The Islamic Manuscript Tradition

TEN CENTURIES *of* BOOK ARTS *in* INDIANA UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS

Edited by CHRISTIANE GRUBER

The Islamic Manuscript Tradition


در فراست یافته
جواهر است نشست بر تخت شاه
بشاهنشهی تاج بر سر نهاد
جهان آفرین را ستایش گرفت
چنین گفت کز داور پاک
بنایش ورا در فزایش گرفت
پر امید باشید و تابان و پاک

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Edited by Christiane Gruber

Indiana University Press *Bloomington & Indianapolis*

This project was partially supported by Indiana University's New Frontiers in the Arts & Humanities Program, funded by the Lilly Endowment, Inc., and administered by the Office of the Vice Provost for Research.

The volume editor and the publisher wish to acknowledge Michael Cavanagh and Kevin Montague of the Indiana University Art Museum for their assistance in the preparation of illustrations for this volume.

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This book is a publication of

Indiana University Press
601 North Morton Street
Bloomington, IN 47404-3797 USA

www.iupress.indiana.edu

Telephone orders 800-842-6796
Fax orders 812-855-7931
Orders by e-mail iuporder@indiana.edu

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Manufactured in China

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Islamic manuscript tradition : ten centuries of book arts in Indiana University collections / edited by Christiane Gruber.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-0-253-35377-1 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Manuscripts—Islamic Empire. 2. Civilization, Islamic—Manuscripts. 3. Islam—Manuscripts. 4. Early printed books—Islamic Empire. 5. Illumination of books and manuscripts, Islamic. 6. Manuscripts, Arabic—Indiana—Bloomington. 7. Manuscripts, Persian—Indiana—Bloomington. 8. Manuscripts, Turkish—Indiana—Bloomington. 9. Lilly Library (Indiana University, Bloomington) I. Gruber, Christiane, date
Z6611.I84I85 2010
091.0917'67—dc22
2009017809

1 2 3 4 5 15 14 13 12 11 10

For Renata Holod
Scholar and Mentor Extraordinaire

From her student,
and her student's students

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Foreword

The importance of books in Islamic culture and history is a well-established fact. It is also well established that, almost from the beginning in the seventh century when the first books appeared, books whose fragments are preserved in libraries and museums all over the world, there also appeared an art of the book. What is meant by the "art of the book" is not always clear. In a nutshell, it consists of a series of ways of enhancing the appearance and visual impact of the book. This was achieved through the thought-out composition of the page, through calligraphy (the art of writing attractive letters and words), through illumination (the addition of ornamental motifs on pages of text), through illustration (the making of pictures inspired by text), through binding in luxury materials, and through any combination of these techniques. All of them required considerable training of artisans or artists and deep knowledge of rules of all sorts. Some of these techniques, in particular illustrations, have become an independent field of study that has come to be known under the name of "painting." And only too often scholars and students forget that these paintings were only one aspect of the making of books. It is especially refreshing to see that, in this particular volume, all aspects of what in my student days was called *Buchwesen,* "the essence of books," are brought together and examined as a collective whole.

There are two other features particular to a book: a book is read, or at least can be read, and a book is collected, in a library or as a personal treasure. These aspects of books are little studied in scholarship dealing with Islamic art. The first one, reading, does not play an important part in the pages that follow, because it is a separate field of inquiry. Its investigation requires deciphering all sorts of marginalia, including the traces of use that can be detected through the wear and tear of pages, as well as information from contemporary memories that are rare or poorly known in traditional Muslim societies. The study of reading, which has developed so significantly in the historiography of western culture and art, is still in its infancy in dealing with the thousands of books produced and preserved in the Muslim world.

On the other hand, much is known about the collecting of books. It is in this area that this volume is particularly original. First, we have the striking phenomenon of so many documents, none of which can be considered major masterpieces of artistic creativity, gathered by American collectors—who are not themselves patrons of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York or of the Art Institute in Chicago—and given to Indiana University in Bloomington. Their reasons for collecting are many and varied, and they are not always expressed in words. In the

case of Ruth E. Adomeit, her passion for a fascinating subset of books, the highly miniaturized ones, has preserved a category of artifacts that are not usually mentioned. In this fashion her energy and her investments illustrate a very special facet of literate creativity. Furthermore, this volume also stands out for the fact that, except for Qur'ans whose holy function makes them ubiquitous in scholarship, most of the manuscripts discussed here deal with non-qur'anic texts. Here, then, is an impressive illustration of the range of reading materials that existed in the Islamic world, from illustrated prayer books to abridgments of classics such as Firdawsi's *Shahnama*. We are thus provided with a particularly wide sense of the tastes and of the interests of the reading public, succinctly encapsulated and beautifully illustrated by the holdings of Islamic art in Indiana University's collections.

