initiates Sultan al-Farsi, who initiates the Pir, or the traditional patrons of the guilds, and so on, down to the most recently initiated master. Texts by or about calligraphers frequently also began with these silsilas. One such text, Mizan al-lattari, or 'The Measurement of Calligraphy,' written in 1266/1852, by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi (d. 1266/1852), known as Hakkak-zade, documents the vital connection between these Sufi calligraphers and the Ottoman sultans. The manuscript includes a lengthy silsilah of calligraphers beginning with Ismail, Abraham's son, and continuing down through Abu Bakr until the contemporary period. Included are the names of some twenty-seven grand shaykhs of the Naqshbandi order together with those of renowned calligraphers such as Ibn Muqla, Yaqtal al-Mustafa, Seyyid Hamdullah Efendi, and Hafiz Osman, as well as Ottoman Sultans Bayezid II (886-918/1481-1512), Mustafa II (1106-15/1695-1703), Ahmed III (1115-43/1703-30), Mustafa III (1171-87/1757-74), Selim III (1203-32/1799-1807), Mustafa IV (1222-23/1837-88), and Abdülmecid I (1255-77/1839-61).

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

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6The original and only existing copy of this manuscript is to be found in the Jürih Miller Library, a facsimile edition was recently published in Istanbul. Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, Mizan al-lattari, Cemal Yanarce Istanbul, 1980.

7As a part of his training, each of the Ottoman sultans pursued one of the arts.

8The Naqshbandi iskander is the only one of the Sufi orders to trace its origins through Abu Bakr Siddiq, Islam's first caliph. All other orders trace their origins through Abu Huthayfa and son-in-law, and the fourth caliph.


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Buhurî Seyyid Ahmed Efendi. The participation by the sultans in the art of calligraphy was largely supervised by calligraphers who were also Sufis for example, Seyyid Hamdullah was the teacher of Beyazid II, Hafiz Osman taught both Mustafa II (1664-1703) and Ahmed III (1673-1730), and Mustafa Rakan (1758-1826) taught Sultan Mahmud II. The relationship between master calligrapher and student was very similar to that of a Sufi shaykh who required absolute obedience and respect from his murid. It is said that Bayezid II had so much respect for Seyyid Hamdullah that he held his teacher's inkwell as he wrote, and seated him in the place of honour amongst the other members of the 'ulema. A similar story is told about the relationship of Sultan Mustafa and his teacher, Hafiz Osman.

The calligraphers, patrons, and owners of the eighteenth and nineteenth century Et'hem-er geref may be described as individuals who were members of the orthodox 'ulema, as well as members or affiliates of Sufi orders. One of the most noticeable factors in the biographies of these individuals is membership in their membership in the ruling class. For the sake of brevity I will only mention a number of representative individuals. Further information on the connection between the calligraphers, patrons and the ruling elite see the biographies in Appendix II. Mustafa Pasa b. Mehmed Pasa (d. 1716-1763), the calligrapher of Halet Efendi 5, was the son Sultan Ahmed III's grand vezir Mehmed Pasa (1071-1124/1660-1712). Although we do not know the name of Mustafa Pasa's patron, the eventual owner of Halet Efendi 5, was Mehmed Sa'id Halet Efendi (1760-1823), one of Sultan Mahmud II's chief administrators, who dominated the political scene in Istanbul between 1812 and 1822. Shaw calls Halet Efendi, who was
appointed reis al-ɛłużta in 1222/1807, kethbada i reşab-i humayun in 1226/1811, and nişâbânî in 1230/1815, the "most influential and long-lived among the conservative leaders of the time...a member of the 'ulama and closely attached to the Čagî Dede mecmû'î devshir lodge of Galata." Heyd refers to him as "the virtual arbiter of the Empire's destiny." Halet Efendi was also said to be a follower of Şeyh 'Ali Behjet, the Naqshbandî shaykh of the Selimîye zaviye in Uskudar built by Selim III. It has been argued that Halet Efendi's close connection with the Naqshbandî-Mujaddidi order may have resulted in a series of proclamations issued in 1821 under the name of Selim III, that were reminiscent of Naqshbandî teachings: the need to return to the ideal of the early Islamic period, the importance of following the shari'a and the revival of the sunna of the Prophet. Halet Efendi built a library in the Galata Mevlevi tekke and endowed it with important and very rare works of history, literature and Sufism, including the Enîm-ı şerîf.

Kadıasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi (d. 1293/1876), one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century, was a member of the Naqshbandî order and protégé of Sultan Mahmud II. During the subsequent reign of Abdülmecit, Mustafa İzzet held a number of high religious and judicial positions, including serving as Sultan Abdülmecit's imam and as the imam of the Eyüplo mosque. Mustafa İzzet served as a member of the Supreme Court, as the kadıasker of Rumeli (the head of the 'ulama second only to the şeyhülislâm), and as the representative of the şerîf of Mecca in Istanbul. Seyyid Mehmet Hîlimi (n.d.) the calligrapher responsible for two of the manuscripts in this study, İzmirî I. Hakki 1309 and YY 847, was one of Mustafa İzzet Efendi's foremost students.

The reis al-ɛłużta was the chief of clergymen, head of the officials attached to the Grand Vizirate. After the eighteenth century, the reis al-ɛłużta served as foreign minister.

The deputy director of the imperial court.

The chancellor, or secretary of state for the Sultan's trothas.


Heyd, p. 69.

A. Munz, pp. 21-22.


*Mustakımaide, p. 217.*

Pertevniyâ Valide Sultan, wife of Mehmed II and mother of Abdülaziz I (1277/1661-1293/1876), was one of the nineteenth-century's most powerful women, and an important patron of the arts. She donated over eight hundred books, including Pertevniyâ 43 to the library of the mosque which she founded in Akşaray. In addition to her endowment of a number of hospitals, public fountains and waterworks, Pertevniyâ also provided for the upkeep of several saint's tombs, mosques and dervish lodges, as well as ensuring the erection of Mevlut at Eyyübi Mosque, Istanbul's most holy site and Qur'anic recitations in Mecca for the Prophet, her husband and son.

