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

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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-Qubrasi al-Haqqani al-Naqsabandi. May God bless him and grant him the rewards of his efforts in this life and in the hereafter.
INTRODUCTION

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

All Islamic actions are based upon the niat, or intention. The believer forms the intention prior to beginning an action, for example: "I intend to make wuḍū’ (ritual ablution) for the purpose of saying my obligatory prayer." The Islamic encouragement of the study of history is intended so that "hearts and minds may thus learn wisdom," and "ears may learn to hear." The Qur'an tells us that history's lessons are to be found in the contemplation of the aṭār, the ruins or traces (we might call it the material culture) that a community leaves behind. Sometimes, as in the Qur'anic example of Egypt's pharaohs, these aṭār are magnificent palaces, tombs and temples. Sometimes, as in the case of the Ottoman En'âm-āṣ gerif, they are literally books that fall in your lap. Used by common folk and ruler alike, the En'am-āṣ gerif was perhaps the most popular Ottoman prayer book of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet aside from noting the fact of its existence, little if anything has been written about it. In 1995, the University of Victoria purchased an illustrated eighteenth-century En'am-āṣ gerif from a local resident, Robert Noel-Bentley. The family was Turkish, originally named Ben Ezra, and were the descendents of Sephardic Jews from Spain. This two hundred-year-old manuscript had been brought to Canada from Istanbul in the 1930s by Noel-Bentley's immigrant grandfather, a Jewish merchant. The manuscript passed from father to son until 1995, when the University of Victoria purchased it from Noel-Bentley. As both a Muslim and a scholar, I have found the study of the En'am-āṣ gerif to be a remarkable challenge, for its very existence flies in the face of what has long been accepted as a primary rule of Islamic art, the rejection of representational imagery in a sacred context. Until now, existing religious imagery has been dismissed by scholars as either being historical or didactic in nature, or as having come from heterodox, or Shi'a sources. This study will prove that one of the most popular prayer books in the Ottoman Empire from the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries combined Qur'anic text with images that can only be described as sacred in nature.

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

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1. The Qur'an, chapter 40, verse 21. Qur'anic passages have been italicized for ease of identification. The English translation by Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur'an: English translation of the meanings and commentary, revised and edited by The Presidency of Islamic Researches, IPYA, Call and Guidance, Medina, 1410/1990-91. All further references to the Qur'an will simply be noted according to chapter and verse, eg: 40:21.

2. As the time of the Christian Reconstruct, many Jews accepted the invitation of the Ottoman sultan to settle in Ottoman lands.

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

The question we must begin with, is to what extent can we ever really know about the people of the past, given any number of barriers such as a diversity of religious beliefs, languages, as well as political and economic ideologies or systems? For example, the study of Islamic art in the late twentieth century has been strongly influenced by the work of Oleg Grabar. In a number of works, including his seminal *The Formation of Islamic Art,* Grabar questions the validity of the very term, "Islamic" art. For Grabar, a self-proclaimed secular humanist, the term "Islamic" does not refer to the art of a particular religion.³

"...the adjective 'Islamic' should not be taken seriously in its literal sense. It is a conventional term to cover a broadly defined cultural entity over many centuries and the faith of Islam is only one aspect of that entity."³

Secularism is an ideology whose proponents "consciously denounce all forms of supernaturalism and the agencies devoted to it, advocating non-religious or anti-religious principles as the basis for personal morality and social organization."³

Given this definition, it is not surprising that a scholar who embraces a secular ideology would reject religion as the primary basis of Islamic art.

Grabar's secularist point of view has been taken up by his successors in the field. In the first paragraph of their 1997 book, *Islamic Arts,* Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom begin with a definition of Islamic art: "Islamic art refers to the arts of all Islamic cultures and not just to the arts related to the religion of Islam."³ In the

³Published by Yale University in 1973 and revised in 1987.
³Although Dr. Grabar has not, to my knowledge, made clear his own world-view in his writings, he did so in his opening remarks delivered to a conference on "Scripture as Art in the World of Islam," held April 25-27, 1996 at Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York.

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

"Paradoxically, while much of the Islamic world has been intent on rediscovering and validating a tradition of Islamic art...other scholars, particularly in the West, have come to question the validity of concepts such as 'Islamic' art."³

Blair and Bloom argue that the concept of a unified Islamic art is largely a creation of nineteenth and twentieth-century Western scholarship that has been accepted "somewhat uncritically by newly empowered countries seeking to validate their position in the twentieth century and create connections with past glories."³

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

"The question of the origin of Islamic art and the nature of the forces and principles which brought this art into being must therefore be related to the world-view of Islam itself, to the Islamic revelation, one of whose raditions is directly the sacred art of Islam and indirectly the whole of Islamic art. The causal relation between the Islamic revelation and Islamic art, moreover, is borne out by the organic rapport between this art and Islamic worship, between the contemplation of God as recommended in the Qur'an and the contemplative nature of this art, between the remembrance of God (zikrallah) which is the final goal of all Islamic worship, and the Islamic art of both a plastic and sonoral nature in the life of individual Muslims and the community or al-ummah as a whole. This art could not perform such a spiritual function if it were not
related in the most intimate manner to both the form and content of the Islamic revelation.14

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


1The following argument is based upon Nancy Micklewright's lecture entitled: "Religious Imagery in Islamic Art: Problems of Definition and Understanding," delivered to the University of Victoria's Centre for Studies in Religion and Society on January 15, 1996. Taken from an unpublished paper by Dr. Nancy Micklewright and quoted by permission of the author.

