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

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

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

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

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3The taʿrīz on f. 129v of RUL 5197 (Cat. #19), dated 1254/1838-9, uses the same verse and is almost identical in style and content.

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

"In the Name of Allah, Most Generous, Most Merciful. And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: ‘Surely he is possessed!’ But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.” 50

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

"There is no power and no might and no strength except with Allah the Almighty, but Allah will suffice us as against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing." 56

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

And Who, I hope will forgive me my faults on the Day of Judgement. O my Lord! Bestow wisdom on me, and join me with the righteous. 59 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.” 60

46:51-52.
42:137. See also RUL 6419, f. 73v, Cat. #28.
26:82-83. (Abraham's prayer)
68:51-52.
Qur'ân that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe. To the unjust it causes (nothing but loss after loss).  

The middle circle reads:

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

VI. 2. The ta'îzî is used against illness.

According to 'Ali, 'the Qur'ân is the best of all medicines."  The choice of Qur'anic passages on p. 939 of UVic 95-014, Cat. #16, (figure 16, 94), indicates that this ta'îzî is to be used against physical illness.  The outer circle reads:

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

According to al-Suyuti:

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

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

"And when I am ill, it is He who cures me."  "Say: 'It is a guidance to those who believe.'"

And in the centre of the circle:

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

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

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

"In the Name of Allah, Most Merciful, Most Merciful. We sent down (stage by stage) of the Qur'ân that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe."  "It is He Who created me and it is He Who guides me;"
Who gives me food and drink. 185 Say: "It is a guide and a healing to those who believe."

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

Who gives me food and drink, and when I am ill, it is He who cures me. Who will cause me to die, and then to live (again). And Who, I hope, will forgive me my faults on the Day of Judgement. O my Lord! bestow wisdom on me, and join me with the righteous. 186

Traditional Islamic medicine emphasizes the importance of the medicinal properties of foods. Both the Prophet and his physician, al-Harith bin Khalidah are credited with the pronouncement: "The stomach is the abode of every disease." 187 Imam al-Quyuyin al-Jawziyya (d. 1350 C. E.) argued that physical illness is usually caused by any one or combination of the following: an excess of eating; the consumption of nutrient deficient foods; the mixing of food opposites with too many elaborate dishes at one sitting, or eating again before the complete digestion of the previous meal. 188 "Hence, the proper diet (himiyah), moderating excess and abstinence prove to be the best cure..."189 The Prophet himself said: "He (God) who created the illness, also has created the cure." 177 As a result, the various books written over the centuries on the subject of Islamic medicine have frequently included an extensive list of herbs and foodstuffs as well as their medicinal properties.

185=78-79. This passage is also found in IUL 5619, f. 72, Cat. #28.
186=114.
187=679-83.
188=Al-Suyuti, p. 149 and al-Akili, p. 84.
189=Al-Akili, p. 52.
190=Al-Akili, p. 7.
191=Al-Akili, p. 96.

The second ta'zez of healing in Spencer Tuck 9, f. 58, Cat. #26, (Figure 26. 12), adds the following verse:

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful...and heal the breasts of believers. 188 and repeats, slightly differently: "O mankind! there shall come to you an admonition from your Lord and a healing for the (diseases) in your hearts. - and for those who believe, a Guidance and a Mercy."

This ta'zez also adds for the first time:

"...there issues from within their bodies a drink of varying colours, wherein is a healing for men."

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

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

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

186=14.
187=57.
188=96.
189=Al-Suyuti, Tibb al-Nabi, p. 98.
VII. The Seal of the ayat al-kursi, or Throne Vease.

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

“Allah! There is no other god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all. No slumber can sette him nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there who intercede in His presence except with His permission? He knoweth what is in heaven and in earth, and He faileth no fatigues in guarding and preserving them. He is the High, the Supreme (in glory).”

Mustafa Hikmi’s Ens’um'il-i, 1828/1872-73, contains a ta’zit based upon this passage. Spencer Turk 9, f. 59, Cat. #26, (figure 26.12). The outer circle and part of the middle circle contains the ayat al-kursi. The rest of the middle circle reads: “There is no power and no strength except with God. The Messenger of God spoke the Truth.” The centre reads: “In the Name of God, the Healer. In the Name of God, the Sufficient. In the Name of God, the Giver of Health. O Healer, O Sufficient, O Bringer of Health, O He!”

Two circular ta’zit found in Dagiilum Baha 491 (Cat. #51), an unattributed and undated Ens’um’il-i, contain the ayat al-kursi as well as mystical tilism, or words of power. These mystical words are exactly the type of knowledge that is referred to in the Throne Verse. The ta’zit consist of five golden concentric circles, with radiating red lines segmenting black words and letters. The outer circles of both ta’zit contain the ayat al-kursi. The segments of the second circle of the first ta’zit on f. 149v, (figure 25.24) contain a mixture of what appear to be proper names and numbers. The segments of the third circle contain individual letters; read together they form the biu’miullah. The fourth circle is written in the same manner, the letters forming Names of God. In the fifth and last circle each letter of the ayat has again been written separately: “(To him who was dead... We gave life.”

The second circle of the second ta’zit, f. 150, (figure 25.25) repeats the shahada five times, and begins the repetition of the tilism letters sa‘d and ha (perhaps meaning “correct?”). The repetition of these letters continues for the first half of the third circle, followed by the words la and ham (perhaps meaning “for them”). The fourth circle repeats the letters sa‘d and ha. The centre of the circle reads: “There is no god but Allah, He,” the letters sa‘d and ha, and the numbers 5, 5, 2 and 7 in a triangular design.

Another seal of the ayat al-kursi is to be found in M&A Arab 22, f. 172v, Cat. #27, (figure 27.17), by the hand of an unknown calligrapher and dated 1291/1874-75. The seals read: “This is the image of the seal of the ayat al-kursi.” Four corner roundels contain the Names of God. The outer and second of three circles contain the ayat al-kursi. The centre reads:

“And the unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message; and they say: ‘Surely he is possessed!’ But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.”

VIII. The mufr kahb, or the Great Seal.

The University of Victoria’s manuscript contains a calligraphic device known as the “Great Seal.” UVic 95-014, p. 313, Cat. #16, (figure 16.68). This seal consists of a central medallion containing God’s name (n’Allah) repeated sixteen times in a central square, which is itself surrounded by a circle. According to one mystical interpretation, the square represents the earth, while the circle
represents heaven.10 The phrase `الله` is repeated four times in squares located in each of four surrounding half circles. The circle and half circles are gold, encircled in gold on a silver background. On the silver interstices are written the names Imam Hasan Zain al-Abidin, Imam Hussein Musa Kattim, Ja'far al-Sadiq, and Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi. These men are all descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, the last of whom, al-Mahdi, is expected to appear at the end of time.11 Calligraphic roundels in the four corners contain the Names of God, written in red ink on a blue background.

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

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

This text emphasises the role of these seals as conduits of brakte. According to the Prophet, the very act of looking at and touching the image brings rewards and blessings. Reading the text, it would appear, becomes secondary.

"Abd al-Samad Nasibband’s version of the mulkar kahir, or “Great Seal,” dated 1257/1841-42, also carries instructions for its use in Ottoman Turkish. IUL 6386, ff. 43v-44, Cat. #20:

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

Written in 1289/1872, thirty-two years after 'Abd al-Samad Nasibband’s manuscript, the ‘Great Seal’ from Mustafa Hîlî’s Spencer Turk 9, ff. 38v-39, Cat. #26, (Figure 26, 3), is accompanied by a virtually identical version of the former’s Ottoman Turkish explanatory text, as is that of an En'am-i-persf produced in 1292/1875-76 by an unknown calligrapher: IUL 5619, ff. 33v-34, Cat. #28.