The most frequently noted Sufi order in the biographies of those created and used the Enîm-ı şerîf is the Naqshbandî. This is not surprising, given the tangible evidence (already noted in Mustafa Hîlimi's mid-nineteenth century Mislâ'î lâ'it) of the important role played by the Naqshbandî order in the history of Ottoman calligraphy. Şeyh Hamdallah Efendi, the calligrapher of three of the manuscripts in our study, is specifically mentioned as following a Naqshbandî shaikh, as is Halet Efendi, the collector of another. Two more manuscripts were written by Seyyid Mehmet Hîlimi, the student of Mustafa İzzet who was one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century, and a member of the Naqshbandî order. Unfortunately, biographical information on the calligrapher Abd al-Samad Naqshband was not to be found, however, as he bears an appropriate cognome and has written an Enîm-ı şerîf that includes a Naqshbandî sîhil, one may assume his allegiance to the order. Although it was written by an unknown calligrapher, the Süleymanîye Library's Dâuğümîlu Baba 491 was originally part of a collection of a tekke built to honour a Naqshbandî saint. Finally, the choice of Qur'anic du'a in 'Abd al-Samad's Enîm-ı şerîf is very

*A catalogue description of the endowment deed has been published in, 3000 Years of the Artistic Woman: Women in Artistic, Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture - General Directorate of Monuments and Museums, Istanbul, 1993, p. 290.*

*The two Ottomans otherwise specifically mentioned as being Naqshbandî initiates both reigned during this period: Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1809), and Mustafa IV (r. 1807-1809). See Algar, 1990, p. 130.*
similar to that of the University of Victoria's, and although tenuous, it may suggest a possible Naqshbandi connection.

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

CHAPTER TWO

Prayers and prayer books

I. The concept of *baraka*, and *tahabark*.

On the 26th of Dhu'l Hijjah, 791/1399, as Timur's army besieged the city of Damascus, Shams al-Din ibn al-Jazari finished writing a book of Prophetic sayings and prayers that he entitled, *al-Hisn al-hashin*, or The Strong Fortress:

"I write these lines while all roads leading to and from Damascus are closed, in fact sealed with stones; the populace have all taken up positions at the city wall and crying out for help to Allah; they are in utter misery as a result of the town being laid under siege; no water is allowed to enter the city; the helpless people's hands are raised in *du'a*, the surroundings of the city have been put to fire and most of the little villages in the surrounding have been destroyed; every person is in fear for his life, family and property and (knowing this to be the consequences of his sins he regrets) his wrongdoing; hence, every person is concerned about saving himself according to his own best ability.

At a time like this I have made this *khutbah* my sanctuary and I have depended on Allah alone for He suffices me and He is the Best Patron.

"When I completed this collection by correcting and arranging it, I was summoned by an enmity (i.e., the leader of the Timurids) who was so powerful that only Allah could eliminate him."\(^1\)

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1Referring to the emasculation and cutting off of Divine Grace from sacred relics.

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

"I saw this dream on Thursday night and the enemy ran away on Sunday night...and God gave relief to me (al-Jazari) and to the Muslims by the buraqa of what is in this book." 4

According to al-Jazari, Allah granted the Muslims deliverance by virtue of the blessed words and prayers of the Prophet. By referring to authentic hadith the author offered his readers these prayers for the sake of their buraqa, "as a means of withstanding any difficulty and hardship and...presented it as a shield against the mischief of both men and jinn." 5

This concept of buraqa is integral to the understanding of sacred art in Islam. Buraqa may be defined as "a spark of divine power or grace attached to personalities and pre-eminently to the personality of the Prophet." 6 This buraqa is not only a source of Divine grace, but may also serve as a shield against sickness, evil and misfortune, and as the means through which the ordinary individual may seek the Prophet’s intercession with Allah for his daily needs as well as on the Day of Judgment. While the Wahhabis emphatically denied that anyone, including the Prophet, had the ability to intercede for anyone else, many verses in Qur’an state that Allah gives the right of shafa’i, or intercession to whom He wills. 7 Of particular importance is the verse: "And on those whom they call beside Him have not the authority for intercession, except him who bears witness to the truth, as they are aware." 8

Eldon Rutter, an early nineteenth-century traveller to Mecca, overheard a Wahhabi arguing with a Meccan that since the Prophet was dead he was unable to assist anyone. The role of the Prophet is a major source of disagreement between the Wahhabis and orthodox Islam, especially Sufism. The Qur’an says: "Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believe! Send ye blessings on him, and salute him with all respect." 9 In a hadith narrated by Abu Huraira and related by Abu Dawud, the Prophet is heard to say: "No one who sends greetings on me but Allah will restore my spirit to me so that I may respond to his greeting." 10 This hadith is understood as proof of the Prophet’s continuing spiritual presence. One sends blessings on the Prophet in order that those blessings may be returned upon the sender. According to another version of the hadith, Muslims refer to the Prophet as being "alive and fresh" in his grave; spiritually awake and aware. The tabahhud of the ritual prayer includes a salatam, or invocation of blessings on the Prophet, in a grammatical form that is only appropriate in reference to one who is alive: asaduna ‘alaika asyia nahiyya, "peace be upon you, O Prophet!" A similar phrase, "Peace be upon you, O Beloved of Allah," is inscribed over the doorway of the Haram-i sa’dat, (Plate 3) the area of the Topkapi Sarayi that houses the various relics of the Prophet Muhammad said to have been brought to Istanbul from Cairo by the

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5Ibid.
6Padwick, p. xxi. According to Seyyid Hossein Nasr: "The origin of Islamic art must be sought in the inner realities (š rouq)’ of the Qur’ an which are also the principal realities of the cosmos and the spiritual reality of the Prophetic Substance from which flows the ‘Muhammadan grace’ (al-burāqat al-muhammadiyyah)."
933:36.
Caliph al-Mutawakkil III when he transferred the caliphate to Selim I. These athar, or relics, including the Prophet’s footprint, sword, banner, and kiswa, or mantle, are considered to be sources of Prophetic hadiths and were important symbols of Ottoman sovereignty. Images of these objects appear frequently in the Ev’âm-î sârîf, and their significance will be discussed at length in the final chapter on miniature paintings. In order to understand how the prayers, invocations, and imagery of the Ev’âm-î sârîf were used, it is important to first understand the concept of tabarruk, or deriving blessings from something once owned or touched by a holy person.