The study of artifacts and of the writing of books acts in this way as a sort of social science that introduces us to all levels of culture, and not just to its masterpieces. In this sense, it is a sort of archaeology of a type of document, comparable to the archaeology of sites and of other disciplinary areas that have formed the primary fields of investigation of Professor Renata Holod, to whom this work is dedicated.

Oleg Grabar
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Princeton, N.J.

Preface

This volume emerged from a hands-on graduate seminar entitled "From Pen to Paper: Islamic Codicology and Paleography," which I offered at Indiana University in fall 2006. In this seminar, graduate students and I worked with a number of materials and discovered that the various museum collections and libraries at Indiana University—including the Indiana University Art Museum, the Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, the Mathers Museum of World Cultures, and the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction—hold a substantial collection of Islamic book arts. The collections are quite vast and varied, and include writing implements (such as pens, pen cases, inks, and papers), Qur'ans, classical Persian and Mughal illustrated manuscripts, Ottoman illustrated devotional works, Ottoman incunabula, Islamic erotica, and modern Turkish calligraphies and marbled papers.

After the conclusion of the seminar, it became our wish to make the collections of Islamic book arts at Indiana University available to a general audience through an exhibition and the publication of a selection of items held in repositories on the Bloomington campus. Thanks to a generous grant provided by Indiana University's New Frontiers in the Arts and Humanities Program, we were able to do as we had hoped. From March 6 to May 11, 2009, the Indiana University Art Museum hosted the exhibition "From Pen to Printing Press: Ten Centuries of Islamic Book Arts," which included a symposium on Islamic book arts held on March 7, 2009 (this symposium was supported by a grant offered by the College of Art & Humanities Institute at Indiana University). Although the exhibition and this volume present a considerable selection of Islamic manuscripts, paintings, and rare books, we also wished to create a permanent and easily accessible record of all book arts in Bloomington. As a result, Yasemin Gencer, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of the History of Art and the Assistant Curator of the spring 2009 exhibition, created a web catalogue of Indiana University's Islamic book arts. The permanent web module can be accessed at www.artmuseum.iu.edu.

With this volume, our aim was not to create an exhaustive catalogue or checklist, which we felt could be better achieved through an online exhibition. Rather, we wished to provide a series of scholarly studies whose themes are prompted by particularly intriguing materials or sets of objects held in Indiana University collections. These theme-specific essays therefore tackle a wide range of topics. These include, for example, a discussion by Janet Rauscher of Ruth E. Adomeit, whose collection of miniature books is one of the largest in the world. Although Adomeit

is not well known as a collector of Islamic materials, we felt that a discussion of her professional biography was necessary to understand her contribution to the field of miniature books and, more specifically, to miniature Islamic books—a theme covered by Heather Coffey in her contribution to this volume. These preliminary chapters thus discuss the implications of book miniaturization in both Islamic and non-Islamic contexts.

Subsequent chapters discuss either one manuscript or a corpus of materials in order to highlight a number of themes that have not been subject to in-depth scholarly study. For example, the Lilly Library owns a nineteenth-century Ottoman devotional manuscript that contains a number of beautifully executed paintings of the Prophet Muhammad's relics and other seals. The ways in which prayer manuals were used in religious practices during the late Ottoman period remains poorly understood. Based on the Lilly manuscript and other relevant sources, however, we now can stipulate that some of these illustrated works were used in order to help readers activate pious recitation, engage in a visual contemplation of holy figures and places, and seek succor from a manuscript that fashioned itself as a portable "cure-all."

The Lilly Library is the sole repository in North America that houses the complete set of seventeen printed works issued by the Müteferrika press during the 1720s and 1730s. İbrahim Müteferrika, after much religious debate and contention, established the first "Islamic" printing press in Istanbul under royal auspices in 1727. To date, there has been no systematic study in English of Müteferrika, his motivations, and his press. Yasemin Gencer fills this lacuna by drawing upon a number of primary and secondary sources, and, most importantly, by providing an in-depth analysis of Indiana University's rich collection of Ottoman incunabula. In 1732 the printing press established by Müteferrika produced its eleventh work: the *Kitab Cihannüma* (Book of the View of the World), a copy of which is held in the Lilly Library. The *Cihannüma* presents Ottoman geographical knowledge of its time, spanning from Anatolia to the frontiers of the New World and East Asia. Emily Zoss provides an examination of this work, as well as other examples of Ottoman mapmaking, to present and untangle the various cartographical contexts of this particular illustrated book.

