The unman of the image of Zulfikar from the University of Victoria's En'am-i serf is inscribed in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. UVic 95-014, p. 359, Cat. #16, (figure 16.114). It reads: "Ali 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, Isra'il, Azra'il, and the phrase Masha'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.
The King, the Truth, 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 En'am-i serf written by Hasan al-Rashid in 1254/1838-39 and found in the Istanbul University library contains a similarly inscribed sword. IUL 5197, f. 147, Cat. #19. The unman reads: "This is the image of the Honourable Ali's Zulfikar. The names of the four archangels surround the double-bladed sword: "Gabriel, Michael, Isra'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 5573, f. 90v, Cat. #24. The unman reads: "This is the image of Zulfikar, no victor except 'Ali, 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 En'am-i serf of Mustafa Ilmi 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 En'am-i serf 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). Here, again, the double-bladed sword is uninscribed, the unman reads: "This is 'Ali's Zulfikar, may Allah be pleased with them all."

III. 4. The Pence serf, 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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42:13. This verse is frequently inscribed on weaponry throughout the Islamic world.

The five pillars are: 1) the shahada, or testament of faith "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah;" 2) salat, or ritual prayer five times a day; 3) Zakat, or almsgiving; 4) jumu'ah, or annual thirty day fast during the month of Ramadan; and 5) hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca.
ubiquitous in the Islamic world.\textsuperscript{96} Plate 5 is a nineteenth-century version of the hand engraved in silver.\textsuperscript{10}

The University of Victoria’s manuscript contains the earliest known image of the pence to be used in an \textit{En'am-i gerif}. UVic 95-014, p. 356, Cat. #16, (figure 16. 111). The \textit{umman} is written in white gold on a gold background with mustard yellow and silver borders. It reads: "This is the image of the pence of the Messenger of God, may the peace and blessings of Almighty God be upon him." A golden handprint, inscribed in white ink, rests on a blue background interlaced with a red, foliated arabesque. The text across the pence is written in white ink. Although the text has been damaged, it is possible to read: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah... Glory be to God the Almighty... No victory except 'Ali's, no sword except Zülfiqar."

Two manuscripts in the library of Istanbul University also contain images of the pence. As with the qaṣām gerif discussed above, the artist Hasan al-Rashid has again chosen to use a broken outline to indicate the print of a right hand in his \textit{En'am-i gerif} dated 1254/1838-39. IUL 5197, f. 146v, Cat. #19. The thumb and four fingers are each inscribed in white ink:

"In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful... There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God... Glory be to God and to Him is the praise, Glory be to God the Almighty... No victory except 'Ali's, no sword except Zülfiqar... God is Sufficient, I put my trust in God."

\textsuperscript{96}Images of hands have appeared since pre-historic times, and are believed to have been used for their protective powers. The sign of the hand was used in ancient Babylon and Egypt. To the Semites, the hand meant the power of God. The pre-Islamic Turks used a red handprint as a seal. The Mamlukes placed a symbol of a hand atop their flagpoles, and illustration 11, for an example of an Ottoman flag that combines an image of Zülfiqar with that of a handprint.

\textsuperscript{97}Yıldız Palace Museum exhibition, \textit{Nazar ve Şife}, May 22 - June 22, 1996.

Occasionally, it is 'Ali's handwriting, instead of the Prophet's that is depicted. In a second manuscript from the Istanbul University library, dated 1282/1865-66, IUL 5573, f. 91, Cat. #24, the \textit{umman} reads: "This is the image of the hand of the Honourable 'Ali, may God ennable his face." On the handprint itself are inscribed verses from Qur'an: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Verily We have granted thee a manifest victory." And, "help from Allah and a speedy victory."\textsuperscript{98}

Two of the most unusual examples of the pence are found in the New York Public Library. In the first of these images, Spencer Turk 9 (Cat. #26), dated 1289/1872, (figure 26. 15) a golden right hand inscribed with text rests against a background of green leaves with red and blue flowers. As with the earlier image of the Prophet’s foot, here the nails are clearly visible, and indicate that this is meant to be an image of the Prophet’s right hand, and not just his handprint. The \textit{umman} reads: "This is an image of the hand of the Messenger of God, peace be upon him." Although the text on the hand is somewhat illegible, it appears to read: "(There is no god but) God, the King, the Truth, the Evident. Muhammad is the Messenger of God, the Truthful, the Honest, the Trustworthy."

The second manuscript, dated 1291/1874-75, depicts a somewhat clumsily modelled, flesh coloured hand, complete with nail beds. M&G Arab 22, f. 165, Cat. #27, (figure 27. 9). The \textit{umman} reads: "This is an image of the noble hand of Muhammad may peace and blessings be upon him."