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

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

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

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

The various hadith books contain numerous examples of how during the Prophet’s lifetime his companions used to seek tabarruk with his hair, nails, sweat, saliva, ablution water, cloak, his grave, even the very earth of Medina itself. After his death, this practice was continued by members of his family and his companions. According to ’Abd Allah, the freed slave of Asma bint Abu Bakr, the latter brought out a cloak made of Persian cloth with a hem of (silk) brocade and said: “Here is the cloak (jubba) of Allah’s Messenger...this was Allah’s Messenger’s cloak with ‘Aisha until she died, then I got possession of it. The Apostle of Allah used to wear it, and we washed it for the sick so that they could seek cure thereby.”10 According to Imam Nawawi, “In this hadith is proof that it is recommended to seek blessings through the relics of the righteous and their clothes...”

II. Prayers and prayer books in Islam.

Islamic worship consists of several different sorts of prayer, including salat, or ritual prayer; du’a, or supplication; dhikr,11 or the remembrance of Allah; and astana, or the invoking of blessings. Our concern here is not with the many books of instruction in the salat, or daily prayer ritual, but rather with what Constance Padwick called:

‘the great mass of...devotions...built up of well-tried small items arranged in ever new patterns - traditional prayers of the Prophet, Qur’ân verses, blessings of the Prophet, forgiveness-seekings, refuge-seekings, cries of praise, all on known and authorized forms.’

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

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10See Chapter 1, footnote #3.
1112:39-96
122:48.
1314:187.
14Turkish, šükür.
15Padwick, p. xxviii.
then available throughout much of the Muslim world. Seeking to examine those texts which were accessible to the common Muslim, she confined her study to popular books which were easily purchased, avoiding what she termed "the more esoteric works for the inner life of the dervish orders." Nevertheless, she discovered that even these books were associated in some way or another with the various Sufi orders.

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

Padwick notes that the earliest collections of devotions were works attributed to such early Muslims as the contemporary of the Prophet, Uwais al-Qarni,\(^{18}\) and 'Ali Zain al-Abidin (d. 92/710 or 94/712-13).\(^{19}\) In the medieval period the devotions of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 561/1166\(^{20}\)) and Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhilli (d. 656/1258\(^{21}\)) were widely known.\(^{22}\) The most common names used for collections of prayers were hizh, meaning a section or division (usually of Qur'an), as in the famous Hizh al-bahr, taught to al-Shadhilli by the Prophet in a dream; and hizr, or its synonym hizin, meaning stronghold, or protection, as in the previously mentioned Hizin al-hainin of al-Jarri. Each Sufi order also had its own.

\(^{17}\)Padwick, p. xii-xii.

\(^{18}\)Although he was a contemporary of the Prophet Muhammad, Uwais never actually set eyes on him. His love for the Prophet was so great that as the latter lay dying he ordered that his mantle be brought to Uwais by 'Umar and 'Ali.

\(^{19}\)Zain al-Abidin (d. 92/710 or 94/712-13) was the great-grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and son of the Prophet's uncle.

\(^{20}\)Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 561/1166) lived in Baghdad and was the eponymous founder of the Qadiri order of Sufi.

\(^{21}\)Al-Shadhilli (d. 656/1258) was the founder of the Shadhilli order, which has widely spread throughout West and North Africa.

\(^{22}\)Padwick, pp. xiv-xiv.

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

II. The Dala'il al-khayrat.

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

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

\(^{23}\)This manuscript was probably produced in the Maghrib, in 1625/1616. It is now to be found in the New York Public Library, Mil6A, Arab. iv. 5. Published in Schrütz, p. 46 and figure 31. It is interesting to note that seventeenth-century Moroccan and North African Dala'il al-khayrat begun to be illustrated with images of the Prophet's Mosque and the Ka'ba at precisely the same time that the area ''witnessed a lengthy triangular struggle...about the very issue of the caliphate and its territorial, political and economic implications." See Abderrahmane El Mousli, "The idea of the Caliphate between Morocco and Ottomans," in, Studia Islamica 1995/2 (October) 82, p. 185.

\(^{24}\)Padwick, p. xvii. Here Padwick notes that al-Bakri lived and wrote in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo, as well as Istanbul. "His life of Sufism...on its outward side was one of relationship with Turkish authorities, spiritual and governmental."
II. 2. The En’am.

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

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

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

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

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

Surah Al-An’am contains the names of eighteen prophets, gives their genealogy and describes their descendants. The verse, "It is He who has produced you from a single soul," offers tangible evidence of humanity’s common descent. An esoteric understanding of this surah is that it contains knowledge, the names, of all those who have ever been, or will ever be born. One of the Naqshbandi order’s grand shaykhhs, Sharafuddin Daghhestani (d. 1385/1966), a former şeyhülislam and advisor to Sultan Abdurrahman, spent the final months of his life in jail, studying this chapter. He told his successor, Şeyh Abdullah Daghhestani, that he would pass away soon because, "I spent too much of my power extracting the secrets of Surat Al-An’am.""

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

II. 2a. The Pre-Ottoman En’am.


\[4\] ibid.


\[6\] Kabbani, p. 364. The letters A.S., or a.s.w.s., are abbreviations of the tasâhin, or invocation of blessings recited after every mention of the Prophet’s name.
The Topkapı Sarayi Museum possesses the earliest manuscript in this study to feature Surah al-An'am. TSM R70 (Cat. #1), dated 690/1291, by the hand of the illustrious calligrapher Yaquq al-Musta’simī for the treasury of the Abbasid caliph al-Musta’sim. Yaquq was the last of the great Abbasid calligraphers, and his work was considered the foundation upon which Ottoman calligraphy was built. In addition to Surah al-An’am, this manuscript includes surahs al-Fatiha, al-Kahf, Saba, and Fatir. Al-Fatiha, or “The Opening,” is the logical choice to begin a collection of surahs; however, given the mystical nature of the other three chapters it may be argued that its appearance here suggests a protective use. The saying of al-Fatiha is ubiquitous in the Islamic world. It is the first surah taught to children, repeated seventeen times daily in the obligatory ritual prayers, and intoned at the commencement of any public gathering. The repetition of al-Fatiha accompanies a promise of marriage and is said for a departed soul. Tombstones frequently ask passers-by to recite al-Fatiha for the occupant of the grave, and the colophons of religious texts regularly ask the same for the author. Padwick notes the protective use of al-Fatiha, comparing it with the use of Qur’anic text in amulets. These amulets, or ta’āli, are an important feature of eighteenth-century En’am-i perif and will be examined in depth in the following chapter.