As a Muslim, my own world-view is one that is inherently religious. As such, I cannot help but write this dissertation from a religious, and specifically Islamic point of view.18 As a scholar I am trained in the scientific methods of observation and analysis, and these, too, form an integral part of my work. In his article entitled, “The Study of Muhammad: a survey of approaches from the perspective of the history and phenomenology of religion,” James Royster outlined the benefits of a phenomenological approach to the study of religion. Royster rejected a strictly historicist approach, one that seeks “what really happened,” for a number of reasons. Historicism, he says, remains valid as long as it is descriptive. Unfortunately, faced with a frequent lack of reliable sources researchers have sometimes made “hasty observations from which they draw non-sequitur conclusions upon which they base sweeping generalizations that lead to erroneous pronouncements.”19 These pronouncements are then cited by students as “facts.”20 Royster also discredits reductionist methodologies, such as cultural reductionism, or functionalism, which seeks to explain things in terms of their cultural context, and essential Reductionism which seeks to discover origins, sources and influences because they “can contribute little to an understanding of how germinal elements are appropriated, adapted and nurtured within a given religious tradition, much less what such features actually mean to the people who have assimilated them.”21 A phenomenological approach, on the other hand, makes understanding its primary objective. This understanding, the “gaining of insight into the nature of religious experience,”22 is achieved through the process of grasping meaning, either the meaning of an action or, in the case of the , an object, from the point of

18In her introduction to Discerning the Signs of God. A phenomenological approach to Islam, Annie Marie Schleiner notes that especially when dealing with religion “the personal bias of the researcher cannot but be reflected in the study,” p. xii.
21Royster, p. 61.
22Royster, p. 68.
view of those who created or used it.\textsuperscript{29} Perhaps the most significant contribution of phenomenology has been to focus on the process of understanding that takes place when a given subject, say for example a religious person or scholar, confronts an object, a religious phenomenon, or text.\textsuperscript{30} A phenomenological approach assumes that the empirical manifestations of religious phenomena conceal deeper noumenal or sacred realities.\textsuperscript{28} By viewing the process of religion in terms of stimulus/response whereby the sacred or noumenal calls forth a religious thought or action, phenomenologists are able to isolate this religious response or experience as a field of research.\textsuperscript{31}

Due to the sacred nature of the En'âm-yârîf, and on the basis of the arguments outlined in the above discussion, I have decided to use a methodology that is both phenomenological and historical in approach.\textsuperscript{32} An appended catalogue includes detailed descriptions of some twenty-eight manuscripts. This catalogue has been produced using the tools of observation, recording and analysis familiar to anyone who has studied art history. Wherever possible, in the body of the text I have used the voices of Muslims themselves, preferably those of the contemporary period. As it is not possible to question eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottomans concerning their use of these manuscripts, I have relied upon the knowledge of those who are the inheritors of their oral traditions.\textsuperscript{33} As to my ability to bracket out my beliefs, a vital factor in

\textsuperscript{29}The phenomenological goal of understanding an object "from the point of view of those who created or used it" is not an easy one. It has many of the same difficulties as functionalism, which tries to gain an understanding of how objects were used in society. Although both approaches make understanding their primary objective, a functional approach concentrates on the function, or role a given object may have played, while the phenomenological approach focuses on its meaning.


\textsuperscript{31}Martin, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{32}Martin, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{33}According to Martin (p. 7), "Many phenomenologists have opted for methodological pluralism, combining whatever approaches in historical, linguistic, and social-scientific studies that would seem to throw light on the religious phenomena under investigation."

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

II. Field work.

I began my research by thoroughly familiarizing myself with the University of Victoria's manuscript. I researched the catalogues of library and museum holdings in North America and Europe, finding several examples of manuscripts that seemed similar in content. The earliest of these manuscripts, OR 4251, dated 1170/1765-76, was located in the British Library's Oriental and Indian Office collection, necessitating a preliminary visit to London in 1995. During the winter of 1996 I travelled to New York to examine and photograph several manuscripts in the New York Public Library. The summer of 1996 was spent in Istanbul, photographing and taking detailed notes of more than a hundred manuscripts in several locations, including the Süleymaniye Library, the Topkapsı Saray Museum Library, the Istanbul University Library, and the

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

Royse's statement that the phenomenological approach is the closest one may come to understanding someone else's religion short of actual conversion (p. 64) might be taken as an argument which would preclude me from using this methodology. My answer to this challenge would be two-fold. First, that being a believer does not mean that one must necessarily lack either objectivity or balance. Second, from an Islamic point of view, all revealed religions are simply variations of the same Message. Because there are as many understandings of Islam as there are Muslims, the challenge to be objective and balanced should not be any harder for me than it would be for scholars of another faith.
Fatih Millet Library. Following field research in Turkey, it became obvious that the British Library manuscript was the earliest of its kind, necessitating a return to London in February, 1998, to collect images and re-evaluate earlier findings.