The last two chapters in this volume address Islamic book arts in further geographical contexts, namely in India under Sikh rule (1799–1850) and in sub-Saharan Africa during the modern period. Brittany Payeur provides us with a study of the Lilly Library's lavishly illustrated Sikh copy of the *Shamshir Khani,* an abridgment of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), to show us not only how it functioned within the world of gift giving but also how it may expand our discussions of "Islamic" painting within non-Islamic contexts. Finally, Kitty Johnson examines a manuscript of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (Proofs of Good Deeds), a devotional text that was popular in Islamic sub-Saharan

Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By analyzing the patterns on the manuscript's leather pouch and on its folios, she reveals how certain decorative motifs seem to have been purposefully selected in order to maximize the work's perceived apotropaic power.

The chapters presented here attest to the development of Islamic book arts over more than ten centuries—namely, from the ninth to the twentieth century—in various areas of the world. They also pay tribute to the richness of the written heritage of Islam as it is represented by Indiana University collections. We hope that this volume will be useful to students and scholars of Islamic book arts while also appealing to a broader audience interested in Islamic artistic traditions.

Acknowledgments

This volume of collected articles was made possible through the close collaboration between students and staff at Indiana University.

First, as editor of this volume, I wish to thank the graduate students who enrolled in the hands-on seminar "From Pen to Paper: Islamic Codicology and Paleography" (fall 2006). These students researched the objects in Indiana University's collections and, over the course of two years, gradually (and tirelessly) transformed their research papers into chapters for this volume. Big thanks go to Christine Bentley, Heather Coffey, Yasemin Gencer, Kitty Johnson, Brittany Payeur, Janet Rauscher, Sheida Riahi, and Emily Zoss for their excellent contributions. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Yasemin Gencer, who helped in various ways to bring this volume and the spring 2009 exhibition to fruition, and to Janet Rauscher, who also provided preliminary copyediting of the chapters.

At Indiana University, I wish to thank staff members who so generously allowed us to view and work with primary sources at the Indiana University Art Museum, the Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, the Mathers Museum of World Cultures, and the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction. A special thanks goes to Heidi Gealt, Director, and Judy Stubbs, Pamela Buell Curator of Asian Art, at the Art Museum for their support of this and other projects on Islamic art. At the Lilly Library, we wish to thank Sue Presnell and other librarians who helped us locate and access the collections of Islamic manuscripts and rare books. At the Mathers Museum, we thank Ellen Sieber, Curator of Collections; and at the Kinsey Institute, we are grateful to Curator Catherine Johnson-Roehr for her help in viewing the institute's rare collection of Persian erotic paintings and drawings.

For having read and generously provided feedback and comments on the articles included in this volume, we wish to extend our heartfelt thanks to Sonja Brentjes, Stefano Carboni, Gottfried Hagen, Tobias Heinzelmann, Hakan Karateke, Yasmine al-Saleh, and Irvin Schick. For their assistance with specific issues and materials, we also owe a debt of gratitude to Emine Fetvacı, Labelle Prussin, Patrick McNaughton, Mary McWilliams, Marianna Shreve Simpson, Susan Stronge, and Maria Subtelny.

This volume is supported by a generous grant provided by Indiana University's New Frontiers in the Arts and Humanities Program. The grant provided funding for the spring 2009 exhibition, as well as a subvention for the inclusion of over one hundred color illustrations in this volume. Both the exhibit and this publication would not have

been possible without Indiana University's time-honored commitment to the arts.

Finally, I personally wish to dedicate this publication to Dr. Renata Holod, Professor of Islamic Art History at the University of Pennsylvania. With this volume, we wish to honor—in but a small way—her unwavering dedication to teaching and mentoring several generations of students in the field of Islamic art.

Christiane Gruber
Indiana University, Bloomington

The Islamic Manuscript Tradition

FIG. 1.1. A reed pen (*kamış kalem*), Ottoman Turkey, 19th century, 20.5 × 0.6 cm, no. 94.204. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

Introduction: Islamic Book Arts in Indiana University Collections

1

CHRISTIANE GRUBER

In his treatise on scribal practices, tools, and technology, the Zirid ruler al-Muʿizz b. Badis (d. 1062) is keen to establish that Islamic traditions linked to the pen have stimulated a written heritage that is prolific and enduring. With the aid of graphic tools and their supple supports, calligraphers and painters have contributed to the vast and rich corpus of book arts that have flourished in Islamic lands from as early as the seventh century until the present day. While practitioners in the "art of the word" attempted to present knowledge through writing, artists, preferring the "art of the form," strove to depict the world around them by means of the picture.