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

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

Another Great Seal found in the University of Victoria’s manuscript is preceded by a page of explanation, UVic 95-014, pp. 352-353, Cat. #16, (Figures 16. 107 and 16. 108). The urum of p. 352 is written in white ink on a golden background with a peach-coloured border. It reads: ‘This is the explanation of the Great Seal.’ Written in Ottoman Turkish, the text describes the protective purpose of the Great Seal found on p. 353, and once again expresses the
of Allah, both good and bad.” The text of the outer circle of the central motif reads:

“There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. There is no god but Allah. Adam is the ‘Sincere Friend of Allah’. There is no god but Allah. Noah is the ‘One Protected by Allah’. There is no god but Allah. David is the ‘Deputy of Allah’. There is no god but Allah. Abraham is the ‘Friend of Allah’. There is no god but Allah. Moses is the ‘One who Spoke to Allah’. There is no god but Allah.”

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

The second circle and part of third circle contains the aqai al-kurdi.115 The rest of the third circle contains a by now familiar qayt against the evil-eye:

“And the Unbelievers would almost trip thee up with their eyes when they hear the Message.”120

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

A very similar seal, but without the attribution to Ja'far al-Sadiq, is to be found in an En'am-i girf by an unknown calligrapher dated 1282/1865-66. JIL 5973, f. 93, Cat. #24. Once again, we have evidence of the frequent repetition of such images in the manuscripts over time.

115A12:1-4

116A51

117A235

118A571
The explanation of the Great Seal...Imam Jafar (may Allah be pleased with him), reported from the Messenger of God (peace be upon him): 'Anyone who looks at this Great Seal, Allah will protect them from Hellfire, and they will surely see Allah's Beauty. They will be protected from seventy thousand difficulties in this life, will never be destitute, and will have a long life. Allah will forgive them their sins. All this is due to the blessings of this seal.' Ameen.

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

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

The second circle reads:

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

The inner circle reads:

"There is no god but God, His is the dominion, and to Him belongs all praise, and He has power over all things."
the Praised, Our Lord, and Lord of Angels and Spirits, Alone and Ever-Living.”

Four golden roundels, one in each corner, bear the names of the Prophet Muhammad. Eighty-eight years later, calligrapher Mustafa Hilmi would produce a seven-pointed Seal of Solomon that was almost identically inscribed.

Spencer Turk 9, f. 60, Cat. #26, (figure 26.13).

An Enam-of-Perf by an unknown calligrapher dated 1291/1874-75, contains an inscribed, golden six-pointed “Seal of Solomon” floating against a background of midnight blue and floral arabesques. Me&Arab 22, f. 171, Cat. #27, (figure 27.19) The star is inscribed with a more complete version of the previous Qur‘anic passage: “It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be ye not arrogant against me, but come to me in submission to the True Religion.”

The Seal of Solomon has often been used as a symbol of temporal authority and power in the Islamic world. Solomon was, after all, not only a prophet but a very great king. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the most elaborate “Seal of Solomon,” is in the manuscript belonging to the wife of one sultan and the mother of another, Pertevnyal 43, f. 56, Cat. #18, (figure 18.7). Two inscribed golden triangles are interwoven to form a six-pointed “Star of Solomon.” The centre of the star is inscribed with the same passage from the Qur’an: “It is from Solomon, and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.” The interwoven triangles also contain Qur‘anic passages: a repetition and continuation of the same verse, followed by the verse of tavlīm:

“...and it is (as follows): In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Be ye not arrogant against me.” [The Prophet Muhammad], and salute him with all respect.”

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

“Allah! There is no god but He - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all.” A.L.M. Allah! There is no god but He - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Supporter of all.” “All faces shall be humbled before the Living, the Self-Subsisting, the Sustainer.”

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

Those manuscripts that include the Seal of Solomon also have a second seal that consists of the Names of God inscribed in such a way that the uprights of the letters join to form a six-pointed star in the centre of the seal. The unam of the University of Victoria’s seal, UVic 95-014, p. 334, Cat. #16, (figure 16.89) reads:

“In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but (he is) the Messenger of Allah, and the Seal of the Prophets: and Allah has full knowledge of all things.”

The centre of the star is silver, on each of the six points are written in black ink one of God’s Names. In the centre of the star, also in black ink, are the words: “Tajjīb O Muhammad, verify you are a lion.” Very similar in appearance,
although somewhat simpler textually, is the seal of Mustafa Hili’s En’am-i āref of 1289/1872-73. Spencer Turk 9, f. 56v, Cat. #26, (figure 26.11).

Once again, the seal of Perizviyi Sultan’s manuscript, Perizviyi 43, f. 58, Cat. #18, (figure 18.9) is the most elaborate. A golden six-pointed star bears the inscription “The Seal of Solomon.” Each of the star’s points extends into one of the names of God: “O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Glorious, O Sultan, O Just, O Clear Proof.” The outer circle contains a Qur’anic verse:

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

XI. The Seal of "Ilaa Allah’ala kulli Shay’in qodin," or "Verily, Allah hath power over all things."

The phrase, “Verily, Allah hath power over all things,” forms the basis of this calligraphic device. It is taken from the Qur’an 3:189 “To Allah belongs the dominion of the heavens and of the earth, and Allah hath power over all things.” The University of Victoria’s manuscript is the first to bear this seal. UVic 95-014, p. 335, Cat. #16, (figure 16.9). Here the words of the verse whirl outwards from a central point, and the golden ‘ayn of the word ‘ala, or “over,” forms a clover-like motif at the centre. The urman reads:

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

136-39.
137Manuscripts bearing the same image: IUL 5897, f. 135, Cat. #19; Spencer Turk 9, f. 57, Cat. #26, (figure 26. 10); UVic 95-19, f. 72, Cat. #28.
138-39.

Several manuscripts bear the same seal: IUL 5897, f. 135, Cat. #19; Spencer Turk 9, f. 57, Cat. #26, (figure 26. 10); UVic 5619, f. 72, Cat. #28. Here again, we have evidence of a particular image being selected and repeated by the calligraphers of the En’am-i āref over an extended period of time.

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

The ‘Ayn ‘ala Allah is by far the most interesting of the calligraphic “images,” a sort of calligraphic pun that contains within it a visual metaphor for the Divine. Once again, the University of Victoria’s manuscript is the first that I know of to contain this image. UVic 95-014, p. 302, Cat. #16, (figure 16.117). Written in gold, the letter ‘ayn surrounds the words “ala Allah.” By translating the ‘ayn as “eye” instead of simply giving it the value of its letter name (like T42 instead of “tea for two”), one arrives at the astonishing sentence: “This is an eye upon (looking toward) God.” The letters are shaped to resemble an eye with the word “Allah” reflected in the pupil. This may be read as a visual metaphor for the Divine, a focus, or conduit into the Divine Presence, and the closest one may come in Islamic art to an image of God. 142 To the right of the image is the Qur’anic phrase:

but Allah will suffice thee as against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."