Undoubtedly the time spent in Turkey was the most fruitful, as well as the most frustrating. One story in particular illustrates the unusual nature of events. A week and a half after my arrival in Turkey I had yet to be granted permission to enter any of the manuscript holding libraries. Unfamiliar as I was with the Turkish bureaucracy, my research appeared to be at a standstill as the papers that would allow me entry into these libraries had not yet arrived, despite my having duly sent the required application from Canada over four months earlier.

As it often happens in Turkey, where connections mean everything, a chance meeting with a former colleague from McGill resulted in a pleasant Sunday afternoon tea in her home in Beyserbe, and the most welcome offer of an introductory telephone call to the husband of her Qur’an teacher, who also happened to be the director of Fatih Millet Library. Muhidin Mehmed Taysi graciously invited me to visit his library and examine its manuscript collection the following Tuesday. The very next day, a Monday, I was digging through the calligraphy section of the IRCICA library when suddenly a large book fell on my head. Opening it, I read that it was a facsimile edition of a unique manuscript written by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi in the nineteenth century. Hilmi’s Mifahi’l Hatt (The Measurement of Calligraphy), was a rich discovery as it contained the sîlâsî, or chains of transmission, of many of the greatest Ottoman calligraphers. Included among these calligraphers were the names of twenty-seven grand shaykhs of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, into which I had been initiated five years previously. Reading on I was startled to discover that the sole copy of the original was held in none other than the Fatih Millet Library, where I had been invited to work the following day. (Plate 1)

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

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

After collecting extensive notes, photocopies and photographs of a group of twenty-eight manuscripts, I began the lengthy process of translation. First, several hundred slides had to be scanned and printed at the Fine Arts Computer Lab at the University of Victoria, in order to render the slide images readable as text. The summer of 1997 was spent at the Michigan home of Shaykh Hizam Kabbani, the leader of the Naqshbandi-Haqqani community in North America, and his wife Haja Nazira Adal, the daughter of Shaykh Nazim Qubrasi al-Haqqani, who is the present day grand shaykh of the order. (Plate 2) With the utmost graciousness, patience and stamina, Haja Nazira painstakingly helped me work my way through the Quranic inscriptions and provided me with the necessary Ottoman Turkish translations. As a young woman, Haja Nazira grew up in an intellectually stimulating environment where learned guests frequently discussed *shari’a*, or religious law, *tarjîst*, or the Sufi way, and *hujiye*, or mystical realities. Given her understanding of the religious context of these manuscripts, she was the perfect choice of translator for such a task.
Once the translations were complete, I began to catalogue each manuscript thoroughly. These catalogue entries appear in chronological order in Appendix I. Appendix II contains bibliographies of the calligraphers, patrons and owners of the 

It should be noted that any attempt at constructing a history of the production and patronage of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century must begin by acknowledging the existence of substantial gaps in data. To begin with, although the frequent citation of the in calligraphers' biographies makes it certain that hundreds if not thousands of manuscripts were produced, most of them have not survived. Over the intervening years hundreds of these manuscripts have been cut up and sold, largely for their calligraphic and representational images. For example, a London gallery recently advertised a page from an eighteenth century Enâm-1-şerif featuring calligraphic representations of the words "Allah" and "Muhammad," in the magazine Arts & the Islamic World. Pieces of several such cannibalized manuscripts were observed for sale in the bookdealers' market surrounding Bayezid mosque in Istanbul during field research in the summer of 1996.

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

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

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

Our knowledge of the lives of calligraphers has been based largely upon the biographies written by their contemporaries. The most detailed account of the lives of eighteenth-century calligraphers is Tyfe-i hattatîn, published in 1202/1787 by Süleyman Su'd el-Din, known as Mustakimzade (d. 1202/1787-8), a historian and member of the Naqshbandi order. Mustakimzade's entries are quite detailed in many instances, including information on the calligraphers' religious as well as political affiliations. For calligraphers who produced manuscripts after this period, one of the most important sources is hattâ hatatâ, written in 1305/1887-8 by Mirza Habib Efendi. Habib Efendi's work includes information on Iranian as well as Turkish calligraphers, but unfortunately the entries are frequently less comprehensive than those of Mustakimzade's in the type of information they include. Although Habib Efendi collected information from Mustakimzade's work and did write about his own contemporaries, he did not include information about calligraphers in the intervening years, from 1200/1785-6 to about 1270/1853-4. This leaves a

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14. The Ottoman-Turkish term for both library and bookshop is tibœ-khâne, and this has not loaded well for many of the manuscripts. See Redhouse, p. 152.
15. Nos. 27 & 28.
critical gap in our knowledge of many of those Ottoman calligraphers who were responsible for the En'am-ı gerif. As a result, we know very little about a number of important calligraphers, such Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi (c. 1201/1786-87), the calligrapher of Victoria’s manuscript, or Mustafa Nazif (c. 1208/1793-94), the calligrapher of the magnificent Pertevniyal 43 (Cat. #18). In some cases the only available information has been about the teachers of these individuals, and it has been included.