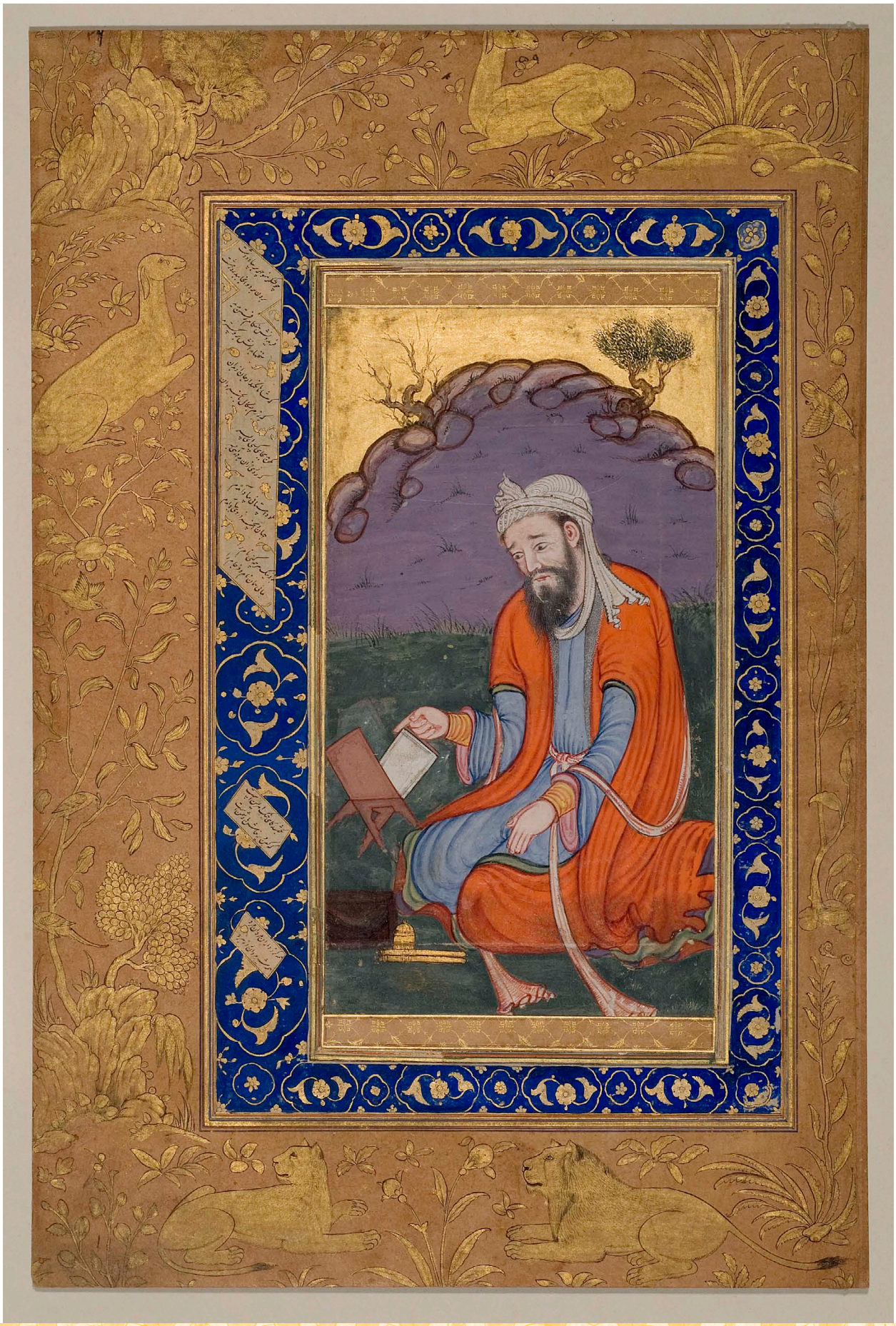
Although calligraphy and painting often are considered two discrete methods of communication, they frequently are combined in creative syntheses. In Persian and Turkish spheres in particular, practices of graphic and pictorial representation are linked through the metaphoric potential of their shared tool, the pen or *qalam* (Figure 1.1).[2] From the very beginnings of Islam, the pen has been heralded as the primordial tool used by God to reveal sacred scripture and to record man's actions in his book of deeds. The pen's prime status—as engendering all of creation and transmitting divine knowledge to humankind—is in part due to its intimate association to God, who is described in the Qur'an as "He Who teaches by the pen."[3]