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

the Qur’an but known through tradition, are regularly featured in eighteenth and nineteenth-century En’am-i perif as the basis of tarz, or calligraphic amulets, intended to bring prosperity and success, the connection being that this prosperity, or raq, can only come through trust in Allah. The subject matter of surahs Saba and Fatir include Solomon’s control over the jinn, and the mystery of Allah’s creation and its maintenance by angelic forces. These subjects will continue to be important in the later En’am-i perif as evidenced through the use of numerous images of the Seal of Solomon, and other protective seals and amulets bearing the names of the archangels.

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

The history of Ottoman calligraphy begins with the work of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (830-926/1429-1530). There are three manuscripts in this study by the hand of this renowned sixteenth century calligrapher; two of these, Nuri Arlasel 245 (Cat. #2), and Ayasefaya 19/1 M (Cat. #3), both in the Suleymaniye Library, consist simply of Surah al-An’am. The third Şeyh Hamdullah manuscript, Ali Emlı Arabı 16 (Cat. #4), belonging to the Fatih Millet Library, contains the surahs al-Fatiha, al-An’am, Ya Sin, Ma’id, Ikhsan, Falaq, Nas, and a repetition of Fatiha. The repetition of Surah al-Fatiha upon the completion of the Qur’an’s recitation indicates its eternal quality, and also serves to underscore the text’s liturgical aspect. The combination of Surah al-An’am with

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10These ta’āli are featured with other seals and amulets in Chapter Three. 
11I have used the term archangels because of its familiarity to the Western reader. The angel Jibrīl (Gabriel) is entrusted with bringing revelation to mankind; the angel Mika’i’il (Michael) with bringing rain and making plants grow; the angel Isrā’īl will blow the trumpet at the end of times; and the angel Azrā’īl is the angel of death. Together, these four angels represent the mightiest of all the angels. See Shāhīd ‘Abdullāh ʿAlī Shāhīd, The World of the Angels, London, 1994, pp. 14-17. 
12According to Uğur Demircan, Şeyh Hamdullah “marks the beginning of Ottoman predominance in calligraphy, and thereafter the art followed a continual course of development until the twentieth century.” Silence Collection, p. 24.
other surahs, especially al-Kahf, Ya Sin, al-Dukhan, al-Rahman, al-Mulk and al-Naba, was considered to be a highly protective and efficacious amulet against sickness and evil.\(^{33}\)

Surah Ya Sin is known as the "heart of the Qur'an." Ya Sin is one of the Prophet's names, and the surah deals primarily with the Holy Prophet and the message sent to him by Allah. Surah Ya Sin speaks at length about the hereafter, and for this reason its repetition is encouraged at the death-bed of a believer. According to Ma'qiṣ bin Yasar, the Prophet said: "Recite Surah Ya Sin to the dying ones among you."\(^{34}\)

"Dost not man see that it is We who created him from sperm? Yet behold! he stands forth as an open adversary!
And he makes comparisons for Us, and forgets his own (origin, and) creation; he says: "Who can give life to (dry) bones and decomposed ones (at that) ?"
Say: "He who will give them life is He Who created them for the first time! For He fully knows all creation. The same who produces for you fire out of the green tree, when beheld! ye kindle therewith (your own fires)!
Is not He who created the heavens and the earth able to create the like thereof?" - Yes, indeed! For He is the Creator Supreme, of Skill and Knowledge (infinite)!
Verily, when He intends a thing, His Command is "Be," and it is!
So glory to Him in Whose Hands is the Dominion of all things: and to Him will ye all be brought back."\(^{35}\)

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

\(^{34}\)67/7-83.

of the manuscripts in this study actually omit Surah al-An'am and begin instead with Surah Ya Sin.\(^{36}\)

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

"Blessed be He in Whose hands is Dominion (Al-Mulk); and He over all things hath power."
He Who created Death and Life, that He may try which of you is best in deed:
and He is the Exalted in Might, Oft-Forgiving."\(^{37}\)

This surah begins the final fifteenth of the Qur'an, contrasting the external "reality" of the world with the profound inner Reality. It serves as a wake-up call to those who would be heedless of its message. The word mulk in the first verse may be translated as dominion, lordship or sovereignty - it defines the right to rule. A second but inseparable concept of Divine rulership contained within this verse is power: "wa Husaa' ali kulli shay'in qadir," (And He over all things has power). This concept of Divine rulership was important to the Ottomans, whose legitimacy was based upon their adherence to Islam. This last phrase was one which formed the basis of the calligraphic seal seen in a number of eighteenth and nineteenth-century En'am-y-perf.\(^{38}\)

The final three surahs found in Şeyh Hamdullah's sixteenth-century En'am are Surah al-Filas and the last two verses of the Qur'an. Surah al-Filas, the chapter of sincerity, is frequently referred to as being equal in its recitation to one-third of the Qur'an. It is a chapter that is frequently used in Sufi enwads,\(^{39}\) and again, plays a role in a number of calligraphic seals found in later En'am-y-perf. The final two chapters of the Qur'an, al-Talaq (Dawn), and al-Nas (Mankind), are

\(^{36}\)Porteousyal 45, JIL 3796 (which is specifically referred to in its colophon on f. 169 in an En'am-y-perf despite the fact that it does not contain Surah al-An'am). Izemîl L. Hakki 1299. Y 874, Spencer Turk 9, M&A Arab 22, and JIL 3619.
\(^{37}\)65/1-2.
\(^{38}\)See chapter three.
\(^{39}\)Padwick, p. 116.
known as al-Mu'ammidhatan, or “the two Refuge-Seekers,” and are taught as protective verses. These two verses in particular are frequently written and used in amulets.