III. Chapter outline.

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

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

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

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

Chapter Five, the concluding chapter of this dissertation, highlights the most significant discoveries made in the course of this research, and examines the impact of these discoveries on our understanding of Ottoman Islam, its history and its art. Suggestions for further research are explored.
Appendix I consists of a catalogue of the twenty-eight manuscripts selected for this study. These manuscripts were chosen on the basis of their significance to the evolution of the En'am-i gerif. Each manuscript has been thoroughly described, and the important passages have been translated. Images of the manuscripts have been included where available.  

Appendix II contains the biographies of the calligraphers, patrons and owners of the En'am-i gerif.

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

A note on dating and transliteration systems.

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

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

The late eighteenth-century Ottoman milieu.

1. Introduction.

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

In his book The Middle East and the West, Bernard Lewis identifies two religious movements, the Naqshbandi and Wahhabis as being particularly important in the eighteenth century. From its origins in Central Asia the Naqshbandi Sufi order spread to Akbar's India where, under the leadership of Shaykh Ahmed Sirhind (1564-1634) it "became the vanguard of renascent Islamic orthodoxy." From the beginning, Central Asian Sufism had been an important

factor in the Turkish people's acceptance of Islam, and by the late eighteenth century Naqshbandi influence in particular had been credited with revitalizing Islam and the religious sciences. As we shall see further on, the Naqshbandi order had a marked impact on Ottoman calligraphy in general, and the Erem-i gerif in particular.

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

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

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

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1.Triumph, p. 54.
2.Lewis, p. 99.
3.See, for example, Madeline Ziff's discussion of the fundamentalist Kadizadeli movement in The Politics of Purify: the Ottoman ulama in the postclassical age (1560-1800), Bibliotheca Islamica: Minneapolis, 1986. Ironically, both the Naqshbandi and the Wahhabi movements urged a return to the ideal of the early Islamic period, and both stressed the importance of following the shari'a and the revival of the name of the Prophet. Some have suggested that Naqshbandi thought may have influenced early Wahhabism. (see, for example John Volz, Muhammad Hayya al-'Abid and Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab: an analysis of an intellectual group in eighteenth-century Medina, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1973, pp. 52-59, but this may be dismissed for a number of reasons, including the Wahhabis' rejection of the madhab, or orthodox schools, versus the insistence by the Naqshbandis on rational or the following of classical scholarship. The most compelling
have a lasting effect on the Ottoman empire and the Islamic world in general. The late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century was a time during which the Ottoman government was repeatedly threatened by external forces, for example: from 1787 to 1792 they were at war with Russia and Austria; in 1798 Napoleon invaded Egypt, and in 1799 he invaded Palestine and the holy city of Jerusalem; in 1800 Russia annexed Georgia; and from 1806 to 1812 the Ottomans were again at war with Russia. Emerging as it did during this period, Wahhabism was able to profit from the Ottomans’ inability to deal effectively with internal dissent. Because of their location at the centre of Islam, and their ability to control the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, the Wahhabis succeeded in striking a blow at Ottoman Islam and the very fabric of the empire itself.

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

As a young man, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab had studied under Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi, a well-known teacher in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. John Voll conducted an analysis of Muhammad Hayya’s teachers and students, in order to examine the connections between some of the eighteenth century's major intellectual movements. Voll noted the predominance of Naqáshbandi initiates, including Muhammad al-Hayya himself, and such luminaries as 'Abd al-Wahhab's fellow student, 'Ali al-Muradi, who was the senior member of Syria's leading Naqáshbandi family, who served for many years as the Hanafi Mufti of Damascus, and whose patron was the Ottoman sultan himself.8 According to Voll, Muhammad Hayya, who was praised by the contemporary historian Muhammad Khalil al-Muradi as the "bearer of the banner of the Sunna in Medina,"9 had an impact on the young 'Abd al-Wahhab, "encouraging him in his developing determination to denounce rigid imitation of medieval commentaries and to utilize informed individual analysis (ijtihad)."10 More importantly, for our purposes, Voll notes that: "Muhammad Hayya also taught Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab a rejection of popular religious practices associated with 'saints' and their tombs that is similar to later Wahhabi teachings."11 Voll bases this statement on the evidence of an interaction that occurred between teacher and pupil beside the tomb of the Prophet, as narrated by the Wahhabi chronicler Ibn Bhr (d. 1288/1871-2), and related by George Bentz in an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation.12