III. 5. The Na’il gerif, or the Prophet’s sandal.

The University of Victoria’s manuscript is also the first \textit{En’am-i gerif} to carry an image of the na’il, or sandal of the Prophet. Tirmidhi’s famous \textit{Shamail al-Mustafa}, devotes an entire chapter to the sandals that were said to have been

\textsuperscript{98}f. 48v.
made of fine leather from Ta’if, with two strings drawn between the toes. Poets such as Jami, Nizami and the Ottoman poet Khaqani made reference to the sandal’s proximity to the Divine Throne during the Prophet’s heavenly journey: “The Divine Throne gained honour from kissing his sandals.” These n’am were known to amulet “full of baraka, particularly strong against the evil eye.” Even images of the sandal were believed to contain baraka. Al-Qastallani narrates that according to al-Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr al-Siddiq (d.108 or 109/726-728):

“Of the proven blessings of the likeness of the Prophet’s sandal is that whoever has it in his possession for tasarruk, it will safeguard him from the sedition of rebels and the mastery of enemies, and will be a barrier against every recreant devil and the evil eye of the envious. If the pregnant woman holds it in her right hand at the time of labour, her delivery will be easier by Allah’s change and his might.”

The n’amr of the University of Victoria’s image is written in white ink on a gold background with a peach and silver border. UVic 95-014, p. 358, Cat. #16, (figure 16.113). It reads: “This is an image of the Messenger’s noble sandal, May Allah’s blessings and peace be upon him.” The Prophet’s golden sandal resembles a contemporary Turkish bath slipper with a black strap across the top. The text on the sandal itself reads: “In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, By Allah’s Name, no one is able to do any evil to you - on earth or in the heavens – and He is the Hearing and Knowing.”

Two of the En’amr of the University of Istanbul also contain inscribed images of the Prophet’s sandal. Unfortunately, the text of the later manuscript, dated 1282/1872-73, is largely unreadable, but it appears to be asking God’s protection. IUL 5873, f. 92, Cat. #24. The umma of the earlier manuscript, by Hassan al-Rashid, dated 1254/1838-39, reads: “This is an image of the noble sandal.” IUL 5197, f. 148, Cat. #19. The sandal is inscribed with the words: “I seek refuge with God (Glory be to God and praise be to God) from Satan the Accursed. In the Name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful, I seek refuge in the words of God, from the evil of that which is created.”

Both of the manuscripts in the New York Public Library contain images of the n’amr. The image from the earlier manuscript by Mustafa Hilm Efendi, dated 1289/1872-73, is inscribed. Spencer Turk 9, f. 62, Cat. #26, (figure 26.15). The umma reads: “This is an image of the sandal of the Messenger of God.” The golden sandal appears upon the same floral background as that of the hand on the opposite page. Inscribed in white ink the text reads: “O our Lord, open for us the clear evidence. Protect us, O Truth. And You are the Opener of goodness.”

The sandal found in the later manuscript by an unknown artist, dated 1291/1875-76, is unsigned. M&A Arab 22, f. 166, Cat. #27, (figure 27.11).

III. 6. The Prophet’s Mukhalafat, or relics.

The Arabic word mukhallafat refers to that which has been left behind, an estate, or legacy. At the Prophet’s death, his belongings of value were few.

“Narrated ‘Amr b. al-Harith, the brother of the wife of Allah’s Apostle (as): Juwaira bint al-Harith: ‘When Allah’s Apostle (as) died, he did not leave any Dhirham or Dinar (i.e. money), a slave or slave woman or anything else except his white mule, his arms and a piece of land which he had given in charity.”

In 1517, three years after his artillery had routed the Safavids at the battle of Chaldiran, Selim I took control of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Mamluks. In this way, the Ottomans inherited the role of the defender of

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96Khaqani quoted in Schimmel, And Muhammad Is His Messenger, p. 272. ff. 66. See also Schimmel’s discussion, p. 40.
97Schimmel, p. 40.
98Al-Qastallani, al-Manasik al-hadisiyya, Beirut, 1996, 2:174. Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was the grandson of the caliph Abu Bakr, and the fourth link in the line of the Rabbani in the Naeqbandi Sufi. His successor was his grandson, Ja’far ibn al-Sadiq, whose role featured prominently in the last chapter.
Islam’s holiest places; as the “Servant and Protector of the Holy Places,” the Ottoman Sultan could claim to be the supreme Islamic ruler. Soon after Selim I’s triumphant return to Istanbul, the Mamluk caliph al-Mutawakkil was believed to have transferred the caliphate from the Mamluks to the Ottomans. As “Servant and Protector of the Holy Places,” Selim I took possession of the Prophet’s relics including: his footprint; cloak, or ḥurka; battle standard; some hairs of his beard; and two of his teeth, and placed them for safekeeping in the Topkapı Sarayi’s Ḥurka-i sa’adet.

The Prophet was said to have given a number of ḥurka to different individuals during his lifetime, and at least one, to Uwais, after his death. Several sites in the Islamic world are said to have preserved these mantles, including the shrine of Khulidayd, India, another in Qandahar, Afghanistan, and the one in the Topkapı Sarayi. The mantles were believed to convey baraka and healing to those who touched them. According to ’Abd Allah, the freed slave of Asma’ bint Abu Bakr, the latter brought out a mantle made of Persian cloth with a horn of brocade, and said: “This was Allah’s Messenger’s cloak with ’Aishah until she died, and when she died, I got possession of it. The Apostle of Allah (may peace be upon him) used to wear that, and we washed it for the sick and sought cure thereby.” In his commentary on Imam Muslim’s monumental collection of hadith, Nawawi comments that: “In this hadith is proof that it is recommended to seek blessings through the relics of the righteous and their clothes (sa fi hadith al-hadith dala’ ila istihbā al-takburr bi attar al-salihin wa thiyabihim.)”