Şeyh Hamdullah's grandson, Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah, included a number of surahs in H. Husnu Pasa 103 (Cat. 86), his En'am of 956/1549, that would become ubiquitous in later manuscripts: al-Dukhan, al-Rahman, and al-Waqi'a, along with the amme ciz 'u, or the final thirteenth of the Qur'an. al-Waqi'a is the fifth of seven surahs beginning with the letters Ha Mim. Surah al-Dukhan, named after the word "smoke" in verse ten, describes how spiritual forces must triumph over worldly pride and power. Surah al-Rahman begins with the Name of God, Al-Rahman, the Merciful. It stresses the wonders of creation and the Mercy and Guidance of Allah and rhythmically punctuates the litany with the question, "Then which of the favours of your Lord will you deny?" This chapter is addressed to both human beings and jinn. Tradition relates how once when the Prophet was reciting al-Rahman at prayer, a group of passing jinn stopped to listen and accepted Islam. "How is it," the Prophet asked the people, "that I am not hearing from you the kind of good answer that the jinn had given to their Lord?" When the jinn heard Allah's question as to which of His favours they would deny, they answered: "We do not deny any of our Lord's blessings."40

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

40The Qur'an is divided into thirty sections, or juz. The Qur'an may be written in its entirety, or each juz may be separately bound in a volume, with its own colophon.

41Hamdah, vol. 13, p. 296.

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

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

"When the Event invariable cometh to pass, Then will no (vain) deny its coming. (Many) will it bring low; (many) will it exalt; Where the earth shall be shaken to its depths, And the mountains shall be crumbled to atoms Becoming scattered abroad, And ye shall be sorted out into three classes.40

The surah contains vivid descriptions of the pleasures of Paradise and Hell. Paradise is portrayed as "Gardens of Bliss," where believers recline on couches encrusted with gold and precious stones, and where lustrous-eyed houri's serve them fruit and non-intoxicating wine from clear flowing fountains. Hell is a fierce blast of fire, boiling water and black smoke. Those who used to deny Allah and the Hereafter, saying: "What! when we die and become dust and bones, shall we then indeed be raised up again? We and our fathers of old?"44 shall be forced to eat of the fruit of Hell's poisonous Tree of Zaum and wash it down with boiling water: "Indeed ye shall drink like diseased camels raging with thirst.44 Those who denied the
Creator are asked: "Do ye then see the human seed that ye emit? Is it ye who created it, or are We the Creators?" The surah contains a final challenge to those who would deny the Creator, and His Message:

"Then why do ye not (intercede) when (the soul of the dying man) reached the throat, -
And ye the while (sit) looking on, -
But We are nearer to him than ye, and yet ye see not, -
Then why do ye not, - if ye are except from (future) account, -
Call back the soul, if ye are true (in your claim of independence)?" 8

Although the En'am (as well as the later En'am-i gerif) show a certain consistency in their choice of Qur'anic surahs, there are also a number of exceptions. For example, H. Husnu Pasa 103 (Cat. #6) contains a surah that is unique amongst the various En'am, Surah al-Qiyamah. Later En'am-i gerif have similarly unique additions, such as the use of Surah al-Sajda in the University of Victoria's manuscript (Cat. #16), and Surah al-Jumu'a in the New York Public Library's Spencer Turk 9 (Cat. #26). These variations indicate an ongoing process of selection. Several of the manuscripts in our study were produced by the same calligrapher, and these inevitably show a variation in the selection of surahs. For example, a second manuscript by the hand of Dervish Muhammad, found in the Tokaps Saray and dated the same year, contains only Surah al-An'am. Like his grandfather, it appears that Dervish Muhammad produced manuscripts consisting simply of Surah al-An'am, as well as those that included a selection of other surahs. Variations are also apparent in the works of Hasan al-Rashid: the University of Istanbul's IUL. 5197 (Cat. #19) and IUL. 8786 (Cat. #21); and Mehmet Hilmi: the Stileman yi Library's İzmirlî I. Hakki 1209 (Cat. #4).

8 The last manuscript that I have found to consist only of Surah al-An'am was written in 963/1557 by Husseyin Sab, better known as Hisameddin, a student of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.

III. The seventeenth-century En'am-i gerif.

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

TSM EH 322 contains virtually the same selection of passages as Hafiz Osman's earlier work, followed by al-Fatiha, and a dua to be recited after reading the Qur'an, indicating its liturgical use. The Stileman y Library's Yazma Bagislar 266 (Cat. #10), written by Hafiz Osman's student Hasan Uskudari, places the colophon after both the Qur'anic and extra-Qur'anic material, and actually incorporates a Sufi zawiya as part of the text.

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

8 Anthony Welsh suggested the possibility that some En'am might have been made in workshops producing books for sale in bookshops, and if so, the variations would be the result of the popularity of certain surahs.
8 See II. 59-62.
character (to be described at length in the following chapter), the asma' al-husna, the Beautiful Names of God, and the asma' al-nabi, the names of the Prophet.

III. 1. The asma' al-husna.

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

"God - great and glorious - has ninety-nine names, one hundred minus one single. He loves odd numbers, and whoever enumerates them will enter Paradise." 45

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

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. He is Allah, and there is no other god but He. Al-Rahman (The Infinately Good), Al-Rahim (The Merciful), Al-Malik (The King), Al-Qudus (The Holy), Al-Salam (The Source of Peace), Al-Mu'min (The Preserver of Security), Al-Mu'ajjam (The Protector), Al-'Aziz (The Mighty), Al-Jabbar (The Overpowering), Al-Mu'tazabir (The Great in Majesty), Al-Muhsin (The Creator), Al-'Abad (The Maker), Al-Musawwa (The Fashioner), Al-Ghafir (The Forgiver), Al-Qahhar (The Dominant), Al-Wahhab (The Bestower), Al-Karim (The Provider), Al-Fattah (The Opener), Al-'Azim (The Knower), Al-

45 See: M. Mu'alla, The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God, al-Maqsid al-asury al-salih asma' Allah al-husna. tr. David Burrell and Nazih Ouster, Cambridge, 1992, p. 9. The list of Names and their translation is also to be found in the same volume, pp. 49-53. The asma' al-husna, or Names of the Prophet, may also be referred to as the asma' al-prof., or the Noble Names. Again, although the names were traditionally said to number ninety-nine, as many as one thousand have been enumerated.