142A similar image is found in IUL 5897, f. 90, Cat. #24; and in UVic 5619, f. 77v, Cat. #28.
143Light is used as a metaphor for the Divine in the Mi’raj-nama of 1436 (see Plate 10, and the discussion of this manuscript in the following chapter), as well as in the 1370s Huff A‘zam of Jami in the Topkapi Saray. 232-33.
The words, O God, are repeated frequently. The Names of God surround the image: "O Most Tender, O Most Gracious, O Ever-Living, O Self-Sufficient," as do the names of Muhammad and the four archangels: Gabriel, Michael, 'Azwîl and Isrâ'il.

The simplest of these images is to be found in the En'am-1 peri of Mustafa Hilmi, dated 1279/1862. Spencer Turk 9, f. 62v, Cat. #26, (figure 26.16) Here, two golden 'ayn circle around the word Allah. The sentence reads: "This is an image of an eye/ 'ayn upon God. I put my trust in God."

Another version of this image is the "'Ayn 'ala 'Alî most elaborately represented in the manuscript Persepolis 43, f. 57v, Cat. #18, (figure 18.9). That this "eye" specifically belongs to 'Ali is apparent in the sentence which reads: "This is the image of the 'ayn of Ali, may Allah enable his face." To the left and to the right, two golden letter 'ayns, begin the word "Ali," and curve around the word "Allah." Between the letters the calligrapher has inscribed verses of the Qur'an and the Names of God:

"After the excitement of the distress, He sent down calm on a hand of you overcome with slumber, while another hand was stirred to anxiety by their own feelings, mixed by wrong suspicions of Allah - suspicions due to ignorance. They said: 'Haste we any hand in the affair?'" Say thou: 'Indeed this affair is wholly Allah's.' They hide in their minds what they dare not reveal to thee. They say (to themselves): 'If we had anything to do with this affair, we should not have been in the slaughter here.' Say: 'Even if you had remained in your homes, those for in whom death was decreed would certainly have gone forth to the place of their death'; but (all this was) that Allah might test what is in your breasts and purge what is in your hearts. For Allah knoweth well the secrets of your hearts. "44 ... for Allah forgives all sins: for He is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." 45 Ya Muqadd, Ya Haneeb, al-Chefker, al-Raqib.

The umma of the 'Ayn 'ala by the hand of Hasan al-Rasîd, JIL 5197, f. 149v, Cat. #19, dated 1254/1838-39, reads: "This is the likeness of 'Ali's 'ayn, may God enoble his face," (باية شكا فا 'اين 'ايم 'الاکان أالاکانس وان تاءو.) To the right and slightly above the calligraphic "eye," the Qur'anic verse: "but Allah will suffer thee against them, and He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing." 46 To the left of the image is the phrase, "my trust is in God." The centre of the 'ayn in the word "Allah" contains the phrase, O Muhammad." The centre of the surrounding 'ayn contains the phrase, "O God!" beneath its sweeping tail, the same phrase is repeated nine times. The phrase, "God is sufficient," is inscribed under the word "Allah." In the lower right and left hand corners, the names of the four archangels appear: Gabriel, Michael, Isrâ'il, and 'Azwîl, between them is inscribed the phrase, "peace be upon them." The bottom sentence reads: "Glory be to God Almighty, and praise be to Him."

A second 'Ayn 'ala by the same calligrapher, from a manuscript dated 1263/1840-21, 47 includes the names of Muhammad's four beloved companions: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali." A small roundel above the image is inscribed: "Anas ibn Malik, may God be pleased with him." 48 The panel below the image contains a hadith:

"The amir al-mu'minun, (prince of believers), the champion lion of God said: 'Do not run after someone who is retreating, and do not run away from someone who needs your help.' He is 'Ali ibn Talib, may God enoble his face and may God be pleased with him. There is no victor except 'Ali, and no sword except Zulfqar." 49 (The

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42:137. This verse refers to those who have turned back after having accepted Islam, those who are in sin.
43:JIL, 5196, f. 146, Cat. #21.
44:This is the appearance here of the name of Anas ibn Malik, one of the Prophet's companions, and a prolific transmitter of hadith, probably indicates that it was he who transcribed the following hadith found in the bottom panel.
45:Zulfqar was the sword 'Ali inherited from Muhammad. The image of this sword was an important feature of the En'am peri and will be discussed in the next chapter.
Prophet, peace be upon him, said, "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Ali is the gate."

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

The most unusual of these images is perhaps that by the hand of an unknown calligrapher, dated 1291/1874. *M&A Arab* 22, f. 173, Cat. #27, (figure 27, 17). Here the "eye" image is surround as usual by the phrase, "O God," and "may God enoble his face." Instead of referring to the image as the 'Ayn 'alâ 'Ali, or the "eye" of 'Ali, the text actually reads, "This is the likeness of 'Ali, may God Almighty be pleased with him!"

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

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

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

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

Miniature Paintings in the En'am-i qur'if.

I. Religious imagery in Islam:

It has often been said that: "The most distinctive feature of Islamic art is the ban of figures in the sacred sphere." This widely accepted statement is to be found in various forms throughout the literature on religious imagery in Islam. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Orientalists still believed that an absolute prohibition against images was to be found in the Qur'an. In 1889, H. Lavoix published "Les Peintures musulmanes," in which he pointed out that the hadith, and not the Qur'an, were the source of the Islamic ban on figural imagery. T. W. Arnold was the first to argue that the prohibition was not total during Muhammad's lifetime. In his book Painting in Islam, published in 1928, Arnold cited Alzaki's (d. 858 C.E.) story of the Prophet's protection of an image of Mary and Jesus found inside the Ka'ba during the destruction of the idols in 10/630. Alzaki quotes the Prophet as saying, "Rub out all the pictures except these under my hands," and notes that the image remained until the destruction of the Ka'ba in 63/683.4


2 See the bibliography in K. A. C. Creswell's The lawfulness of painting in early Islam., in Ars Islamica vol. 11-13, p. 189.


4 T. W. Arnold, Painting in Islam, Oxford, 1928, p. 7. The Ka'ba was destroyed in what is known as the second Jizya, or civil war, and rebuilt by Ibn al-Zubayr. Dr. Welch has pointed out that Arnold's argument may be debated on the basis that Alzaki was not transmitting hadith via an unbroken chain of transmitters. He is not quoting the Prophet directly, but rather writing a chronicle of history some 228 years later. Alzaki's story of the Prophet's protection of these images certainly goes against the great weight of hadith literature in which such images were forbidden.
In "Islam and Iconoclasm," Oleg Grabar suggested a pattern for the Islamic attitude to images that was a "specific inner growth of the Muslim world and not necessarily influenced by other cultures and developments." Grabar rejected the term iconoclasm as it represents a view whereby images are perceived as being evil, and in its place he suggested aniconism whereby images are perceived as being irrelevant because they are unable to capture reality - what Grabar refers to as "the ultimate impossibility of representations of living beings." Grabar cites the fifth/eighth-century theologian al-Ghazali's *Alchemy of Happiness* as stating that the truth or reality does not lie in a living thing's shape or physical character, but in its inner worthiness. Aniconism is not defined as an absence of symbols or a negative rejection of representations, but rather as an elevation of other visual forms, such as calligraphy and geometry. This is an interesting point. If the Muslim rejection of figurative images is based not upon their intrinsic evil, but upon their inability to measure up to reality, then images that accept and address this inability, such as images that are symbolic or those that use a kind of visual shorthand, might be considered acceptable.