In the Ottoman world, the Prophet’s makhlafat continued to be sought as conduits of baraka. Once a year, on the occasion of the fifteenth of the Holy month of Ramadan, the Sultan and other dignitaries paid homage to the relics of the Prophet.

“The ceremony of uncovering and displaying these relics, and their veneration, occurred after the mid-day prayer: it was an occasion of great general religious significance even though it was conducted in respectful privacy. During the second half of Ramadan, inner relics in the care of various custodians were publically displayed.”

Not surprisingly then, the En’am-i grif owned by Pertevniyal Sultan, the wife of Mahmud II, and mother of Abdul Aziz, contains a sumptuously appointed image of these relics. Pertevniyal 43, l. 57, Cat. #18, (figure 18.8). The usta reads: “The estate (that which was left behind) of the Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him.” Here we see the Prophet’s ḥurka, or mantle of green with a pink lining and golden trim elaborated with pricking; his copy of the Qur’an, outlined in gold; his golden miswak, or toothbrush; his tasbih, or prayer beads consisting of one hundred golden beads; his comb, and his basin and ewer for making ablutions, all made of gold.

The University of Victoria’s manuscript contains an image of the Prophet’s belongings: the ḥurka-i grif, or noble mantle; a richly bound copy of the Qur’an; a tasbih, or prayer beads; and a golden ewer and basin. UVic 93-014, p. 369, Cat. #16, (figure 16.124). As the Qur’an was not written in codex form until the caliphate of ’Uthman, it was obviously not possible for the Prophet to have owned a copy of the Qur’an, particularly one which is covered with what closely
The latest manuscripts in our study all contain images of the Prophet’s mukhallat. In Spencer Turk 9 (Cat. #25) the En‘am-i perif dated 1289/1872-73, the calligrapher Mustafa Hilmî has followed the earlier royal example of Pertevniyal 43 (Cat. #18), and depicted the hair as being green in colour. (figure 26. 21) Hilmî Efendi has also included images of the Prophet’s tasbih (although somewhat abbreviated), his misa’dak, comb and ablation ewer and basin. The unknown calligrapher of the En‘am-i perif dated 1291/1874-75, has included two images of the Prophet’s belongings. The first image is of the Prophet’s prayer rug, which is decorated in blue and gold complete with corners, a prayer niche and lamp, his simple reed mat, prayer beads, misa’ak, and comb. M&A Arab 22, f. 170, Cat. #27, (figure 27. 14) The second image is that of his mantle, depicted here as black with a golden lining. M&A Arab 22, f. 170v, Cat. #27, (figure 27. 15).

III. 7. The Liwa al-hand, or Flag of Praise.

On the Day of Judgment, the Prophet Muhammad will gather those who believe together under the Flag of Praise in order to protect them from tribulation. 11 This Liwa al-hand, or flag of praise, may be seen as the tangible expression of the Prophet’s shuja’i, or intercession for his community on the Day of Judgment. According to a narration of Anas found in the Sahih of Bukhari, the Prophet said:

“Allah will gather all the people on the Day of Resurrection and they will say, ‘Let us request someone to intercede for us with our Lord so that he may relieve us from this place of ours.’ Then they will go to Adam and say, ‘You are the one whom Allah created’.”

...
with his own hands and breathed in you of His soul...so please intercede for us with our Lord.' Adam will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, and will remember his sin, and will say, 'Go to Noah, the first Apostle sent by Allah.' They will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Abraham whom Allah took as [Friend]. They will go to him (and request similarly). He will reply, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Moses to whom Allah spoke directly.' They will go to Moses and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking,' and will remember his sin and say, 'Go to Jesus.' They will go to him and he will say, 'I am not fit for this undertaking, go to Muhammad, peace be upon him, as Allah has forgiven him his past and future sins.' They will come to me [Muhammad], and I will ask my Lord's permission, and when I see Him, I will fall down in prostration to Him, and He will leave me in that state as long as (He) Allah will, and then I will be addressed. Raise up your head (O Muhammad)! Ask, and your request will be granted, say, and your saying will be listened to; intercede, and your intercession will be accepted. Then I will raise my head and glorify and praise my Lord with a saying (i.e. invocation) He will teach me, and then I will intercede. Allah will fix a limit for me (i.e. a certain type of people for whom I may intercede), and I will take them out of the (Hell) fire and let them enter Paradise. Then I will come back (to Allah) and fall in prostration, and will do the same for the third and forth times till no one remains in the (Hell) fire except those whom the Qur'an has imprisoned therein."

According to both Tirmidhi and Ibn Maja, Abu Sa'id al-Khudri narrated that the Prophet said:

"I am the leader of human beings and I say this without pride. I am the first whom the earth will give up when it decohes, and the first intercessor, and the first whose intercession is accepted. I hold the flag of praise in my hand, and under it comes Adam and everyone else."114


116See: Porter, *The Flags*, I. 53; IUL S197, f. 190v; IUL S196 f. 166v; IUL S193, f. 66v; and Spencer Turk. 9, f. 66v.