See: ibid., 180. 5 Many of these Names have multiple meanings that depend upon their context, and it is not unusual to come across a number of different translations for the same Name.
Each of God’s Names stands for an attribute, and although the number ninety-nine is traditional, it is by no means the maximum. Noting that these lists of God’s Names are a frequent feature of many prayer books, Padwick cites one in which it is claimed that there are variously three hundred, a thousand and one, or one hundred and twenty-four thousand Names - a number equivalent to “the number of prophets, for every prophet is endowed with the inward reality of a special Name.”\(^6\) The use of each of God’s Names wields a certain power.\(^7\) The same may be said of the names of angels and jinn whom God has set as guardians of that power. These names play a major role in the creation of ta’\'izz, to be discussed at length in the following chapter.

III. 2. Zikr.

Numerous verses of the Qur’an encourage the believer to remember God, or zikr Allah.\(^8\) Specific attention is paid to the recitation of God’s Names: “But keep in remembrance the name of the Lord, and devote thyself to Him wholeheartedly.” \(^9\) A hadith recorded by Imam Muslim states that, “The Hour will not rise before [the Name] Allah, Allah is no longer said on earth.”\(^10\) In another hadith Abu al-Darda’ narrates:

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

\(^6\)Padwick, p. 105.
\(^7\)Padwick, p. 106.
\(^9\)Quran 11:142.
\(^10\)Muslim in Book of Iman Ch. 66.

or taking part in jihād and slaying or being slain in the path of Allah? The dhikr of Allah.”\(^11\)

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

“Everything has a polish, and the polish for hearts is the remembrance of God. Nothing is more calculated to rescue from God’s punishment than remembrance of God.” He was asked whether this did not apply also to jihād in God’s path, and said, “Not even if one should ply his sword till it is broken.”\(^12\)

Abu Hurairah reported God’s Messenger as saying that God says:

“I am present when my servant thinks of me, and I am with him when he remembers Me. If he remembers Me inwardly I shall remember him inwardly, and if he remembers Me among people I shall remember him among people who are better than they.”\(^13\)

The practice of zikr among Sufis is the means by which their spiritual aims are achieved. Ahmad ibn ‘ Isa Abu Sa’id al-Khazzaz (d. 777/880) was the first to explain the doctrine of annihilation in God (jannat) and the higher station of subsistence (hāqa’). Abu Sa’id was renowned both for his scrupulous adherence to the shari’a, as well as his passionate love of God. He has left us an exquisite description of the effect of zikr on the heart of a believer:

“Abu Sa’id al-Khazzaz said: ‘When Allah desires to befriend a servant of His, He opens the door of dhikr for that servant. After the latter takes pleasure in dhikr, He opens the door of proximity for him. After that, He raises him to the meetings of intimacy and after that He makes him sit on a throne of Oneness.

Then He removes the veils from him and He makes him enter the abode of Singleness and unveils Majesty and Sublimity to

\(^11\)Related in Ibn Mālik’s Masā‘il, the Musannaf of Ahmad, Tirmidhi’s Sunan, Ibn Majah, etc.
\(^12\)Transmitted by Bahāqī in Al-Tābātā’s, Muhīl al-mautīh, trans. James Johnston, 56.
\(^13\)Muhammad Ashraf: Lahore, 1931, vol. 1, p. 482.
him. When the servant beholds Majesty and Sublimity, he remains without "he". He becomes extinguished, immune to the claims and pretensions of his ego, and protected for Allah’s sake. 64

IV. The late eighteenth and nineteenth-century illustrated En'am-i qur’i.

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

IV. 1. Du’a.

Many of the prayers, or du’a, included in the En’am-i qur’i were themselves Qur’anic. For example, the University of Victoria’s En’am-i qur’i begins with three passages from the Qur’an: al-Fatihah,65 the first five verses of al-Baqara,66 the last three verses of the same surah,67 and the last twelve verses from al-Innan.68 The last three verses of Sarah al-Baqara, 284-286, have been referred to as the “pontential psalm” of Islam and are frequently used in devotions and as a bedtime prayer.69 Here, they are prefaced with the instructions: “Read these verses after each of the five prayers every day.” The passage from Sarah al-Irshad begins with instructions that read: “Read this every day and night until death.” Such passages are frequently used as part of an enwad, or daily litany of a Sufi order. The inclusion of instructions on when to read the prayers are further indication that this manuscript may have served in part as an enwad. 70

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

“In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Say: ‘Nothing will happen to us except what Allah has decreed for us: He is our Protector and we believe in the Believers put their trust.” (9:53)

“In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. If Allah toucheth with hurt, there is none can remove it but He: if He do design some benefit for thee, there is none can keep back his favour: He causeth it to reach whomsoever of His servants He pleaseth. And He is the Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.” (10:107)

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

64 see Qur’an’s al-Insaf, 1:161-162 and Breckelmann, 1:466.
65 1:7.
66 2:1-5.
67 2:284-286.
69 Padwick, p. 116.
70 A number of the manuscripts studied in the course of this research have been given the title En’ami gur’i (either by the calligraphers themselves in the text, or by the librarians who catalogued them.) Each Sufi order had its own En’ami gur’i, containing a specific litany of prayers to be recited only with the permission of that order’s shaykh, while the En’ami gur’i could be used by anyone.
71 see BDV 6386 f. 39a (note, this ms. contains Naqshbandi altila f. 73v)
"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. How many are the creatures that carry not their own sustenance? It is Allah who feeds (both) them and you: For He hears and knows all things." (29:60)7

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. I put my trust in Allah, my Lord and your Lord! There is not a moving creature, but he hath grasp of its forelock. Verily, it is my Lord that is on a straight path. (11:36)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. What Allah out of His Mercy doth bestow on mankind none can withhold. What He doth withhold, none can grant, apart from Him: and He is the Exalted in Power, Full of Wisdom." (35:23)7

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. If indeed thou ask them who is that created the heavens and the earth, they would be sure to say, "Allah". Say: "See ye them? The things that ye invoke beside Allah, - can they, if Allah wills some affliction for me, remove His affliction? Or if He wills some Mercy for me, can they then bring back His Mercy?" Say: "Sufficient is Allah for me!" (39:36)

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the message; and they say: "Surely he is possessed!" But it is nothing less than a message to all the worlds." (66:51-52)

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

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

"In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allah send blessings upon our master Muhammad, his family and companions, everyone. Guard strictly your (holy) prayers. Especially the Middle Prayer and stand before Allah in a devout (frame of mind). (2:238) And He feels no fatigue in guarding and preserving them for He is the Most High, the Supreme (in Glory). (2:255) Therefore the righteous men are deservedly obedient and guard (in the husband's) absence what Allah would have them guard. (4:34) We have not sent thee to watch over them. (4:80)."7

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

"Read this prayer evening and morning.