In order to test this theory, we must return to the source of the prohibition, the hadith literature. Although fewer than those that disparage images, positive hadith do exist, for example: "Aisha told that Gabriel brought a picture of her on a piece of silk to God's messenger and said, 'This is your wife in this world and the next.'" More frequently cited are hadith such as one from Bukhari's chapter on *tastawir* in which Abu Talha narrates that "the Prophet (s.a.w.) said, 'Angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or there are pictures.' Or how upon seeing a "picture" on someone's terrace, Musa'ab recalled that he had heard the Prophet say: 'The people who will receive the severest punishment from Allah will be the picture-makers.' Yet the Prophet appears to have allowed "pictures" in his own home, albeit in a proscribed manner. He himself wore a shirt that bore images, only removing it when it distracted him from prayer, and he also permitted his wife 'Aisha to recycle some image-bearing fabric that she had inadvertently used as a curtain. When Allah's Apostle (s.a.w.) saw it [the offending curtain], he tore it and said, 'The people who will receive the severest punishment on the Day of Resurrection will be those who try to make the likeness of Allah's creations.' So we turned it (i.e., the curtain) into one or two cushions.' What is apparent here is that what may be forbidden is not so much the images themselves, as the intention behind their production and use.

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

"He is Allah, the Creator, the Bestower of Forms (or colours). To Him belong the Most Beautiful Names. He is the Ever-Forgiving, Most Merciful;" and He is the Exalted in Might, the Wise.
Citing the grammarian, al-Farunuzabadi (d. 816/1413-14), Lane defines the term *sunit* more precisely as, "an effigy; an image, or a statue: a picture; anything that is formed, fashioned, figured, or shaped, after the likeness of any of God's creatures, animate or inanimate." Its synonyms are *shafik*, meaning likeness, or resemblance, and *mihtal*, or likeness. *Tanair* is defined as "Effigies, images, or statues; pictures and the like." The word *masruur* refers to "a sculptor; and a painter, or limner, or the like." With the addition of the definite article, it is the same word that is used to refer to God. Thus it has been argued that those who make figural images risk confusing their own power with that of God’s by attempting to create that which only God may create. According to a hadith narrated by Abdullah ibn Umar, the Prophet said that "those who make these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection, and it will be said to them, 'Make alive what you have created.'"

If the creation of figural images could tempt the artist into thinking he or she possessed creative powers equal to those of God, the existence of such images might actually serve as an idol to those who lacked understanding. This is the second major objection to the use of figural images. In Bukhari’s chapter on “Building a place of worship at a grave,” Aisha explained how during the Prophet’s final illness, two of his wives who had been to Ethiopia described the beauty of a church they had seen there, including the painted images within. The Prophet raised his head from his deathbed and said, “Those are the people who, whenever a pious man dies amongst them, make a place of worship at his grave and then make those pictures in it. Those are the worst creatures in the Sight of Allah.” Islamic law forbids the making of tombs into *masjid*, or places of prostration, in order to avoid even the possibility of worshipping the occupant. All worship is for God alone, anything else is shirk. The images seen in the Ethiopian church were probably icons of Jesus or Mary, understood by some Christians to be images of God, and the mother of God, concepts which are completely unacceptable in the Islamic context where the Divine is transcendent: "He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him." The justifications for the destruction of the tombs of the sahifa and saints, and the desecration of sacred texts by the Wahhabis during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were based upon that group’s rigid interpretation of these and similar hadiths. Originally, the Prophet had forbidden even the visiting of graves, but this order was reversed during his lifetime. Ibn Mas’ud reported God’s messenger as saying, “I forbade you to visit graves, but you may now visit them for they produce abstainence in this world and act as a reminder of the next.” One reason for this reversal may well have been that once pagan beliefs had been replaced with monotheism, there was no longer any danger of confusing praying for the dead with praying to the dead. By the time of the Ottoman empire, Muslims and especially Sufis, allowed the building of tomb structures and encouraged the visitation of the tombs of saintly people in order to obtain kerala, and ask for their intercession; provided, of course, that it was understood that all power comes from God, and that all worship is for God alone. Al-Mas’udi’s *Reliance of the Traveller*, the fourteenth-century manual of Shafi’i jurisprudence, advises that while it is offensive to build over the grave itself, it is permitted to place an inscription, or other such marker at the head of the grave.

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106Lane, vol. 2, p. 1586.
108Ibid.
111Lane, vol. 2, p. 1745.
112Lane, vol. 2, p. 1745.
113Ibid.
114Ibid.
120Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 235-6.
121Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 235-6.
in the case of a saint or religious scholar, in order that the grave may be visited and honoured. The fact that Ibn Hajar Haytami (1574/1567) felt it necessary to mention among his "List of Enormities," activities such as "taking graves as places of worship...taking them as idols; circumambulating around them; putting one's hands on them; or performing the prayer towards them," indicates that this was not always the case.20 Our examination of the En'âm-i perif shows that by the time of the late Ottoman empire, the production and use of manuscripts containing images of objects intimately connected with the Prophet, and believed to transmit his halo, were similarly acceptable, and even encouraged. Many of the sacred objects that the artists of the En'âm-i perif chose to depict were seen as important symbols of the Ottoman sultan's role as caliph, the true and rightful inheritor of the Islamic past. As we saw in chapter one, the destruction of this sacred art, both tomb and text, was seen as a threat to Ottoman sovereignty and Islam itself.

The earliest En'âm-i perif I have found containing representational images is in the British Library. Produced by an unknown calligrapher in the year 1170/1757, the British Library's Oriental and India Office's manuscript OR 4251, Cat. #14, represents an important turning point in the history of the En'âm-i perif. Here, for the first time, miniature paintings of architectural as well as representational subject matter are included with sacred text. Dated 1757, several years after Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab began his fundamentalist campaign, OR 4251 contains only two images, the Qudam perif, or Prophet's footprint, and Zulfiqar, 'Ali's sword. By the year 1201/1787, the year Mustafa Eyyüb Efendi produced the University of Victoria's manuscript with its numerous images of the Prophet's belongings and other sacred relics, the Wahhabis had become a more serious threat to the Ottoman empire. The Wahhabi seizure of the Hijaz meant that the Ottomans were no longer the protectors of Mecca and Medina, and as a result suffered a significant loss of prestige in their own empire as well as the rest of the Islamic world at a time when they were under constant pressure from Western and Eastern Europe. It is likely that the representational images found in the En'âm-i perif were created as part of the ongoing polemic between fundamentalism and orthodoxy, if not as a direct response to the Wahhabi threat.21 While these images fall within the bounds of what is legally permissible according to the most orthodox interpretation of Islam (none of them depict an actual human figure in its entirety), fundamentalist Islam declares all images to be hida', or an unacceptable innovation. As the images of the En'âm-i perif symbolized rather than depicted the Prophet and other saintly people, the artist who created them could not be accused of trying to imitate God. This symbolic use of imagery is in keeping with the spiritual origins of texts such as the En'âm-i perif. According to Ibn 'Arabi, "Gnostics cannot explain their feelings (ahsās) to other men; they can only indicate them symbolically to those who have begun to experience the like."22 If the calligraphers of the En'âm-i perif were not to be accused of playing God, then the only argument that could be used against these images was that they, like the tombs, served as objects of worship.