The Prophet's *sha'af'a*, or right of intercession, and the gathering together under the Flag of Praise was a favorite subject of writers, especially poets. The fourteenth century Turkish poet Yunus Emre115 wrote:

**Doomsday**

Muhammad arrives with his green banner.

The pious tell each other the good tidings:

Muhammad arrives with his green banner.116

The author of the image of the *liwa al-hamid* from the University of Victoria's *En'am-e-serif*, U Vic 95-014, p. 363, Cat. #16, (figure 16. 118), reads: "This is an image of the noble Flag of Praise." A golden banner bears a finial and three, triangular-shaped panels have been inscribed in white ink on a gold. The background is covered with arabesques. The text of the panels reads: "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God. The Truth. Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."117

Seven of the eight images of the Flag of Praise in this study consist of a similar, three-panelled flag inscribed with the *shahada*, the *biomillah*, and the first verse of *Sura Fatihah*: "Praise be to Allah, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."118

The only two-panelled flag appears quite late, dated 1291/1874-75, in the New York Public Library's M&A Arab 22, f. 209v, Cat. #27, (figure 27. 42). In this manuscript the Flag of Praise, is seen soaring above the heavenly pool of *ka'bah* that was promised by God to the Prophet Muhammad as refreshment for his faithful followers on the Day of Judgment. Inscribed in golden circles under the banner are the names of the prophets, the rightly guided caliphs, those who have been promised heaven, their wives and children. The text describes the banner's
panels as "wings" of white material from Paradise, and describes the top as consisting of a ruby frill. It relates a hadith in which the salatuh asked the Prophet Muhammad how high and wide the liwa’ al-hamal would be. He answered that from left to right the flag would stretch five thousand years, and from the earth to the sky, one thousand years.

The Flag of Praise is frequently accompanied by Qur’anic inscriptions. In the version of the flag found in Mustafa Nazlı’s En’am-ı şerif, dated 1206/1793-94, a golden, three-panelled banner with a bent crescent frill is surrounded by a green border. Pertevniyal 43, f. 53, Cat. #18, (figure 18.4). In addition to the ubiquitous shahada, bismillah and second verse of Surah al-Baqara, oval cartouches on either side of the banner read: "Our Lord! Give us good in this world and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire." Istanbul University Library’s manuscript, dated 1254/1838-39, IUL S197, f. 150v, Cat. #19, surrounds its flag with the names of the archangels and rightly-guided caliphs. To the right, and underneath the flag is found the same Qur’anic prayer: "Our Lord! Give us good in this world, and good in the hereafter, and defend us from the torment of the fire!" To the left, the Qur’anic prayer of those "of understanding" has been added: "Our Lord! Let not our hearts deviate now after Thou hast guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own Presence, for Thou art the Giver of bounties without measure." The implications of this image is that the archangels will surround Muhammad’s "Flag of Praise" on the Day of Judgment, while below it will shelter those who recited these and similar prayers.

Two of the later manuscripts: the Istanbul University Library’s IUL 5756, dated 1265/1846-47; and IUL 5757, dated 1282/1863-66, depict the Flag of Praise with objects otherwise categorized as relics, specifically the Prophet’s tasbih, or prayer beads, and his misbaa, or toothbrush.

III.8. The Sancak-ı şerif, or Prophet’s sacred banner.

According to tradition, the Sancak-ı şerif, or Prophet’s sacred banner, had been preserved by the Ottoman sultans since the conquest of the Mamluks in 1517, and was "a visible symbol of their superior position in the world of militant Islam." Images of the Sancak-ı şerif appear as early as the late eighteenth century in the University of Victoria’s En’am-ı şerif, UVIc 95-014, pp. 374-384, Cat. #16, (figures 16, 129 to 16, 144), and as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in Spencer Turk 9, f. 71, Cat. #926, (figure 26.24), and MinA Arab 22, f. 164r, Cat. #27, (figure 27.9). In 1595 C.E., the Prophet’s banner was brought from the treasury in Damascus to the Topkapi Sarayı where it was kept with the other sacred relics, including the Prophet’s mantle, his footprint, and his swords. The remaining fragments were sewn into three separate flags, one of which remained in the Treasury, the second accompanying the sultan, while the third went with the grand vezir on campaigns in which the sultan did not participate. The flag was seen as "a visible sign of Muhammad’s intercession and protection over the army of fighting Islam." We have seen how the subject matter of the miniature paintings of the En’am-ı şerif focussed upon the person and belongings of the Prophet Muhammad. Just as the calligraphic images, the hilye and muhr, served as a source of prophetic bursa, so too did the representational images of the En’am-ı şerif. These relics, and the images of them, were key components in an important polemical taking place between the traditional Ottoman view of Islam and one that was fundamentalist in nature. To those who produced and used the En’am-ı şerif, the images of the Holy Cities and the Prophet’s sacred relics that were held in the Topkapi were a physical manifestation of the Ottoman’s claim to the caliphate, a

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1192-201.
1202-201.
1212-28.
1221-166v.
1231-86v.