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

O Allah, we beg of you to grant us Paradise, and all words and deeds that may lead us to it. And we seek your protection from the fire of hell and all words and deeds that may lead us to it.

7Underlined words are variations on the root word hajza. Subsequent pages contain the following verses which include similar words: (p. 258): 44, 58a, 64a, 6s, 6109, 6117, 1157, 1263 (p. 268): 1241, 1245, 1247, 1311, 159, 1517, 2152 (p. 237): 21, 62, 2434, 3039, 3424, 3579, 4292, 4285, 6648 (p. 258): 50c, 89d, 70a, 8130, 8312, 8330, 8552-22, 8564. 7p. 286-310.
Read this prayer evening and morning:
In the Name of God, the Beneficient, the Merciful.
O Allah I seek your protection against association with anything other than You, and forgive me from the sins I knowingly commit and those I am unaware of. And You know what is hidden.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. 2. Salatut.

Qur’an 33:56, said to have been revealed upon the occasion of the Prophet’s Night Journey,77 commands the believers to call down blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad: “Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believed! Send ye blessings on him and salute him with all respect.”78 It is said that the repetition of this tasliya,79 brings great reward and is a means of forgiveness of sins. Prayers accompanied by tasliut are guaranteed to be answered.

According to Imam Nawawi, the tasliya is semi-sacramental in nature: “Muhammad said: ‘No one who sends greetings on me but Allah will restore my spirit to me so that I may respond to his greeting.’80 The tasliya is an obligatory part of the ritual prayer as well as an important aspect of Sufi devotions. Entire books of prayer have been devoted to tasliut. The most famous of these books of prayers devoted to the endless variations of tasliya is the Dalî’î al-khayrat of the Moroccan saint al-Juzuli (d. 870/1465).81

Perhaps the most important aspect of this type of prayer, and a common aspiration of the Enâm-iperf, is that “it is a sovereign means of vision of the

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77Rudwick, p. 154.
78This verse, 33:56, is frequently inscribed in the Enâm-i perf, especially in the Seal of Prophethood.
79The plural of tasliya is tasliut or calling down of blessings upon the Prophet.
81During Ottoman times the eminent involved blessings on the Prophet at the end of every adhan. This was one of the supererogatory practices that the Wahhabis forbade.
Prophet and communion with him. It is significant that the moment of ascent during the Prophet's Night Journey was chosen to reveal the verse concerning the order to make saluat on the Prophet. The Prophet's Night Journey serves as the prototype of the spiritual ascent made by each soul back to its Lord. Visions and dreams of the Prophet are much sought after, as well as bringing great blessings, protection, and reward, they also represent progress along the spiritual path toward the Divine Presence.

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

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

Footnotes:
1From the Kitab al-rasa'il, by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 1540), Translated by Edward Roberton in, "Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman on calligraphy," Studia Semitica et Orientalia vol. 1, 1950, p. 66.
3Abu Huraira quoted in Sahih Muslim, vol. 4, p. 1225.
several narrators, including the son of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, who report the Prophet as saying that the dreams of believers may serve to convey good tidings from Allah, and therefore represent a fractional (variously cited as being between one-seventeenth and one-twelfth) part of prophecy. 'Abu Huraira reported Allah's Messenger (may peace be upon him) as saying, "The vision of a pious man is the forty-sixth part of Prophecy."" Al-Ghazali explained the difference between a waking vision and a dream.

"When the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'I saw Abdul-Rahman enter Paradise crawling,' you are not to suppose that he did not see him thus with his own eyes. No, awake he saw him, as a sleeper might see him in a dream, even though the person of Abdul-Rahman b. 'Awf was at the time asleep in his house. The only effect of sleep in this and similar visions is to suppress the authority of the sensae..."26

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

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

(a.s.w.a.). He was the center of all light that moves in every atom..."27

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

In 1007/1698-9, Mohmed Bey Hakani (d. 1015/1660-7) wrote his well-known masterpiece *poem, Hilale-i quer*, also known as the Hilale-i Hakani. The poem tells the story of how after a faqeeri28 presents the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (d. 153/869) with a piece of paper upon which is written a *hilye*, or description of Muhammad, the caliph sees the Prophet in a dream. The Prophet tells him,

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26Quoted in Khadri, 1995, pp. 246-247. Muhammad Masum was the son of Shaykh Ahmad Suhrawardi.


28Muhammad in Persian. Refers to a form of verse using rhyming couplets.


28A word meaning a poor man, frequently used to indicate a dervish, or Sufi.
"O Harun! Since you are delighted by my hilâye, and regard it well, and since you have presented the dervish with gifts, I shall now make you glad. God has commanded me that whoever sees my hilâye shall become happy; whoever carries it, it shall become an amulet of life; and when the day of Resurrection comes, Hell's fire shall be forbidden for them, and neither shall they suffer in this world, or in the next."  

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

Until the last quarter of the seventeenth century, hilîyes were simply written on a piece of paper and carried as a za'ir, or protective amulet. In the year 1678, the calligrapher Hafiz Osman (d. 1698) 14 who was known to have trained approximately fifty students, including Ottoman sultans Mustafa II (1664-1703) and Ahmed III (1677-1736), was the first to write the hilîye in the form of a lefqa, a circular calligraphic composition that became popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These lefqa were intended to be read as well as to serve a decorative function, and were most often framed and hung upon interior walls.  

The earliest image of a hilîye that I have found in an Enâm-i Serif, is that produced in 1092/1681, by Hafiz Osman. TSM EH 322, f. 69v-66, Cat. 49, (figure  

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15Ibid., p. 43.  
17There are two manuscript by the hand of Hafiz Osman in this study: TSM EH 322, Cat. 49 and TSM EH 324, Cat. 9.  
18Mustafa Izet (d. 1698/1785), one of the foremost calligraphers of the nineteenth century, known to have written more than thirty Enâm-i Serif, was also the calligrapher responsible for the famous circular lefqa found in the Aynaqâne, containing the names, "Allah," "Muhammad," the four rightly-guided caliphs, Hasan and Husain.  