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

20Cited in the appendix to The Ulimate of the Traveller, p. 972.
22Ibn 'Arabi quoted in Tringham, p. 139.
moral, spiritual or allegorical nature); and devotional (the inculcation of reverence in the beholder). 35

The Herat Mi'raj-nama of 1436 is a case in point. 36 This narration of the Prophet’s Night Journey to the Throne of God is bound together with Attar’s Tarbkhāt al-arifī, or Memoirs of the Saints. The manuscript contains a series of sixty-one exquisite miniature paintings in which the Prophet Muhammad is seen traversing the heavens, visiting Paradise and Hell, and entering the Divine Presence. Plate 97 depicts the moment when the Prophet Muhammad first sees the Angel Gabriel in his original form. This image is based upon Qur’anic verses 53:1-18, and 81: 23, which some commentators have understood as the Prophet’s vision of Gabriel’s spiritual reality, and the hadith which describes that vision. Plate 107 shows the Prophet Muhammad entering the Divine Presence. A previous image (f. 36v) showed the Prophet prostrating before the Throne of God. In that image, the Prophet’s golden halo was seen against a blue sky. Here, the Prophet has entered the Divine Presence, and his halo is being outshone by a golden Light, a Light that may be interpreted as a metaphor for the Divine. In the text’s preface, calligrapher Malik Bakshi describes how reading about the lives of saints can itself be a short cut to sanctity. "Their sayings show the faithful which are the true dervishes (ie. the proper examples to imitate), they strengthen resolution, making men of women and lions of men, bringing them to the stage where they are the elite..." 38 Rogers cites the accompanying images of the Mi’raj-nama as the first Islamic miniature paintings whose purpose appears to be didactic and intended to inspire reverence. 39

As we have seen in previous chapters, the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century En‘am-er-gerif was a devotional book used in daily worship. It was owned by members of the royal family as well as having been placed in endowed libraries for the use of Istanbul’s less affluent citizens. The Qur’anic passages and prayers were recited, and the ḥijār, ta‘ris and other mahār were carried or simply gazed upon for the sake of their baraka, offering the owner or those who read the book protection and comfort. It is the argument of this dissertation that the representational images of the En‘am-er-gerif do not fit into Roger’s previously described typology in which images of a religious nature are explanatory, didactic and/or inspirational. Instead, the images of the Prophet’s relics: his handwriting, footprint, belongings, etc. serve virtually the same purpose as the En‘am-er-gerif’s calligraphic images and prayers. They are a conduit for baraka, the spiritual energy which emanates from the Divine and which passes through saintly persons or the objects (in this case, the images of these objects) associated with them, and thus becomes available to the ordinary believer. 40 Support for this argument is evident in the very term used by the calligraphers to describe these images: namā meaning either writing, as in the namā al-Mushaf (the writing of the Qur’an) or a mark, an impression, a sign, a trace, a vestige, or a relic or remain. 41 As a manuscript that combines sacred text with images which are sacred in function as well as being religious in content, the En‘am-er-gerif is unique in the history of Islamic art. 42

Aside from the ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s denial of his destruction of similar texts, 43 we have yet to discover an eighteenth or nineteenth-century tract that discusses the use of such images. Perhaps the lack of such a text may be read as some indication that the images of this widely available text were not perceived

35bid.
36Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Suppl. Tenc 190. See Marie Rose Séguy’s The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: Musée Nanter, Brussels: New York, 1977. This manuscript was brought to Tibet from Herat in 1207 by the Seljuk Shah Lima II. It probably entered Istanbul with the sack of Tabriz by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, 1516.
37Ibid.
38Ibid.
44Rogers, p. 134.
45Ibid.
46The existence of saintly baraka is the same argument used in favour of writing tombs.
47Indicative noun of the verb ‘asarm to mark, stamp or draw.
49Although the Dār al-Hayat contains images of the Ka‘ba and the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina, these images appear to serve an illustrative purpose, and do not in any way act as conduits of baraka.
50In any case, Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s letter refers to the general nature of the texts (i.e., love of the Prophet) and does not specifically mention any images.
as requiring justification or even explanation. In the late twentieth century, however, that is not the case. The spread of modern fundamentalism has resulted in a widespread perception of Islamic art in which figural, representational and even in some cases calligraphic imagery is forbidden in a religious context. As a result, modern day Muslims must often be circumspect when they include photographs or even traditional miniature paintings in their work. In his 1996 book entitled, The Naqshbandi Sufi Way, Shaykh Hisham Kabbani used a large number of photographs, calligraphic images and Persian miniatures to illustrate the lives of the forty Naqshbandi Grand Shaykhs. Although he included the famous Safavid version of the Prophet's Night Journey by Sultan Muhammad,39 Shaykh Hisham was careful to cover the image of the Prophet with a calligraphic sticker that reads “Muhammad.” After having gone to press, Shaykh Hisham felt that despite this concern for remaining within the letter of the law, the inclusion of such images might still offend some readers. He therefore included an addendum with each copy of the book, explaining his use of these images. The passage reproduced below clearly indicates a continuing concern with the nature of Islamic imagery, that it be symbolic and not attempt to replicate God’s work. It also suggests the underlying reasons for the continued use of such images.

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

39This miniature is found in the Khamsa of Nizami copied for Shah Tahmasp, dated 949/1440, BL, Or. 2200, f. 57v.

II - Eighteenth-century Ottoman painting:

Ottoman art has a rich tradition of miniature painting. Literary sources suggest that a school of court painters existed even prior to Mehmed IV’s conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453.37 The Ottomans inherited the rich traditions of a number of eastern Islamic schools, including the Timurid, Herat, Tabriz and Shiraz court styles, evident in the great number of illustrated Iranian classics that made their way into the Topkapi palace library.

In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, historical works began to chronicle the various campaigns of the Ottoman sultans and their armies. These elaborate manuscripts contained images of the ruler’s daring exploit as well as detailed topographical sketches. Historical events were portrayed as accurately as possible. Physical geography and buildings were presented using a schematic stylization intended to convey that particular setting’s most salient features.38 During the classical period (generally considered to be from the mid to late sixteenth century) manuscript production was extensive, covering a wide range of subjects. In this period, great attention was paid to details such as gestures and facial expression.

"It is primarily this realism displayed by Ottoman artists in their attempt to document the events observed in an authentic and realistic manner without getting caught up in the details, that..."
distinguishes them from the miniature painters of other Islamic
circles."

Religious painting produced in Istanbul during this period reflected the
influence of the historical narrative. The Zühtü-i Terâş of 1583\(^{25}\) narrates the
history of the Prophets and the highlights of Islamic history along with a
genealogy of the Ottoman sultans. The six-volume Siyâs-i Neât by Darî\(^{26}\) was
unfinished at the death of Murad III in 1595, and was completed under Mehmed
III. This six-volume history of the life of the Prophet Muhammad was based
upon the classic biography of ninth-century historian Ibn Hibban. In the same
period, provincial schools at Konya and Baghdad produced a number of Shi'ite
texts containing genealogies of the prophets and Shi'a martyrs.\(^{27}\)

During the sixteenth century, very few illustrated manuscripts were
produced. Genre paintings and portraiture\(^{28}\) were popular subjects, with a
number of albums being devoted to the images of the Ottoman sultans. Scholars
have attributed this lacuna to the decline of court patronage during this period of
political and economic instability.\(^{29}\) Although there may have been a court
school at the palace of Edirne during the seventeenth century, any record of it
has been lost in the war time destruction of that city's collections.\(^{30}\) Up until this