"One day when Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab was standing beside the chamber that contains the Prophet's tomb in the great mosque of Medina, a throng of people gathered about, praying to the Prophet and beseeching him to aid them. Muhammad Hayya [sic] chanced along and joined his pupil, who asked him what he had to say about the behavior of the throng. The teacher replied that what the people were doing was futile and vain, an answer in full accord with the Unitarian doctrine as understood by the young man of Najd [ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab]; prayers such as these should be directed to God alone and to no other, not even the Prophet, noble as he had been."13

\[\text{\footnotesize 1}^{\text{\textsuperscript{7}}}\text{\footnotesize Voll, 1975, pp. 37-38.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 2}^{\text{\textsuperscript{7}}}\text{\footnotesize Voll, 1975, p. 33.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 3}^{\text{\textsuperscript{7}}}\text{\footnotesize Voll, 1975, p. 32.}
\[\text{\footnotesize Subsequent chapters will discuss the role of the Enneagram as a sacred object imbued with Divine Grace, that emanates from the Prophet, in the same way that his tomb, and the tomb of the saints is understood to emanate Divine Grace.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 4}^{\text{\textsuperscript{7}}}\text{\footnotesize Voll, 1975, p. 32.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 5}^{\text{\textsuperscript{7}}}\text{\footnotesize Ibn Bhr's work drawn heavily upon the previous work of Ibn Guzaim (d. 1222/1811), who is believed to have settled in the Najd to be near Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, whom he admired greatly. See George Bentz, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792) and the beginnings of the Unitarian Empire in Arabia, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, 1968, pp. 306-308.}
\[\text{\footnotesize 6}^{\text{\textsuperscript{7}}}\text{\footnotesize Bentz, pp. 27-28. In Cook's "On the Origins of Wahhabism," the author cites Ibn Bhr as quoting Muhammad Hayya's exclamation of Qur'an 7:139 in answer to Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's query: "As to those fools, the cult they are in is (that) a fragment of ruin, and vain is the
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Bn 'Abd al-Wahhab's teacher, an initiated Naqshbandi, was answering his pupil according to the Shari'a, whereby worship is due to God alone. In The Reliance of the Traveller, a fourteenth-century manual of Shafi'i law written by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (d. 769/1368), the author describes the proper adab, or manners, required while visiting the Prophet's tomb:

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

The Shari'a forbids the worship of any other than Allah, in this case those who are praying to the Prophet. However, the practice of tawassul, or supplicating Allah by means of an intermediary, turning to Allah through the Prophet, is legally valid in all four schools of Sunni Islam. In a hadith narrated by Tirmidhi (d. 297/892), a blind man seeking the Prophet's prayers for his eyesight, was told:

"Go make ablution (ta'âdud), perform two rak'as of prayer, and then say: 'O Allah, I ask You and I turn to You through my prophet Muhammad, the Prophet of Mercy; O Muhammad, I seek your intercession with my Lord...for my need, that it may be fulfilled. O Allah, grant him intercession for me.'"

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

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

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

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

"Keller, p. 955.
"Keller, p. 955.
"In his foreword to Shaykh Hisham Kabbani's Encyclopedia of Islamic Doctrines, vol. 1, Mountain View, 1998, pp. vi-vii, Seyyid Husain Nasr offers a cogent definition of Islamic orthodoxy:

"'Normative Islam has over the centuries included schools of law, both Sunni and Shi'ite, schools of thought, both theological and philosophical, and Sufism in its multifarious manifestations. All of these schools and their teachings have together constituted Islamic orthodoxy and tradition understood in the universal sense of these terms.' Nasr notes that while there have been differences of opinion, and even conflict (usually the result of 'social and political power using different religious interpretations as a way of legitimizing or strengthening their power'), this universal orthodoxy prevailed until the emergence of the Wahhabis and their Salafi successors.

"It remained for modern times for this universal orthodoxy to be attacked.
Muhammad. While Sufi practices are based upon love and veneration of the Prophet, the Wahhabis vehemently reject the Prophet’s role as intercessor and conduit of Divine grace. Eldon Rutter, an Englishman who made the hajj and visited the Prophet’s tomb in Medina weeks after the Wahhabis took control in 1925, overheard one of them arguing with a Mecran on this very subject after the Mecran had been heard calling upon the Prophet, an epithet heard daily throughout the Islamic world.

"Now I heard the Wahhabi say, ‘This my stick is better than Muhammad. Why better? Because Muhammad is dead and gone, and can profit nothing; but this my stick has a use. It is more useful to me than is Muhammad.” 18

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

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

not only from without by the forces of modernization emanating from a secularized West but also from within by so-called reform movements which in the name of purifying Islam set out to destroy that universal orthodoxy on the basis of its own narrow interpretation of Islam and as a pretext to return to the purity of the sahih or authentic. Meanwhile, such movements started an aggressive opposition to Sunnism, to later and philosophy or the whole of the Islamic intellectual tradition, to Shiism, to nearly all the Islamic arts and sciences, and even to whatever in the Sunni tradition did not agree with their views, much of which was a venture innovation (al-‘ikla) in the Islamic sense of the term. This opposition from within did much to weaken the Islamic world both religiously and intellectually, making it a great deal easier for the forces of modernism to dominate much of the Islamic world through the process of divide and conquer.”

