

The late Ottoman *En'am-i 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

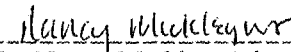
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of History in Art

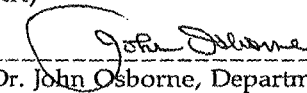
We accept this dissertation as conforming
to the required standard



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



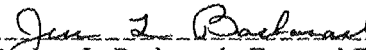
Dr. Nancy Micklewright, Departmental Member (Department of History in Art)



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.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-37329-0

Canada

Supervisor: Dr. S. Anthony Welch

ABSTRACT

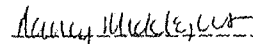
The inclusion of representational imagery in a sacred context is extremely rare in the history of Islamic art. This dissertation examines the evolution of the Ottoman *En'am-i şerif*, a group of manuscripts dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, in which sacred text was illuminated by 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-i 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-i 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.

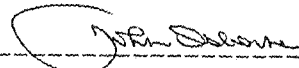
Examiners:



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

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

CHAPTER THREE - Calligraphic images in the *En'am-1 şerif*: *hilye*, *muhr* and the practice of *ta'viz*.

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

CHAPTER FOUR - Miniature paintings in the *En'am-1 şerif*.

I. Religious imagery in Islam	p. 124
II. Eighteenth-century Ottoman painting	p. 134
III. The images of the <i>En'am-1 şerif</i> .	
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 <i>Dala'il al-khayrat</i>	p. 141
III. 1d. The <i>En'am-1 şerif</i>	p. 142
III. 2. The <i>Qadam şerif</i> (The Prophet's Footprint)	p. 146
III. 3. <i>Zülfikar</i> (The Prophet's/'Ali's Sword)	p. 148

III. 4. The <i>Pence şerif</i> (The Prophet's Hand)	p. 150
III. 5. The <i>Na'l şerif</i> (The Prophet's Sandal)	p. 152
III. 6. The <i>Mukhallafat</i> (The Prophet's Relics)	p. 154
III. 7. The <i>Livva al-hamd</i> (The Prophet's Flag of Praise)	p. 158
III. 8. The <i>Sancak-1 şerif</i> (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: Dügümlü 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.
 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. 2. TSM EH 395, ff. 77v.
 figure 13. 3. TSM EH 395, ff. 78.
 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. 5. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 44v.
 figure 15. 6. Halet Efendi 5, ff. 45.
 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. 2. UVic 95-014, p. 4.
 figure 16. 3. UVic 95-014, p. 5.
 figure 16. 4. UVic 95-014, p. 186.
 figure 16. 5. UVic 95-014, p. 187.
 figure 16. 6. UVic 95-014, p. 188.
 figure 16. 7. UVic 95-014, p. 189.
 figure 16. 8. UVic 95-014, p. 190.
 figure 16. 9. UVic 95-014, p. 191.
 figure 16. 10. UVic 95-014, p. 254.
 figure 16. 11. UVic 95-014, p. 263.
 figure 16. 12. UVic 95-014, p. 256.
 figure 16. 13. UVic 95-014, p. 257.
 figure 16. 14. UVic 95-014, p. 258.

p. 385
 p. 386
 p. 386
 p. 387
 p. 387
 p. 388
 p. 388
 p. 389
 p. 389
 p. 390
 p. 391
 p. 392
 p. 392
 p. 392
 p. 393
 p. 394
 p. 394
 p. 395
 p. 396
 p. 396
 p. 397
 p. 397
 p. 398
 p. 398
 p. 398
 p. 399
 p. 399
 p. 400
 p. 401
 p. 402
 p. 402
 p. 402
 p. 402
 p. 403
 p. 403
 p. 403
 p. 403
 p. 404
 p. 404
 p. 404
 p. 404
 p. 404
 p. 405

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

p. 405
 p. 405
 p. 405
 p. 406
 p. 406
 p. 406
 p. 406
 p. 407
 p. 407
 p. 407
 p. 407
 p. 408
 p. 408
 p. 408
 p. 408
 p. 408
 p. 409
 p. 409
 p. 409
 p. 409
 p. 410
 p. 410
 p. 410
 p. 410
 p. 411
 p. 411
 p. 411
 p. 411
 p. 411
 p. 412
 p. 412
 p. 412
 p. 412
 p. 413
 p. 413
 p. 413
 p. 413
 p. 414
 p. 414
 p. 414
 p. 414
 p. 415
 p. 415
 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
 figure 16. 142. UVic 95-014, p. 387
 figure 16. 143. UVic 95-014, p. 388
 figure 16. 144. UVic 95-014, p. 389.
 figure 16. 145. UVic 95-014, p. 390.
 figure 16. 146. UVic 95-014, p. 391.
 figure 16. 147. UVic 95-014, p. 392.
 figure 16. 148. UVic 95-014, p. 393.
 figure 16. 149. UVic 95-014, p. 394.
 figure 16. 150. UVic 95-014, p. 395.
 figure 16. 151. UVic 95-014, p. 396.
 figure 16. 152. UVic 95-014, p. 397.
 figure 16. 153. UVic 95-014, p. 398.
 figure 16. 154. UVic 95-014, p. 399.
 figure 16. 155. UVic 95-014, p. 400.
 figure 16. 156. UVic 95-014, p. 401.
 figure 16. 157. UVic 95-014, p. 402.
 figure 16. 158. UVic 95-014, p. 403.
 figure 16. 159. UVic 95-014, p. 404.
 figure 16. 160. UVic 95-014, p. 405.
 figure 16. 161. UVic 95-014, p. 406.
 figure 16. 161. UVic 95-014, p. 407.
 figure 17. 1. TSM EH 371, ff. 1v-2.
 figure 17. 2. TSM EH 371, f. 105v.
 figure 17. 3. TSM EH 371, f. 106.
 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.
 figure 18. 4. Pertevniyal 43, ff. 52v-53.
 figure 18. 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