Anything which the pens have given fruit the ages have not dared to erase.

al-Muʿizz b. Badis

Calligraphers lauded the pen for its ability to produce form, thereby connecting the practice of writing with God's creative force (Figure 1.2). This symbolic analogy between calligraphic forms produced by the writer's *qalam* and God's tracing of life forms with his own "pen of creation"[4] without a doubt elevated the calligrapher's status and legitimized his chosen profession. By extension, God could be understood as the most majestic of calligraphers, giving beautiful form to primal substance and therefore active in moderating the diffusion of knowledge. This recurring emphasis on the primacy of the word, along with the consequent practice of writing, reveals Islam as a semantic and logocentric culture par excellence.[5]

Unlike calligraphers, artists were cautious in drawing parallels between their creation of form and God's fashioning of the universe. This prudence appears to have been due to their fear of being accused of usurping God's exclusive ability to create life. Although warnings against painters are not included in the Qur'an, they do appear in collections of hadiths (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). In one instance, the Prophet is recorded as refusing to enter his house when he notices that his wife ʿA'isha has bought a cushion with images, proclaiming:



"The painters of these pictures will be punished on the Day of Resurrection. It will be said to them, 'Put life in what you have created.' The angels do not enter a house where there are pictures."[6] To a large extent, such statements help to explain both a perceived lack of pictures and/or the general adversity to images in Islamic cultures.[7]

Despite such admonitions in hadith collections, Islamic artistic traditions nevertheless are far from being aniconic or iconoclastic, thus revealing the multiple disjunctures between religious prohibition and pictorial production.[8] In what may seem at first glance a paradoxical predicament, paintings thrived in a variety of Islamic cultures. For example, in Arab lands, frescoes adorn the walls of palaces and baths, and pictures are included in illustrated books such as scientific treatises and belletristic works produced especially from ca. 700 to 1300. In Persian spheres, figural imagery complemented historical, biographic, and poetic texts produced from about 1300 to 1900, while in Mughal India, portraiture (Figure 1.3) and allegorical representation formed two powerful modes of royal representation especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During these two centuries, Ottoman Turkish visual traditions flourished as well, having embraced the pictorial mode as a means to illustrate epic, romantic, and biographical tales or to convey scientific and military knowledge. In many instances, paintings functioned as illustrations of written narratives and thus provided descriptive or interpretative augmentations to a reading experience, while simultaneously adding an aesthetic dimension to the production of Islam's written heritage.

From the sixteenth century forward, Persian painters in particular were keen to align their occupation with that of calligraphers, since both fields required mastery of linearity, contour, balance, and rhythm of form. A number of authors wrote treatises on the subject during the Safavid period (1501–1722), postulating that painting and calligraphy emerged from the same impetus to fashion form through the pen. Safavid authors identify two kinds of *qalams:* either a reed pen and thus vegetal (*nabati*) in nature, or a painting brush and thus animal (*hayvani*) in nature.[9] This theory of the "two pens" in effect was employed in an attempt to elevate painting to the rank of calligraphy by stressing both practices' basic use of modules and their ability to divulge information.[10] Because of its technical similarities to the art of calligraphy, painting too could be justified as an exalted pursuit and a praiseworthy vocation, as the eminent sixteenth-century Safavid calligrapher and author Dust Muhammad notes: "Painting is not without justification (*niz bi asli*), and the painter's conscience need not be pricked by the thorn of despair."[11]

Despite various injunctions against images and image-makers in the hadith, painting nevertheless prospered alongside calligraphy to create a binary system of visual and textual communication in Arab, Turkish, and especially Persian lands. Both practices were bound together by the *qalam,* itself perceived as an authoritative and consecrated instrument

FIG. 1.2. A poet or calligrapher sitting next to a book stand, a bound book, and a gold ink pot and pen case, framed with poetic verses and gold marginal painting, India, 17th or 18th century, 34.4 × 22.8 cm, no. 62.166. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

of primordial origins. Practitioners of the calligraphic and pictorial arts also were united through their shared dedication to experimenting with form and developing new technologies to transmit knowledge in its various iterations.