18Rutter, vol. 1, p. 272. It would appear that this argument was a favorite one with Wahhabis. The same argument is cited almost verbatim in Al-Zubairi (see further down) who notes that, according to consensus, disputing the Prophet is an offense punishable by death in all four schools of Sunni law.

Christ, Moses, and many others, respected by the Sunnites in the character of prophets, as merely great men, whose history might be read with improvement; desiring, that any book had ever been written by divine inspiration, or brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel. He forbade, as a crime against Providence, the making of vows, in the manner of the Sunnites, to obtain deliverance from danger.” 19

The actual sources of Wahhabi doctrine remain questionable. In an article on the origins of Wahhabism, Michael Cook discussed several alternatives. Those who believe that Ibn ’Abd al-Wahhab’s sources were literary, generally agree with Baghdadi Haydar (d. 1330/1812) who “regarded the career of the Shaykh as an object lesson in the dangers of reading too much without talking to other scholars.” 20 Aside from the traditionally cited dependence on the two Hanbalite scholars of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), Cook found little evidence of any near-contemporary scholar as a source of Wahhabi doctrine. In fact, many notable Hanbalis of the eighteenth century had strong connections with Sunnism. In an article on "The non-Wahhabi Hanbalis of eighteenth century Syria," John Vell notes that: "the Hanbalis of eighteenth-century Damascus not only did not oppose the mysticism of their time, but in fact, were closely associated with it.” 21 An interesting possibility for the source of Wahhabi doctrine has been suggested by Michael Cook: that Ibn ’Abd al-Wahhab believed his knowledge to be Divinely inspired. The religious scholar Suleyman ibn Muhammad ibn Suyyam of Riyadh, reported Ibn ’Abd al-Wahhab as having sent a letter declaring that the knowledge he received had been unknown to his teachers. Ibn Suyyam wrote an open letter in reply, asking by what means Ibn ’Abd al-Wahhab’s knowledge had

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

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

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

In the mid-eighteenth century, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab launched a militant campaign in Arabia that sought to eradicate Ottoman Islam, tainted as he saw it with the idolatrous innovations of the Sufis, and replace it with his own brand of extremism. Not only did Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab reject all Sufi devotional practices as 'false', and declare the veneration of any human being, including saints and prophets, to be 'false', he also proclaimed that anyone who followed such practices was a 'kafir', or an unbeliever, and must be executed. In the absoluteness of his rejection of Sunnism, he went beyond virtually all other Muslim fundamentalists - both those who had preceded him and those who succeeded him in later generations. Although the Wahhabis were particularly vociferous against Sufi practices, they also attacked the four orthodox Sunni madhabs, or schools, which in their view had been "contaminated by heretical practices and ideas."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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6Rodric Davidson, Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923: the impact of the West, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1990, p. 9.
7Ottoman claims to the Caliphate are discussed later in this chapter.
9Shaw, 1971, p. 227. By 1813, the Ottomans re-gained control of the holy cities at the hands of the Egyptian governor, Muhammad Ali.
10Thomas W. Arnold, The Caliphate, Oxford, 1924, p. 142. The Prophet's relics were placed in a special room of the Tashkhip Palace known as the Hidja-1 Sa'id, and played an important role in an Ottoman ceremony, especially during the month of Ramadan. Images of these relics served as symbols of the Ottoman's rightful role as inheritors of the Caliphate and as such were an important feature of contemporary 'in te Miguel'. These images are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.
alleged transfer of the dignity of the Khilāfah there is no contemporary evidence at all. Using documentary evidence, Arnold argued that the Ottoman 'ulema generally regarded the caliphate as having ended thirty years after the Prophet's death with the death of 'Ali. In any case, the Ottoman Sultans were far less interested in assuming the title of caliph, which had by that time been assumed by so many insignificant, than they were in being named during the Friday prayers at Mecca as the "Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries." It was this title, a title that had been borne by the Mamluk sultan and not the caliph, that was seen as an implicit recognition of Selim I's sovereignty of the Muslim world. 44

It was not until the late eighteenth century, faced with a loss of territory to Christian European powers as well as internal dissent, that the Ottomans began to lay serious claim to the caliphate. The fiction of a formal act of transfer of caliphal power from the Mamluks to the Ottomans was first put forward in 1787 by a European scholar, M. d'Ollasieu, in his Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman. 45 The first evidence of a formal claim to the caliphate had taken place thirteen years earlier, as part of the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca between the Russians and Ottomans. The treaty included a clause that granted Abdullahii, as Ottoman Caliph, religious authority over the Tartars, much as the Empress of Russia claimed to be the patron of Orthodox Christians living in the Ottoman territories. The Ottomans interpreted this as giving them the right to send a diploma of investiture to the Khan, and to continue appointing legal officers, qadis and mulhids. Not surprisingly, the Russians insisted on removing the clause in 1783 when they realized its political implications. 46

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

44Arnold, p. 142.
45Arnold, p. 152.
46Arnold, pp. 146-147.

house; and Article Four stated that "His Majesty the Sultan, as Caliph, is the protector of the Muslim religion." 46 Abdullahii's claim to the Caliphate and the ensuing Pan-Islamic movement marked a shift in identity of the Ottoman ruler, who until then had been seen as Servant of the Two Holy Cities. The Hamidian claim to the Caliphate was the logical extension of claims that had been building since the late eighteenth century, claims that had as much to do with the Wahhabis' internal, ideological threats to Ottoman Islam as they did with external territorial losses.