124Zygiol, p. 17.
125The original flag is said to have been made of black wool, and was covered for protection with a green cloth. See Zygiol, p. 19.
126Ibid., p. 22.
claim that came under attack at precisely the same moment as these images began to appear.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

In the late eighteenth century, with the world as he knew it under attack from without and within, a calligrapher named Mustafa Eyyübülfendi, the student of Musa Efendi, son of Hasan Efendi, who was himself a pupil of Ibrahim Rodosi, made his ritual ablution, performed a two-cycle prayer, and began to copy his teacher's En'âm-ı gerif. Two hundred years later, Mustafa Eyyübülfendi's manuscript entered the library of the University of Victoria, to be examined and analysed by someone living in a very different world from that of its author. Much of what remains from the late Ottoman world of Mustafa Eyyübülfendi must be filtered through texts: historical chronicles, biographies and diaries containing the frozen-in-time thoughts and aspirations of his contemporaries. Thankfully, Islam has a strong oral tradition that we may draw upon, especially the overlapping worlds of the Sufi tarikat and the traditional practice of hatt, and related arts. It is here that we find the knowledge of the practices and rituals associated with the creation and use of sacred objects such as the En'âm-ı gerif that is a necessary ingredient in any attempt at understanding their meaning.

In the final years of the eighteenth century, Sufi calligraphers transformed a simple book of prayers into an elaborate manuscript combining sacred text with images of sacred places and objects. Although the contents of the En'âm-ı gerif varied according to the wishes of the individual calligrapher or their patron, the entire manuscript, the text as well as the images, was created to serve as conductor of baraka, or Divine grace.

As early as the thirteenth century, Surah al-An'am was a popular choice to reproduce in manuscript form. By the sixteenth century, the biographies of great calligraphers such as Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi listed the numbers of En'âm that they had produced immediately after the Qur'ans. In the seventeenth century,
calligraphers and their patrons began the process of change by selecting an increased variety of extra-Qur'anic text. These additions eventually included typically Sufi prayers such as dhikr, du'a, and salawat, and sometimes entire litanies, or evrad. These extra-Qur'anic prayers sought God's blessing and protection through the intercession of the Prophet. Even more significant changes were initiated in the seventeenth century. It is at this point, when the calligraphers began to include magnificent calligraphic images that were intended to served the same purpose as the sacred text that the Ent'am-i serif was born. Based upon the practice of at'iz, the use of sacred text for protection against illness and evil, the calligraphers of the Ent'am-i serif created works of art that blurred the distinction between text and image. While contemporary theories of vision emphasize the viewer's separation from the object, the use of religious images emphasizes the connection.

"...the use of religious images presumes an ancient theory of vision in which a quasi-physical visual ray streams from the eye of the viewer to touch its object. The form of the object then moves back along the visual ray to imprint itself in the memory of the viewer. This theory of vision emphasizes the viewer's initiative and active engagement, an intentional appropriation of the object that permanently connects viewer and object (in memory). Lacking concentrated attention, a religious painting is simply a painting with a religious topic."

Images such as the "Eye upon God," in which letters are creatively distorted to produce the likeness of a body part, call into question the necessity of actually reading the text. The act of reading takes on a secondary role as the image's visual impact and even narrative become more important.


While the existence of calligraphic imagery has been noted earlier, and even the existence of religious figural imagery, the miniature paintings introduced into the Ent'am-i serif in the eighteenth century are unique in two ways: first, they are a collection of images created with the intention of serving as a conduit for buradah; and second, these images have been combined with Qur'anic text. This combination of calligraphic imagery and Qur'anic text is rare, if not unique, in the world of Islamic art. To my knowledge, this dissertation represents the first scholarly examination of a popular Islamic manuscript that uses representational imagery in a sacred context. Our analysis of the Ent'am-i serif makes it clear that such images cannot be explained away as the product of foreign influence, nor do they come from a heterodox, or Shi'a tradition. The calligraphic images of the Ent'am-i serif, the Prophet's relics, his hand and footprints, were created by Sunni Muslims and placed in the Ottoman empire's most popular prayer book to serve as conduits of Divine grace, or power.

The very existence of the Ent'am-i serif calls into question our current understanding of Islam's use of representational imagery in a sacred context. Why were these seemingly unique images created? Our study of the Ent'am-i serif has illustrated the strong connections that existed between orthodox Sufism and the ruling elite during the period of rising European nationalism and declining Ottoman power. In the late eighteenth century, Islamic orthodoxy and Ottoman sovereignty was under attack at the hands of Wahhabi fundamentalists. By creating images of power, intrinsically connected with the person of the Prophet through his role as conduit of Divine buradah, the calligraphers and artist of the Ent'am-i serif were strengthening the very spiritual aspects of Islam that were being attacked by the fundamentalist movement. To the calligraphers and artists of the Ent'am-i serif, the Ottoman empire was synonymous with Islam. By

1 Such as zoomorphic representations of birds and lions made from the biomillah, or Shi'a prayers.
2 Miniature paintings of the prophets and saints.
3 The Ent'am-i serif inscribes these images with verses of the Qur'an as well as presents them as part of a text that includes entire surahs.
including images of the sacred places and relics held in the Sultan's care, and by including explanations of these images in the Ottoman Turkish language, they highlighted the Ottomans' role as the rightful inheritors of the caliphate and protectors of the faith.