\(^{25}\) Renda, 1988, p. 33.
\(^{26}\) TEM 1973.
\(^{27}\) Three volumes of this work remain in the Topkapı Sarayi, vol. 1 (H. 1221) contains 139
miniatures; vol. 2 (H. 1222) contains 85 miniatures; and vol. 4 (H. 1223) contains 125
miniatures. Vol. 4 is in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (T. 419) and contains 157
Garret Fisher, "A reconstruction of the pictorial cycle of the Siyâs-i Neât of Murad III," in The
\(^{28}\) See N. Alpayy and F. Çaglayan, Turkish Miniature Painting, Istanbul, 1974; p. 55-63.
\(^{29}\) See Nilgün Anar, "Introduction to group scenes in Turkish Miniatures," in The Islamic
World: From Classical to Modern Times, Reprints in honor of Bernard Lewis, The Darwin Press,
\(^{30}\) See, for example, Isin Ahl, Sarıname'i Yolculuk, an eighteenth century Ottoman Book of Travels,
Ahd, 1969, pp. 3-4.

point, manuscript production had largely been under the control of the sultan
and the other members of his court. Calligraphers, illuminators, artists, and
bookbinders worked at the palace and were themselves court officials.\(^{31}\) With the
break-down of the court atelier system we see shifts in patronage and subject
matter as artists began producing manuscripts to meet the interests of the people
of Istanbul and, by the eighteenth century, a growing number of Europeans.\(^{32}\)

In the "brief and brilliant period"\(^{33}\) of the Tulip Period, as the early
eighteenth century is known, miniature painting was revived with the works of
court painters such as Levni (d. 1732), and Abdullah Buxari. This period is
characterized by an interest in costume and everyday activity. Male as well as
female figures begin to have more volume, weight and definition.\(^{34}\) Under
Ahmed III (1703-1730) and his grand vezir İbrahim Pasha, the Ottomans
consciously chose to engage in cultural exchange with the European powers. In
1721, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi was sent as an ambassador to France,
inaugurating what has been called, "the period of Westernization."
Contemporary western architectural styles were all the rage in Istanbul;
especially favoured were Baroque and Rococo elements. Plate 11 is an
engraving of the palace at Versailles, a building much emulated by so many of
Ottomans in the palaces and gardens they built on the banks of the Bosphorus.
This image was found in the Topkapı Sarayi, most likely among the engravings
brought back to Istanbul by Mehmed Efendi.\(^{35}\) The stylistic influence of such
images was felt in Istanbul almost immediately, as we shall see in the later
section on images of the Ka'bâs and Medina. European painters are known to
have worked in Istanbul, and portrait painters were even invited to the Ottoman
court. One result of this introduction of new ideas from the West was a decline
in the production of illustrated manuscripts as the traditional art of miniature

\(^{31}\) Renda, 1988, p. 18.
\(^{32}\) Renda, 1988, p. 65.
\(^{33}\) Ahd, 1969, p. 4.
\(^{34}\) Renda, 1988, p. 65.
\(^{35}\) Fatma Müge Göçek, East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth
painting gave way to more Westernized art forms, such as mural painting. In fact, Ottoman art of the second half of the eighteenth century has been characterized as being "almost totally devoid of miniatures." According to Filiz Çağman, during this period the palace workshops produced only royal portrait albums, one or two illustrated works on the subject of astrology, and literary anthologies decorated with non-figural imagery. Until now, these images were believed to be the last examples of a traditional Ottoman style of miniature painting that would be replaced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by a Western concept of pictorial art.

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

—Gülnaz Renda, "Turkish painting during the period of Westernization (1700-1800)," Bârstâne Dinî znalaz Tarih Senesi (1700-1800), Hasekitpe Üniversitesi Tarihî ve İlahîât C-17, Istanbul, p. 262.
—Çağman, p. 247.

Given the preliminary nature of this study, it has not been possible for me to investigate collections in other important Ottoman cities such as Damascus and Cairo, a factor which might increase the number of these manuscripts greatly.

—See, for example the Prophet's foot, depicted in M&A Arab 22, f. 70, Cat. #27, Image 26.29.

III. The images of the En'âm-i gerif.

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

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

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

Some of the earliest extant images of the Ka'ba were used to decorate pilgrimage certificates produced in the medieval period and given to individuals who performed the hajj on behalf of another. The text of these scrolls lists the various places to be visited and the particular obligations to be carried out. Witnesses would sign and date the scroll upon fulfillment of each obligation, and the completed scroll would be carried home triumphantly to the would-be pilgrim, or in the case of a posthumous hajj, their family. Although some later certificates featured images of the Ka'ba and other holy places, it was very
unusual for the earliest of these scrolls to be illustrated. One such illustrated pilgrimage certificate, Plate 12a and 12b, was prepared for the lady ‘Umar b. Said, signed by witnesses, dated the 9th of Dhu’l Hijja, 584/January 29, 1189, and includes one of the earliest images of the Ka’ba.

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

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

The images are also accompanied by decorated cartouches describing the obligations of the pilgrimage as outlined in Surah al-Hajj.66

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

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

66 ITEM 4104, The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts.

65 A catalogue entry describing this scroll is to be found in Ahmet Erteg, In Pursuit of

Plate 7.

64 The semi-circular wall adjacent to the Ka’ba.

Illustrated pilgrimage guides and descriptive books such as the Futuh al-haramayn by Muhuyi al-din ibn Lari (d. 933/1526-27) began to be produced in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-sixteenth century, possibly encouraged by the extensive restorations of the Holy Places undertaken by Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. (r. 926-974/1519-1566). A copy of the Futuh al-haramayn dated 1540, contains an image of the Ka’ba and the surrounding Masjid al-haram.67 Plate 13. Here, the view is still a topographical one, but many more details have been included. In addition to the hatayam, the kiswa, the door of the Ka’ba, and the heijar al-aswad, or Black Stone, the painter has included double-storied arcades, six minarets, the masjids of the four imams, the masjid ibrani, the minbar, and the well of Zamzam. A pilgrimage guide written in 990/1582, Plate 14 illustrates the same features, but with the addition of domed roofs, the result of an ambitious restoration undertaken in the year 979/1571 by Selim II (r. 1566-1574).68

The illustration of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina began somewhat later than images of the Ka’ba. One of the earliest representations of the Prophet’s Mosque is found in a pilgrimage guide entitled, Dala’il Makka wa Medina, dated jumada II 990/June 1582.69 The author, Ghulam ‘Ali, included a detailed account of his hijj as well as a history of the city of Mecca. As in the contemporary images of the Ka’ba, both plan and elevation are shown simultaneously, allowing viewers to concentrate their attention on the most important elements of the structure.70


69 See Hassan El Baaki, “Ottoman pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina as historical and documentary sources,” Islamic Art III, 1988-89, p. 237, Fig. 1.

70 This focus on the most salient and characteristic features of buildings, landscapes, animals or even people has been referred to by Nizam Ansayo as a sort of “visual shorthand” used by Ottoman painters. See his article, “The documentary value of the Ottoman miniatures,” in IVème Congrès international d’art Turc, Provence, 1976, p. 17.
III. 1c) The *Dala’il al-khayrat*, the earliest prayer book to contain representational images.