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

"Certain it is that the Wahhabis would have long since thrown down the Dome, and rebuilt the Haram so that it did not enclose the Prophet's tomb, if their leaders had not been deterred by the caution of the statesman more than they were urged by the zeal of the religious fanatic. To lay violent hands on the Prophet's tomb is too dangerous a proceeding: such an act could hardly fail to arouse the entire Islamic world to drive its perpetrators out of the Holy Land." 47

In 1905, as the Wahhabi/Sa'di alliance again threatened the Holy Cities, the scholar, poet, writer and teacher, Jamil Efendi al-Asqalani al-Zahawi (1863-1936), the son of the Mufti of Iraq, wrote a book: Al-fajr al-radda fi al-radd 'ala munkiri al-tawassul wa al-kanwar, or 'The true dawn: a refutation of those who deny the validity of using means to God and the miracle of saints.' In it, he described
some of what he considered to be Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab’s deviations from orthodox Islam:

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

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

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

Among them are his claim that I reject the Four Schools, and that I say people have been in ignorance for the past six hundred years (i.e. since the time of Ibn Taymiyya), and that I claim jihād (the capacity to interpret Qur'an and Sunna independently), and that I am exempt of ā fid (following qualified opinion), and that I say: differences among the 'ulama are a case (a reversal of the shari‘a principle that such differences are a blessing), and that I call kafir those who seek tasmul from the pious, and that I call al-Bussiri kafir for saying (about the Prophet) "O most honored of creation," and that I say: if I could destroy the dome of the Prophet [at Medina] I would destroy it...and if I could express the (golden) drainage pipe of the Ka’ba and replace it with a wooden one I would, and that I forbade the visit of the Prophet’s tomb, and those of one’s parents and others, and that I call kafir whomever swears by other than Allah, and that I call Ibn al-Farid and (Muhayyidin) Ibn 'Arabi kafir 59, and that I burn Dala’il al-Khayrat and Raush al-majadhin 59 and that I call it Raush al-kiyatin."

My answer to these matters is: "Glory to Thee (Allah), this is a most serious slander!" (24:16) 60

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

60Another book of invocation of blessings on the Prophet: "The refreshment of the aromatic herb."

61The refreshment of Satan.

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

III. Ottoman Islam and Sufism: the Naqshbandis.

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

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

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7Ibid. Lichéz does not indicate whether or not this member includes women. Traditionally, Ottoman women were rarely seen in public, although this had changed somewhat by the middle of the nineteenth century. As wives and mothers, women were affiliated with Sufi orders through their husbands and sons. Some orders actually initiated women, and allowed them to participate in tarbiat rituals, while others did not. Unfortunately, the topic of gender has been virtually ignored in what work has been done on life within the orders.

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

Many of the Ottoman ‘ulama’s most influential members had “strong Sufi inclinations.” For example, several eighteenth and nineteenth-century şeyhülislams were members of the Mevlevi or Naqshbandi orders. During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Naqshbandi order in particular gained many adherents among many of the members of the Ottoman ‘ulama because of its strong commitment to shari’a.

The Naqshbandi order had been introduced to the Ottoman empire in the fifteenth century, following the conquest of Istanbul. The first Naqshbandi lodge to open in Istanbul was at the Zeyrek mosque under the guidance of Molla Abdullah Bahīt of Simav, who had travelled to Samarkand to become first a disciple and eventually a khāti̔f of Khwājah Uḥaydallāh Aḥār, the third of the grand-shaykhs to follow Shah Bahauddin Naqshband, from whom the order takes its name. Molla Bahīt’s murādis included many of the finest scholars of his day, and even Sultan Fatih Mehmeût attended his sehits, or associations, in the Ayasofya Mosque. When he left Istanbul, Molla Bahīt appointed Emīr Buhari Seyyid Abduh Efendi as his chief khāti̔f, and the latter also became widely
known. Seyh Hamdullah Efendi, perhaps the most famous of the Ottoman calligraphers, was a follower of Seyh Ahmed Efendi. Seyh Hamdullah’s most illustrious pupil, Bayezid II also followed Seyh Ahmed and served as the patron of three Naqshbandi花名册, one near Fatih Cami, the second near Ayvansaray, and the third at Edirnekapı.46