We now know why the En'am-i gerif was created, but why did it disappear in the last quarter of the nineteenth century? The answers to this question may open up further avenues for the study of this important manuscript. The last En'am-i gerif I have found to date was produced in 1875-76 by an unknown calligrapher, and it is not possible to say with any certainty whether or not further manuscripts were produced. My study of the biographies of the calligraphers seems to indicate that production of the En'am-i gerif may well have ceased at this time, as there is a concurrent decline in the mentioning of that text as a part of a calligrapher's works. One possible answer to the puzzle of the En'am-i gerif's disappearance might be sought in the library and museum collections of other Ottoman cities, such as Damascus and Cairo. How popular was the En'am-i gerif in these cities, and did it disappear there at the same time as it did in Istanbul? Certainly, the existence of a large number of the manuscripts in these cities would offer substantial support for my argument regarding their role in the polemic between the traditionalist Sufis and the fundamentalist Wahhabis.

By the late nineteenth century, the printing press was having a marked effect on the production of religious manuscripts, however I have yet to find a printed version of the En'am-i gerif. Although the first printing press to publish in Ottoman Turkish was set up as early as 1726, the publishers were specifically forbidden to print religious texts. The use of the printing press grew in the early nineteenth century, but they were not widely used until the second half. According to Mehmet Kaplan, between 1870 and 1890 the Ottoman elite began to

be transformed by book knowledge, and it is at this same moment that our manuscript disappears. Given the secularizing tendencies of the period, one is tempted to suppose a lack of interest on the part of the publishers, however, this is unlikely as the role of the Sufi orders in spreading the printing of religious books has already been noted.

Abdülbahad II's promulgation of the Constitution of 1876 included a formal acknowledgement of the Ottoman Sultan's role as Caliph and Protector of Islam. The ensuing Pan-Islamic movement represented a shift in the Sultan's identity from ruler of the Ottoman state to spiritual leader of the Islamic world. In his attempt to export his Pan-Islamic ideas, Abdülbahad depended heavily upon the organizations of Sufi orders that were active in the Arab world, such as the Madaniyya, of which he himself was an initiate, the Shadiliyya, the Shafi'iyya, and the Rifa'iyya. Abdülbahad drew his chief advisers from these orders, and not the traditional Turkish orders such as the Naqshbandiyya and the Mevlevi, from whose ranks came many of the calligraphers of the En'am-i gerif. Perhaps this favouring of one group over another had an impact on the production of these manuscripts. Certainly, the secularization of Ottoman society in the final years of the nineteenth century, and the subsequent lack of patronization of the Sufi orders by the Ottoman elite could not have boded well for the En'am-i gerif.

We may never know the reason behind the disappearance of the En'am-i gerif. What is certain is that for a period of more than a century, this unique book combined sacred text and imagery in the service of Ottoman Islam - an Islam that

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was based upon love of the Prophet and a belief in his ability to serve as a conduit of *baraka* and a source of intercession. Most importantly, at a time when the Ottomans faced a severe challenge to their identity as Protectors of Islam, the *En'am-i serif* spoke eloquently of their Ottomans’ role as the rightful inheritors of the Prophet, Servants of the Holy Sanctuaries and Guardians of the Sacred Relics.

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APPENDIX I

A Catalogue of Manuscripts

Catalogue #1 - R70, Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul

En’am, by the calligrapher Yaqt al-Musta’simi (d. 698/1298), for the treasury of the Abbasid caliph al-Musta’sim (r. 640-656/1242-1258), dated: 690/1291.

Thick, cream-coloured paper. 71 folios. 26.5 x 17.5 cm. 7 lines. Sülüs and naskh. Black and white ink, with gold and blue tezhip, or illumination. Brown leather binding. (Figure 1.1).

By the late Ottoman period the En’am-i şerif had become a heavily illustrated manuscript with calligraphic as well as pictorial imagery. However, manuscripts known simply as En’am were being produced as early as the final years of the Abbasid empire. The earliest En’am were slim volumes of khat, or “beautiful writing,” containing selected chapters of the Qur’an, especially the sixth chapter, Surah al-An’am.

The first manuscript in our study, TSM R70 was written in sülüs and naskh by Yaqt al-Musta’simi, the last of the great Abbasid calligraphers in Baghdad.