Up to this point, all of the images of the Ka‘ba and the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina have been associated in some way with the hajj, either as part of pilgrimage certificates, or guide books. The earliest illustrated prayer book appears to be a copy of Imam Jazuli’s *Dala’il al-khayrat*, produced in the Maghrib in 1025/1616. *Plate 46.*

A copy of the *Dala’il al-khayrat* written in 1155/1742 by the calligrapher Yezarzade Ismail Efendi featured what would become a standard depiction of the holy cities. *Plate 15.* On the right is a bird’s eye image of the Ka‘ba surrounded by the *haram*, and the city of Mecca. On the left, the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina is given a similar treatment. In the background of both scenes the hills rise up to meet a cloud-filled sky (somewhat unusual for the desert climate of the Hijaz, where it rarely rains). In the foreground of both images, *madabas* are seen. The use of perspective is evident in these images, differing from the earlier, more symbolic treatment, and suggesting a certain Western influence. A possible source of this influence becomes apparent when we compare this image with that of the palace at Versailles. *Plate 13* brought to Istanbul some twenty years earlier with the return of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi’s embassy from France in 1731. Here we see the prototype of a block-like, regularly-featured building complex with hills in the background and the clouds on the horizon that will become typical of images of the Ka‘ba and Medina.

It is this passage from the *Dala’il al-khayrat* that has been illustrated in the figure above. A crescent-shaped finial bearing the word “Allah,” sits atop a blue dome bearing the message, “There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God.” Below the dome a mihrab-shaped alcove contains three golden censers, illuminated by a hanging mosque lamp. The inscription below the image relates a part of ‘Urwah’s hadith:

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*III - 1d) The Ka‘ba and the Prophet's Mosque as they are illustrated in the *En'am-i perf.*

The first *En'am-i perf.* in our study to illustrate the Ka‘ba is the Topkapı Sarayi’s TSM EH 365 (Cat. # 11), originally produced in 1094/1682-83 by Mehmet Hocaçade. This manuscript was illuminated by Saitli some fifty years earlier.

*En'am-I perf.* (Cited previously).
later, in the year 1144/1731-32. Although Salih’s image of the Ka’ba, f. 80, (figure 11.11) makes an attempt at perspective, the surrounding structures have been illustrated using a simple elevation. Six minarets and a single arcade surround the Ka’ba, the masjim, the minbar, and the well of Zamzam. The buildings seem to float against a pink background, and the arcade fills the entire space allotted to the image. The artist has left no room to place the haram in either its architectural or landscape context.

Both the Ka’ba and the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina appear together for the first time in the En’am-i serif produced by an unknown calligrapher in the year 1170/1757. OR 425I, f. 74, Cat. #14, (figure 14.3). Here again, the artist has restricted himself to simple images of the structures in which certain features have been enlarged in order to show details. For example, the Prophet’s tomb with its window grills through which we may glimpse the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and ‘Omar, virtually dwarfs the surrounding houses, seen here for the first time. A completely different approach was taken by Mustafa, son of the vezir Mehmet Pasha in an En’am-i serif dated 1173/1759-60. Halet Efendi 5, f. 45v-46, Cat. #15, (figure 13.7). This manuscript includes incredibly detailed views of the cities of Mecca and Medina, set in oval cartouches with depictions of the latter’s city walls and surrounding places of spiritual importance, such as al-Masjid cemetery where many of the Prophet’s family and his companions are buried.

The images of the Ka’ba and Medina found in the University of Victoria’s En’am-i serif, dated 1201/1786-87, also make use of perspective, but they lack a certain accuracy. UVic 95-014, pp. 366-367, Cat. #16, (figures 16.121 and 16.122). For example, the khaznati al-sakka, or treasury of the Prophet, was originally erected in 576/1180. It was rebuilt in 576/1180 by Suleyman the Magnificent. While the treasury was clearly visible in the image from Halet Efendi 5, it is missing from the courtyard of the University of Victoria’s image. The rings of both buildings are depicted as being only one aisle deep, whereas in reality they were much wider. By the year 1201/1786-87, the sanctuary of the Mosque at Medina had ten aisles, there were three aisles each on the eastern and northern sides, and four on the west. The artist has also mistakenly placed the fifth minaret on the north side instead of the west, and he has placed an arcade around the front of the tomb of the Prophet, resulting in an L-shaped plan instead of the traditional, rectangular hypostyle mosque.

In addition to the realistic image of the Ka’ba, the University of Victoria’s manuscript also features a second, schematic rendering of the sacred building. UVic 95-014, p. 371, Cat. #16, (figure 16.126). The door of the Ka’ba, the Black Stone and the ka’ba are all indicated, but appear out of context. The words, "masjim Ibrahim," inscribed on top of the image, form part of the Qur’anic verse described below, but may also be read as a visual depiction of the site known as the "Station of Abraham," where the patriarch is traditionally believed to have stood when he replaced the Black Stone upon completion of the rebuilding of the Ka’ba. The surah reads: “This is the House of Allah at Mecca.” The Ka’ba itself is inscribed, “House of Allah,” in white ink. A Qur’anic inscription on and around the image reads: “…The Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security: pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah, - those who can afford the journey.” The inscription continues: “These are the True Words of Allah, repeated by the Noble Prophet.”

The En’am-i serif of Mustafa Nazif, dated 1208/1793-94, offers us bird’s-eye views of the holy cities, framed with red ovalis and golden arabesques. Perserviyat 43, f. 59v-59, Cat. #18, (figure 18.10). Although the images are very detailed, there is some factual error. For example, while the domes of the minarets are typically Ottoman, with their conical tips covered in blue, the artist has mistakenly placed the fifth minaret at Medina on the north side instead of the west. The Ka’ba’s covering, or kiswa, is shown half-pulled up to reveal the underlying stone courses, a ritual that takes place yearly when the cover is exchanged for another. The Black Stone is clearly visible at the left-hand corner of the building. The maqams surrounding the Ka’ba are depicted, as are the orchard of Fatima and the treasury of the Prophet in the courtyard at Medina.

11Museum El-Basha, pp. 218-229.
To the left of the mosque is the cemetery of Al-Baqi’. The ground surrounding both buildings is covered with gold pricking.

Perteviyal 43 also contains a second image of the Ka’ba, f. 56v. Figure 18, 81. In this second image the kiswah has been pulled halfway up to expose the underlying grey stones. The building appears out of its architectural context and seems almost to hover in the midst of a golden arabesque. Around the image, verses from the Qur’an are inscribed in red:

"...he was not of the pagans. The first House (of worship) appointed for man was that at Bakkar, full of blessing and of guidance for all the worlds. In it are Signs Manifest: the Station of Abraham; whoever enters it attains security; pilgrimage thereto is a duty men owe to Allah - those who can afford the journey; but if any deny faith, Allah stands not in need of any of His creatures."

Underscribed the Ka’ba, in Ottoman Turkish, is inscribed the following:

"If the servant of the Servant [Prophet Muhammad] goes to visit Your [Allah’s] House, and asks for Your forgiveness and blessings, will they not receive them? Yes, anyone showing their face in Your House must receive blessings and forgiveness."

Oval-framed views of the holy city with very regular rows of surrounding houses continue to be featured in the latest manuscripts in our study, the two manuscripts found in the New York Public Library. In the manuscript dated 1289/1872, by the hand of Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, the minat of Mecca has flames extending skyward from its roof. Spencer Turk 9, f. 4v, Cat. #26, (figure 26, 22). The surrounding landscape in both the image of the Ka’ba and the Prophet’s Mosque consists of indeterminate brown hills. A manuscript by an unknown hand, dated 1291/1874, also has flames reaching from the roof of the Prophet’s tomb, and the images of both the Ka’ba and the Prophet’s Mosque are embellished with gold. M&A Arab 22, f. 173v-174, Cat. #27, (figure 27, 18).

11There have been much scholarly debate concerning the original meaning of the Dome of the Rock (see for example: Ong Gruber, "The Imagery of the Dome of the Rock, An Orientalis, vol. 3, 1999, pp. 33-62.) The Muslim world, however, has been unanimous in its acceptance of this site as the location of the Prophet’s resurrection.