Naqshbandis were an integral part of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Ottoman intellectual circles.47 Naqshbandi saints and scholars were to be found in centres throughout the Ottoman empire, including Istanbul, Damascus, and Cairo as well as the holy cities of Mecca, Medina.48 What was significant about the Naqshbandi order was that it was an urban order that spread primarily among the more educated members of society: “Do not initiate into the order except distinguished ‘ulama;” wrote Khalid al-Baghdadi, the most important of the eighteenth century Naqshbandi shaykhs, to one of his disciples.49 Al-Baghdadi’s chain of transmission, known as the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi had passed through India before it reached the Ottoman lands, and had been shaped by the thought of such men as Ahmad Sirhindī and Shah Wali Allah. According to them, the basic message of the order was the vital necessity of restoring the shari’a, and the responsibility of the shaykh for initiating its resurgence.

“The history and teachings of this order, which by this time were well-known in the intellectual and religious circles of the Ottoman Empire, demonstrated that a Sufi shaykh’s role in society was not confined to the spiritual instruction of his disciples alone. Rather, the Mujaddidi [renovator] precedent established the role of the shaykh as a power for change within the society as a whole.”

This promotion of social and religious reform spread to many other Sufi circles during the eighteenth century, and it was widely accepted that the best way of achieving this change was for a spiritually adept shaykh to “confront and attempt to correct a degenerate and corrupt Muslim regime.” In order to succeed in this most vital of enterprises, the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi tradition employed its shaykhs to seek influence with rulers as a part of their spiritual mission.50 One of the ways in which this was accomplished was through the teaching of calligraphy and the production of manuscripts such as the Edin-i serif.

IV. Sufism and the Ottoman calligraphers and patrons.51

The history of calligraphy in the Ottoman empire is closely intertwined with the history of Sufism. In her article on “Calligraphy and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,” Annemarie Schimmel pointed out that most Ottoman calligraphers were members of a Sufi order.52 The calligraphers of my study lend considerable weight to that argument. A quick perusal of the appended biographical index shows most calligraphers as being affiliated in some way or another with a number of the various Sufi orders active in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ottoman world.

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

46Ibid, p. 18.
47The Arabic word shaykh is written as şey or şey in Ottoman Turkish. The Ottoman Turkish spelling will be used where it is appropriate.
48Ibid.
49Darrett, p. 269. See also Hamid Algar’s, “A brief history of the Naqshbandi order,” in the same volume, p. 15.
50Darrett, p. 291.
52Darrett, p. 274.
53Ibid.
54Ibid.
56Ibid.
initiates Šeyh Hamdullah, who initiates the Pir, or the traditional patrons of the guilds, and so on, down to the most recently initiated master.7 Texts by or about calligraphers frequently also began with these sütulls. One such text, Mazâ'ât-i hatt, 8 or "The Measurement of Calligraphy," written in 1266/1849, by Mustafa Hüsnü Efendi (d. 1268/1852), is well known. Hakkâk-zade documents the vital connection between these Sufi calligraphers and the Ottoman sultans.9 The manuscript includes a lengthy sütull of calligraphers beginning with İmâm-i, Abraham's son, and continuing down through Abu Bakr5 until the contemporary period. Included are the names of some twenty-seven great shaykhs of the Naqshbandi order together with those of renowned calligraphers such as İmâm Muqâla, Yaqut al-Mustasîrin, Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi, and Hâfiz Osman, as well as Ottoman Sultans Bayezid II (886-918/1481-1512), Mustafa II (1016-15/1605-1703), Ahmed III (1135-43/1723-30), Mustafa III (1171-87/1757-74), Selim III (1203-22/1799-1807), Mustafa IV (1222-33/1807-18), and Abdulmejid I (1255-77/1839-61).

Şeyh Hamdullah, who is the first calligrapher in the chain of most Turkish sütullas, was renowned for his deep understanding of Sufism.11 Annemarie Schimmel has noted that many of the leading masters of calligraphy were also shaykhs of the various Sufi orders.12 It is known that Şeyh Hamdullah inherited the ikdâlî of several Sufi orders from his father, including the Zeynîye, Helveti, Subhawardi and Rîfâî,13 before he began to follow the Naqshbandi shaykh Emir


8 The original and only existing copy of this manuscript is to be found in the Taşk Miller Library, a facsimile edition was recently published in Istanbul, Mustafa Hüsnü Efendi, İmâm-i Hatt, Osmanî Yenimesî (Istanbul, 1968).

9 As part of his training, each of the Ottoman sultans purnmed one of the coats.

10 The Naqshbandi ikdâlî is the only one of the Sufi orders to trace its origins through Abu Bakr's son-in-law and son-in-law, and the fourth ikdâlî.


13 Şevki, p. 28.


16 Uljufr Diemans, "Calligraphy," in Silence Collection, Ahven Culture and Art Publication, 1995, p. 70. These sources, to which a ruler places a calligrapher with great respect, are fairly common. Anthony Welch suggests that they may constitute a type of literary hypeidios on the part of the chroniclers.

17 Abu-Mansûr, p. 21.