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1See Appendix II: “Biographies of calligraphers, patrons and collectors.
2See Appendix II.
3As this manuscript was produced in the Ottoman Empire and uses both Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, I have chosen to use the mixed terminology used by Ottoman calligraphers.
4The Ottoman Turkish word tezhip means “gilding.” I use the word illumination to refer specifically to the non-representational form of manuscript embellishment, and not to representational images, or illustrations (either calligraphic or otherwise).
5Some En’am consist entirely of Surah al-An’am, while others include a selection of suraifs. Over time, the number of suraifs included in the En’am increased dramatically, with late eighteenth-century versions containing, as much as one-third of the Qur’an.
Known as the Sultan of Calligraphers, Yaqt was responsible for the development of the *aklam-i sîlîs*, the "six scripts," and is known as the founder of later Ottoman calligraphy. *Sîlîs*, used here for the chapter headings and the central line of each page, was considered the *ımmîl-i hat*, the mother of all writing, whose "round and taut style of characters gives the greatest scope to calligraphers where variety of forms and the creation of decorative compositions are concerned." Legibility made *nesîh* the script of choice for Ottoman calligraphers writing the Qur'an, and it was the first typeface to be used by Turkish printers.

f. 1. Dedication medallion. (figure 1.2)

An oval shaped cartouche bearing a white ink inscription in *sîlîs*, outlined in gold on a blue background. The seal is surrounded by a thin red line, gold braiding and outlined in a fine blue ink. The seal identifies the manuscript as belonging to the treasury of al-Musta'sim, the last Abbasid caliph. There appears to be a discrepancy between the caliph’s date of death in 656/1258, and the date of the production of this manuscript, making it unlikely that al-Musta'sim was the actual patron.


From the opening *serlevha*, the elegance of Yaqt's hand is strikingly displayed against a background of blue and gold illumination. (figure 1.3) The *unvan* have been written in *sîlîs*, using a white ink on a blue, cartouche-shaped background that has been outlined in gold. The *arwâns* themselves are bordered with golden leaves, and gold braiding frames the composition. On either side of the frames, reaching into the margins, golden and white arabesques play upon a triangular-shaped base of blue. Round margin ornaments containing golden leaves are etched in the same blue ink. Simple, round verse markers complete the design. The text is written in three lines, the middle line is larger and in *sîlîs*, the smaller top and bottom lines are in *nesîh*.

f. 71. Colophon. (figure 1.4)

The colophon is written in *sîlîs* at the bottom of folio 71, following the final lines of *Surah Fatîr*. It reads: “Written by Yaqt al-Musta'sim, may God forgive him.” The colophon's illumination is similar to that of the chapter headings. Folio 70v is typical of the remaining pages of the manuscript, with seven lines to the page, the centre line being inscribed in the larger *sîlîs*.

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1. The six scripts are *sîlîs, nesîh, mu'akkad, raghuni, terki* and *taqhir*.
4. A *serlevha* is a double-page illumination.
5. A *serlevha* refers to a rectangular panel of illumination that may appear above or below an image.
6. The *unvan* itself may contain information such as the title of the accompanying image or text, or a brief explanation of its contents.
that turned out to have been the work of Şeyh Hamdullah himself. Arelse’s entire manuscript collection was donated to the Suleymaniye, where Şeyh Hamdullah’s En‘am, Nuri Arelse 245, is located today.

ff. 1v-29v. Surah al-An’am.

The rectangular-shaped surah heading of the untan sahifet is inscribed in white ink on a gold background. (figure 2.2) Golden, floral arabesques decorated with tiny red buds ripple across a background of gold and blue, surrounded by a blue border. The rulings are gold and blue, and the fine blue ink lines above the heading contain rosebud shapes as well as the geometric motifs more typical of the sixteenth century.

i. 29v. Colophon. (figure 2.3)
En'am, by the calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi (d. 926/1520).\textsuperscript{18} Date: 897/1491-92.\textsuperscript{19}

Light, cream-coloured paper with faint horizontal marks. 21 folios. 15.7 x 10.5 cm. 11 lines per page. Nesih. Gold, blue and red illumination. Brown leather binding with mākheb, or flap. (figure 3.1)


Unfortunately, this manuscript has suffered some damage, and the umum sakifesi (figure 3.2) has been stained, perhaps with ink. The surah heading is written in golden sītliḫ across a dark blue background, laced with a lighter blue rumi arabesque. Above the heading, the illumination turns to gold against a blue background with red buds on a golden arabesque. Red ink alternates with blue in the finials above, and the rulings are gold, blue and red. To the right of the text is a golden, oval-shaped margin ornament, covered in flowers.

f. 21v. Colophon. (figure 3.3)

\textsuperscript{18}See Appendix II.
\textsuperscript{19}Published in Muḥtatt Serin, Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah, Türk Hat ustādian 2, Istanbul. 1992, p. 94.

Catalogue #4 - Ali Emiri Arabi 10, Fatih Millet Library, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi.\textsuperscript{20} Date: sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{21}

Cream coloured paper. 130 folios. 16.5 x 11.7 cm. 5 lines per page (ff. 1-114) and 3 lines per page (f. 115 to f. 130). Nesih and sītliḫ hubari. The tezkhip is gold, blue, white, and red, with some pricking. Gold and blue border. Red leather gence binding with a mākheb. (figure 4.1)

Ali Emiri Efendi\textsuperscript{22} donated his entire collection of sixteen thousand books and manuscripts, many of them rare and important, including this En'am by the hand of Şeyh Hamdullah Efendi, to the Fatih Millet Library in Istanbul, where they remain today.

f. 1-117. Surahs al-Fatiha, al-An'am, Ya Sin, Mulk, Ikhlas, Falaq, Nas, Fatihah.