p. 437
 p. 437
 p. 437
 p. 437
 p. 438
 p. 438
 p. 438
 p. 438
 p. 439
 p. 439
 p. 439
 p. 440
 p. 440
 p. 440
 p. 440
 p. 441
 p. 441
 p. 441
 p. 441
 p. 441
 p. 442
 p. 442
 p. 443
 p. 443
 p. 443
 p. 444
 p. 445
 p. 446
 p. 446
 p. 447
 p. 447
 p. 448
 p. 448
 p. 449
 p. 449
 p. 450
 p. 450
 p. 451
 p. 451
 p. 452
 p. 453
 p. 453

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. Dügümlü Baba 491, cover
 figure 25. 2. Dügümlü Baba 491, ff. 1v-2
 figure 25. 3. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 63v
 figure 25. 4. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 64
 figure 25. 5. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 64v
 figure 25. 6. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 65
 figure 25. 7. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 65v
 figure 25. 8. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 66
 figure 25. 9. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 66v
 figure 25. 10. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 67
 figure 25.11. Dügümlü Baba 491, f.67v
 figure 25.12. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 68
 figure 25.13. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 68v
 figure 25. 14. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 69
 figure 25. 15. Dügümlü Baba 491, ff. 69v-70
 figure 25. 16. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 71v
 figure 25. 17. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 72
 figure 25. 18. Dügümlü Baba 491, ff. 72v-73
 figure 25. 19. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 74v
 figure 25. 20. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 75
 figure 25. 21. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 75v
 figure 25. 22. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 76
 figure 25. 23. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 76v
 figure 25. 24. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 149v
 figure 25. 25. Dügümlü Baba 491, f. 150
 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

p. 454
 p. 455
 p. 455
 p. 456
 p. 457
 p. 457
 p. 458
 p. 458
 p. 458
 p. 458
 p. 459
 p. 459
 p. 459
 p. 460
 p. 460
 p. 460
 p. 460
 p. 461
 p. 461
 p. 461
 p. 461
 p. 462
 p. 462
 p. 462
 p. 463
 p. 463
 p. 463
 p. 463
 p. 464
 p. 464
 p. 465
 p. 465
 p. 466
 p. 466
 p. 467
 p. 467
 p. 468
 p. 468
 p. 469
 p. 469
 p. 470
 p. 470
 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. 484
figure 27. 10. M&A Arab 22, ff. 165v-166	p. 484
figure 27. 11. M&A Arab 22, ff. 166v-167	p. 485
figure 27. 12. M&A Arab 22, ff. 167v-168	p. 485
figure 27. 13. M&A Arab 22, ff. 168v-169	p. 486
figure 27. 14. M&A Arab 22, ff. 169v-170	p. 486
figure 27. 15. M&A Arab 22, ff. 170v-171	p. 487
figure 27. 16. M&A Arab 22, ff. 171v-172	p. 487
figure 27. 17. M&A Arab 22, ff. 172v-173	p. 488
figure 27. 18. M&A Arab 22, ff. 173v-174	p. 488
figure 27. 19. M&A Arab 22, ff. 194v-195	p. 489
figure 27. 20. M&A Arab 22, ff. 199v-200	p. 489
figure 27. 21. M&A Arab 22, ff. 200v-201	p. 490
figure 27. 22. M&A Arab 22, ff. 201v-202	p. 490
figure 27. 23. M&A Arab 22, ff. 202v-203	p. 491
figure 27. 24. M&A Arab 22, ff. 203v-204	p. 491
figure 27. 25. M&A Arab 22, ff. 204v-205	p. 492
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: <i>Mizani' l hatt</i> , 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," <i>Harka-i sa'adet</i> Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul.	p. 495
Plate 4: The Prophet's Tomb in Medina <i>Dala'il al-khayrat</i> , 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 <i>muska</i> 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 <i>In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts</i> . eds. Ahmet Ertug et. al. Istanbul, 1993, Plates 24A-B.	p. 499
Plate 8: Inscribed <i>shifa' tasi</i> , 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. <i>Mi'raj-nama</i> of 1436 written in Herat by Malik Bakshi. Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Turc 190, f. 36. Published in Marie-Rose Séguy's <i>The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet</i> , George Braziller: New York, 1977, Plate 33.	p. 501
Plate 10: <i>Mi'raj-nama</i> of 1436 written in Herat by Malik Bakshi. Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Turc 190, f. 44. Published in Marie-Rose Séguy's <i>The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet</i> , 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, Köymet 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, sülliis, muhakkak, reyhani, teoki'* 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 Moroccan 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*.
khatwa - 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.
makleb - 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 four 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 religious opinion.
tarikah - 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.
unwan 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*.
Zülfıqar - 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.