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9. 74 Framed in a circle, this description of the Prophet Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics was intended to function as a connection between the observer and the subject. Moreover, the two pages act as a double page with a connected single text, causing the viewer to see both images at once. Were these circular "images" meant to represent eyes? 17 By gazing at this textual "image" of the Prophet, one might be blessed with a true vision of him, and thus obtain his intercession and profit from his ikrâme.  

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

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

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17In preparing his manuscript, Hafiz Osman chose to place the colophon of TSM EH 322, f. 61, Cat. 49 (figure 9.2) immediately after the Qur'anic text and before the calligraphic images that follow. In the previous chapter, I suggested that Hafiz Osman's reluctance to include the subsequent text with the Qur'anic verses may have been as a result of the image-like nature of the material.  
18This interesting interpretation was suggested by Dr. Jesu Bacharch.  
21/109."
The bottom sentence reads: "Oh God, send peace and blessings upon the Prophet of Mercy," and "(He is) the intercessor for the nation of Muhammad and his pure family."

Hasan Üsküdar, the calligrapher of the Suleymaniye Library’s Yazma Bagısları 265, was one of Haфиз Osman’s foremost pupils. In contrast with the En’âm-i gerif of his teacher, Hasan Üsküdar has included non-Qur’anic material prior to his ketebel, or signature. In addition to the asma’-al-husna and the hilye of the Prophet Muhammad, the calligrapher has included several pages of du’a, or supplications, as well as an iftar-i gerif, or litany of prayers recited daily by members of a Sufi order, suggesting a possible source of patronage for the manuscript. Hasan Üsküdar’s hilye gerif, if. 49v-51, (figures 10. 3 and 30. 4) is not placed in a circle, but consists of a simple text. It is the last hilye I have found that was written this way. The amran at the bottom of f. 49v reads: "This is the hilye of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him." The text itself is in Arabic and reads:

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

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

The ritual use of these images was an important feature of the En’âm-i gerif. The Prophet’s hilye was not simply a devotional object, nor was it merely a devotional object, meant to inspire reverence. That these images were created to serve as a vital conduit of Divine grace is evident from the text surrounding a hilye found in TLM, 97/6, ff. 161-1611v, Cat. #21. Here, in a hadith narrated from ‘Ali, the Prophet says:

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

Perhaps the most visually stunning hilye gerif in our study is found in an En’âm-i gerif produced by the calligrapher Mehmed Rastin (d. 1161/1760), in the year 1146/1733-34. TSM EH 395, ff. 7v-7v, Cat. #13, figure 13. 2 and 13J. The manuscript was illuminated by an artist known only as Ahmed. The hilye’s opening presents us with two golden orbs each containing five lines of text. The golden beyne’s seter and verse marks have been pricked to catch the light, while...
tinny floral arabesques glitter in the background. The circles themselves are surrounded by a base of royal blue, upon which floats a dainty net of tiny pink, yellow, white and blue flowers, red buds and golden rumps. Above and below the mucca, golden rectangles provide sumptuous relief for rows of crimson, mauve and pink blossoms.

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

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

TSM EH 365 (Cat. #11) was illuminated by Salih in the year 1144/1731-32, although the manuscript was originally produced by the calligrapher Mehmed Hocazade (d. 1106/1695) in 1094/1682-83. For the first time, in addition to the hilale grif of the Prophet Muhammad, TSM EH 365 incorporates hilale of the prophets Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Isma'il, Lot, David, Moses, Aaron, Jacob, Joseph, and Jesus, as well as the hilale of the four rightly-guided caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali. (Figures 11.1 through 11.11 except 11.7 and 11.8) All of these prophets and their genealogies are mentioned in Surah al-An'am, and it is probable that this inclusion of their physical and moral descriptions had significance in terms of the mystical interpretation of this surah discussed in the previous chapter. According to this esoteric interpretation, in addition to the names of the prophets, Surah al-An'am contains hidden within it the names of all souls who will be born up until the Day of Judgment. These hilale of the prophets will become an important feature of the En'am-i grif, appearing in numerous manuscripts throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike the hilale grif of the Prophet Muhammad which are written most often in Arabic, the language of the hadith, the texts of the prophets' hilale are typically written in Ottoman Turkish. As there are many similarities among the various descriptions contained within the text, it is possible that the source of these descriptions may be an Ottoman version of the lives of the prophets. However, the increased use of Ottoman Turkish in these late eighteenth and nineteenth-century En'am-i grif should also be seen as further evidence of the role these manuscripts played in supporting the Ottoman claim to the Caliphate.

II. The muhur.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, an artist known to us only as Salih, illuminated TSM EH 365 (Cat. #11), a fifty year old En'am from the hand of calligrapher Mehmed Hocazade (d. 1106/1695). The latter was a colleague of the more famous Halis Osman in fact, they shared the same calligraphy teacher, Suyolcuazade Mustafa Eyyubi (d. 1097/1686). It is probable that Mehmed Hocazade's original En'am, dated 1094/1682-83, consisted of Qur'anic surah, Surah 1, and perhaps the surah al-husn. Salih's illuminated En'am-i grif of 1144/1731-32, included the Prophet Muhammad's hilale grif, the hilale of the prophets and the rulers' caliphs, as well as a remarkable series of calligraphic and representational images, including a miniature painting of the Ka'ba.

These images, appearing here for the first time, become ubiquitous in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century En'am-i grif: the muhur hukum al-muhinat, or Seal of Prophecy, 177, (figure 11.9), a miniature painting of the Ka'ba at

176 University of Victoria 95-004 (Cat. #16, pp. 216-222). (Figures 16.73 through 16.108; IUL 5597 (Cat. #15, fl. 125v-134v); IUL 5595 (Cat. #23, fl. 66v-69); Miniature rounds bordering the prophets' names); Dugelme Baba 491 (Cat. #25, fl. 60v-69, 74v-76); (Figures 23.3 through 23.14 and 23.18 through 23.22); Spencer Tusk 9 (Cat. #26, fl. 60v-4v); (including Hovan and Husnii) (Figures 26.5 through 26.10); M&A Arab 22 (Cat. #27, fl. 160v-162v); (Figures 27.9 and 27.4); and IUL 5619 (Cat. #28, fl. 55v-60).

177Personal communication with Shaykh Hisham Kabbani.