This umum sakifesi, featuring Surah al-Fatiha, is the first to be decorated with what will become a typical, and perhaps the most striking of the tezkhip motifs, the illuminated arch-shape,\textsuperscript{23} above the surah heading. In addition to this elegant blue and gold dome the illumination includes geometric blue finials, floral arabesques and rumis.

f. 119. Du'a for the sighting of the crescent moon.

\textsuperscript{20}See Appendix II.
\textsuperscript{21}Published in Muḥtatt Serin, Hattat Şeyh Hamdullah, Türk Hat ustādian 2, Istanbul. 1992, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{22}See Appendix II.
\textsuperscript{23}This arch-shape suggests a number of elements: a dome, a mihrab, or even the primordial earthen mound with flowers springing from it. See Cat. #6 figure 6.2, the opening serifs of H. Huseyin Paşa 149, ff. 1v-2, for an image of a similar motif.
f. 124v - Du'a for Ashura. Red ink instructions note purpose of prayers, and give instructions to take ritual ablution before reading the prayer of Ashura.24

f. 130. Colophon. (figure 4.2)

Catalogue #5 - EH 307, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah (d. 1001/1599).25
date: 956/1549.

Light, cream-coloured paper. 41 folios. 20 x 15 cm. 7 lines per page. Nesih.
Gold, blue and green illumination.

Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah was the grandson of Seyh Hamdullah Efendi.

ff. 1v-41. Surah al-An'am. (figure 5.1)

In this manuscript the artist has decorated the unvan sahifesı with an unusual whirling pattern containing blue circles on a gold background. The whirls seem to be emanating from a central golden cartouche. A border of green surrounds the uninscribed surah heading. The blue finials above the unvan are somewhat geometric, and more typical of the period.

According to traditional Ottoman practices, after the illumination was finished, the manuscript was returned to the calligrapher (if it was not one and the same individual) who would complete it by writing in the names of the surahs, ciz,26 and other indicators.27 As the surah headings of this manuscript are uninscribed, and as the tezhip is unusual for this period, it is possible that the manuscript was illuminated at a later (perhaps even much later) date.

24This particular translation was graciously provided by Mehmed Taysi, director of the Fatih Millet Library.

25See Appendix II.
26Division, or part. The Qur'an is traditionally divided into 30 parts or juz.
27U juris Derman, p. 38.
Catalogue #6 - H. Husnu Paşa 103, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul

En'am, by the calligrapher Dervish Mehmed ibn Mustafa Dede ibn Hamdullah. Dated: 956/1549.

Cream coloured paper with horizontal marking. 120 folios. 16 x 11.5 cm. 9 lines per page. Nesih. Gold, blue, white and red illumination. Brown leather gümüş binding with gold stamping. (Figure 6.1)

ff. 1v-119. Surahs al-Fatihâ, al-An'am, al-Kahf, Saba, Fatir, Ya Sin, al-Dukhân, al-Rahmân, al-Waqi'a, al-Mulk, al-Qiyamah and the amne ciz'ii, or last section of the Qur'an.

The Qur'an is divided into thirty juz, (çiz in Ottoman Turkish), or sections. The amne ciz'ii, the thirtyeth and last section, is comprised of short surahs, most of them revealed in the early part of the Prophet's career at Mecca. These Meccan surahs speak frequently of the Oneness of God and the importance of belief. After Surah al-Fatihâ and the Ayat al-kursi, the amne ciz'ii is typically the first section to be read and memorized by children learning the Qur'an.

This manuscript is somewhat unusual as both of its first pages are illuminated. (Figure 6.2) The double urunus are written in white ink on a gold background, surrounded by a blue and gold field across which float a golden spray of floral ambesques decorated with tiny white and red flowers. A blue border with golden dots surrounds the intricate design, while above the heading a gold and blue dome is covered with the same flowers. The borders are ruled with gold and blue, while the geometric-shaped finials are etched in blue.

26See Appendix II.
Catalogue #7 - EHi 355, Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi, Istanbul

*En'am*, by the calligrapher Huseyin Sah (Husameddin) ibn Abdullah, for his patron, Sultan Suleyman ibn Selim. Dated: 965/1557.

Light cream paper. 21 folios. 18.5 x 12 cm. 11 lines per page. Gold, blue, and red illumination. *Nesih*. Elegant, brown leather *gense kap* binding with a *milleb*. The finely worked leather has been embossed and gilded. A floriated arabesque with *numis* covers the binding's border and central medallion. (figure 7.1)

This manuscript once belonged to Sultan Suleyman ibn Selim, known to the Ottomans as *kanuni*, the lawgiver, but to the West as Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 926-974/1520-1566). During the sixteenth century, Qur'anic illumination was at its finest and most elaborate. After the calligrapher had completed the writing of the text, teams of specialists from the *nakshane*, the palace's atelier of illuminators and miniaturists, laboured to produce the highest quality of work. In this case, the calligrapher was *Seyh* Handullah's appointed successor, Huseyin Sah.


The golden medallion in the centre of the *sahne sahibi* is uninscribed. (figure 7.2) The central medallion and two smaller, side medallions are ringed in blood-red. The royal-blue background is covered in a golden arabesque with tiny pink and blue flowers and golden *numis*. A blue dome atop the *sahne* contains the same motifs with blue, flower-like frills above on a background of...