Aspects of Prayerful Language in Islam,” The Welt des islam, new series 22/11 (1987): 12-13.


The prayer consists in extending greetings to God and the Prophet.


For a discussion of the judicial as a chipon plan, or sema, used in some middle eastern bowls.


The image contains a page of text in Arabic. The page appears to be a section from a book or a manuscript, possibly discussing religious or historical topics. The text is not clearly legible due to the quality of the image, but it seems to be discussing a prayer or a religious text, which is common in Arabic academic or religious literature.

For a more detailed analysis, a higher quality image or a transcribed version of the text would be necessary. The text appears to be a continuation of a discourse on religious instruction or scholarly commentary.
that resembles an extended letter "w". Dawkins interprets the fir as a sign of God for being the first and last (see J. Dawkins, "The Seal of Solomon," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1944): 23) and for a further discussion of the Seal of the glorious Name of God according to all the Shaheen's Al-Mal'af (Sun of Knowledge), see George Arzouman, "Le nom saphir du Dieu," Annales de l'École de Grecque de Lyon (1847): 23–43. The seven constitutional cryptosigns of the glorious Name of God is not included in the Lively prayer manual. Qur'an, 12: 110–111 read: "Behold, it is only Solomon, and it is to the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. [God says,] Exult not yourselves against Me, but come to Me in willing surrender."

37.) Cebeli, Zeytül Selah Stübneri (1887), vol. 4, 146, for the mention of a design of the Seal of Solomon on the Rhodes fortress; and Sid., vol. 8, 307; for a discussion of a drawing of the Seal of Solomon on the Umayyad fortress in Damascus, see Qur'an, 12: 110–111. The mule performance of miraculous water could be drawn from a well with it; when struck by it, the ground would bear fruit; when an enemy came near, two serpents appeared from the twigs of the rod. MOSefs also used its rod to divide rivers and to transport himself wherever he pleased. (A. Fodor, "The Rod of Moses in Arabic Magic," in Magic and Divination in Early Islam, ed. Savage-Smith, 1997). 38.) See the 2009 publication of a bilingual Arabic–German Qur'an accompanied by various color figures drawn from well-known Islamic manuscripts—Muhammad al-Shirbini’s Al-Hajjajin (Book of Ascension) of 1363–1403 and Sultan Murad II’s Sayer-i Sef-i (End of the Prophet) of 1392–1403—placed in the corresponding thematic sections of the Qur’anic text by Lenz Kudor and Rabiae Muller, Der Koran für Kinder und Erwachsene (Munich: C. F. Beck, 2008).