12These stones are also found in Damascus, Cairo and Tanta, as well as Delhi and a number of other locations on the Subcontinent. For further reading see: "Between Hasan, "The Footprint of the Prophet," Muqarns, vol. 10, 1993, pp. 355-343; and Anthony Welch, "The Shrine of the Holy Footprint in Delhi," Muqarns, vol. 14, 1997, pp. 166-178.

13Eyyubi Sultan (Ala’ Ayyub al-Anasi) was a vassal (companion of the Prophet) who died during the Muslims’ first attempt to take the city of Istanbul in 672 C.E. Eyyubi Sultan’s place of burial outside the walls of Constantinople is the most venerated site in the city; the place where during their enlightenment ceremony Ottoman sultans were greeted with the word of Osman.

as well as the relics of the family of Moses and Aaron. During and after the Prophet's lifetime his companions sought taharruk with his hair, nails, sweat, saliva, ablution water, mantle, and even his grave.

The earliest image of the Qudam qerif appears in the British Museum Library's manuscript, OR 423 (Cat. #14), dated 1170/1757. (Figure 14. 3) The miniature depicts a golden print from the Prophet's right foot. In the Islamic world, the right is considered to be more sanctified than the left. The Qur'an says that on the Day of Judgment all souls will receive their book of recorded actions either in their right hand, or their left. The Companions of the Right will attain Paradise, the Companions of the Left will be banished to Hell.

The anonymous of the Qudam found in the University of Victoria manuscript, UVic 95-014, p. 128, Cat. #16, (Figure 16. 12), reads: "This is an image of the Prophet's noble footprint, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him." The footprint is inscribed with the following words:

"Love of the Prophet is a blessing for all humanity.
The earth says it is proud because he is sleeping in it.
All of creation must visit his grave.
Gabriel said that the Paradise called "Adam" told the Prophet Muhammad that those who visit (his grave) would enter and live there (Paradise) forever."

The word qadam can mean either a human foot, or footprint. In what may be read as an attempt to avoid any possible misinterpretation between what is presented in the image and the Prophet's actual foot, Hasan al-Rashid, the calligrapher of a manuscript dated 1238/1836-39, has chosen to use a broken outline to indicate the shape of the footprint. TUL 5397, f. 146v, Cat. #19. The footprint is inscribed with the words: "If God wills, it will be, and if not, it will never be. There is no power except with God..." However, in the En'am qerif by Mustafa Hilmi Efendi dated 1289/1872-73, we see a first attempt at depicting a less stylized and more naturalistic foot. (Figure 26. 23). Although the foot has been painted in gold, toe-nails have been added, making its identification as a footprint impossible. The foot is inscribed with the words of the Prophet: "He said, upon him be peace..." [illegible]. These are true weeds spoken by the Messenger of God. These are true words spoken by the Beloved of God.

The final miniature of the Qudam qerif is found in a second manuscript located in the New York Public Library, dated 1291/1874-75. M & A Arab 22, f. 165v, Cat. #27, (Figure 27. 10). Here, the unknown artist has used flesh tones and modelling, even providing his image with two-tails, to indicate that what is meant is the actual foot of the Prophet himself. The letter of the law is maintained by depicting the foot as disembodied, floating on a golden background.

III. 3. The images of Zulfiqar.

The British Library's En'am qerif is also the first of its kind to include an image of Zulfiqar, the famous sword won by the Prophet Muhammad at the battle of Badr and carried in all of his further battles. Zulfiqar, or Dha al-fiqar in Arabic, was inherited by the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Ali, and eventually by his grandson Hasan and Hussain. The sword was said to have been handed down to the Abbasids, and it eventually disappeared. The earliest images of Zulfiqar are said to date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the Ottoman period, the sword served as an image of power on weapons as well as flags and miniature paintings. Although the double-bladed sword became a particularly important symbol for the Shi'a, its image was believed to have talismanic properties throughout the Islamic world.

84 2:348.
85 7:27.
86 See, for example, 5:6-7-12.
The aman of the image of Zulfikar from the University of Victoria's Ebr'Am-serif is inscribed in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. U Vic 95-014, p. 399, Cat. #16, (Figure 16. 11). It reads: "All does not fight except with his sword Zulfikar." The sword is displayed against an orange background that has been highlighted with a red arabesque. Five surrounding golden roundels bear the names of the Archangels Michael, Gabriel, Ira'il, Azra'il, and the phrase Manha' Allah, "by Allah's Will." Resting across the seal is an oval cartouche bearing the words: "Oh Ever-Living: Oh Allah." The text written in white ink on the sword itself reads:

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
There is no god but Allah.
The King, the Truth.
Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.
The Evident, the Truth, the Promise, the Trustworthy.

The miniature uses a three-panel layout similar to that used for the same manuscript's Seal of Prophecy. Zulfikar and the roundels are found in the central panel. The side panels feature cartouches with black script on a gold background.

The Ebr'Am-serif written by Hasan al-Rakiti in 1254/1838-39 and found in the Istanbul University library contains a similarly inscribed sword. IUL, 9197, f. 147, Cat. #19. The aman reads: "This is the image of the Honorable Ali's Zulfikar. The names of the four archangels surround the double-bladed sword: 'Gabriel, Michael, Ira'il, and Azra'il.' The handle of the sword is inscribed with the words: "In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful." The blades are inscribed: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God...The King, the Truth, the Establisher. In Truth, a trustworthy promise."

A second manuscript in the Istanbul University library also contains an image of the sword. IUL, 9573, f. 90v, Cat. #23. The aman reads: "This is the image of Zulfikar, no victor except 'All, no sword except Zulfikar." Between the blades of the double-headed sword is inscribed: "help from Allah and a speedy victory." Cartouches on either side of the image read: "O You who are Kind, be kind with us. Be sparing and clement with us. You are the Mighty, save us from Your Overwhelming Might."

The image of Zulfikar in the Ebr'Am-serif of Mustafa Hilmi Efendi, in the New York Public Library dated 1289/1872-73, shows 'Ali's double-bladed sword displayed against a background of green leaves and red flowers. Spencer Turk 9, f. 69v, Cat. #26, (Figure 26, 23).

The penultimate image of Zulfikar is to be found in the Ebr'Am-serif by an unknown artist dated 1291/1874-75, also found in the New York Public Library. M& A Arab 22, f. 166v, Cat. #27, (Figure 27. 11). There, again, the double-bladed sword is inscribed, the aman reads: "This is 'Ali's Zulfikar, may Allah be pleased with them all."

III. 4. The Pence serif, or the Prophet's handprint.

Pence is an Ottoman Turkish word that means the whole hand, but also can mean a set of five things or persons. Traditionally the image of the hand, or Pence, has been understood to refer to either the Five Pillars of Islam, or the Prophet and his family; his daughter Fatima, son-in-law 'Ali, and grandsons Hasan and Hussain. The image is perceived to be particularly efficacious against the evil-eye. Otherwise referred to as "the hand of Fatima," its image is

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11:3: This verse is frequently inscribed on weapons throughout the Islamic world.

40The Persian word pen, or five, is the source of the Ottoman word.

41The Five Pillars are: 1) the Sh ad, or profession of faith "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah;" 2) salat, or ritual prayer five times a day; J a h, or almsgiving; Shara'am, or annual thirty day fast during the month of Ramadan, and N i j, or pilgrimage to Mecca.