Following suit, a discussion of the frequent connections between calligraphy and painting, and their shared tools and materials, is offered here, via the exploration of Islamic book arts held in the Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, the Indiana University Art Museum, and the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction at Indiana University, Bloomington. Materials include writing implements and decorated papers, Persian and Ottoman Turkish illustrated manuscripts, miniature books from various geographical spheres, printed books from Ottoman Turkey, modern calligraphic specimens, and Persian erotica. These many works underscore the variety of book arts in Islamic traditions from the ninth century to the present while testifying to the richness of Indiana University's collections.

FIG. 1.3. Portrait of a Mughal nobleman leaning against cushion, with floral decorative borders, India, 17th century, 27.6 × 17.4 cm, no. 60.43. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

FROM SCRIPT TO CALLIGRAPHY

Arabic belongs to the group of Semitic languages that includes Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. Although whether the Arabic alphabet developed from Nabataean characters or from Syriac script remains unclear, Arabic displays the same morphological and phonetic characteristics of other Semitic languages, most prominently a trilateral root system, guttural and fricative sounds, and the precedence given to consonants over vowels.[12] Furthermore, as in the written form of other Semitic languages, words in Arabic are constructed through the creation of ligatures between letters of the alphabet, and words are transcribed from the right to the left margin of a page.

Arabic script was already in use ca. 300–600. Lapidary inscriptions dating from these early centuries in north and south Arabia record personal dedications and religious feelings or issue laws and other public decrees.[13] These graffiti reveal that Arabic in its written form did not follow exact orthographic criteria, and it was not until the seventh century that Arabic script became more or less codified. With the need to record the oral revelations of God to Muhammad through the Qur'an—as well as to solidify the newly emergent politico-religious Muslim community through record keeping, official decrees, and the transmission of knowledge—Arabic became an autonomous idiom and its script consequently underwent a process of standardization.[14] The rise of Arabic and its writing system thus was simultaneous with the emergence of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula.

Parts of the Qur'an initially were inscribed on ephemeral materials such as bones, palm leaves, and stones as a means of recording the Prophet Muhammad's oral recitations. To avoid divergences in—and to ensure the permanence of—Qur'anic revelation, Muhammad's recitations were collected and codified under the first two rightly guided caliphs (*al-rashidun*), Abu Bakr (d. 634) and ʿUthman (d. 656).[15] From this time forward, the Qur'an was carefully recorded on more long-lasting

FIG. 1.4. Recto (hair side) of a single folio from a Qur'an, containing verses 26–27 of chapter 41, entitled *al-Fussilat* (The Adoration), Kufic script in black ink and gold on parchment, possibly Hijaz or Iraq, 9th or 10th century, 15.4 × 23 cm, no. 63.41. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

and flexible materials, first on parchment (dehaired and cured animal skin) and later on paper (macerated flax or hemp fibers).[16] Along with the technology of the supple, foldable support—whether it be parchment or paper—emerged the book or codex (*mushaf*), a concrete form at the very heart of scriptural production, scholarly and administrative practices, and artistic endeavors in the Islamic world.

The earliest Islamic books that survive comprise a series of approximately forty thousand parchment fragments, yielding approximately one thousand Qur'anic manuscripts, found by a team of German scholars in 1979 under the roof of the Great Mosque of Sanaʿa in Yemen.[17] These parchment folios date from the seventh to the tenth century, and vary in size, from minute pocket editions to monumental volumes. Leaves are in the oblong format and contain Qur'anic verses written in black or brown ink in a square, angular script commonly referred to as Kufic.[18] Vowel marks usually are indicated by dots in red, gold, or green ink, and markers separating verses (*ayas*) often take the shape of floral rosettes.

Many parchment fragments of Kufic Qur'ans are scattered in international collections, and Indiana University holds a single folio with verses 26–28 of chapter 41, entitled "The Adoration" (*al-Fussilat*), on its recto and verso (Figures 1.4 and 1.5), as well as a fourteen-folio section containing, for example, the chapter heading of chapter 70, entitled "The Stairways" (*al-Maʿarij*), written in gold ink and provided with a

FIG. 1.5. Verso (flesh side) of a single folio from a Qur'an, containing verses 27–28 of chapter 41, entitled *al-Fussilat* (The Adoration), Kufic script in black ink and gold on parchment, possibly Hijaz or Iraq, 9th or 10th century, 15.4 × 23 cm, no. 63.41. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

decorative finial in the left margin (Figure 1.6). These Qur'anic fragments display a sharp Kufic script, penned either in black or dark brown ink, at five to seven lines per folio. Words expand or contract to fit the exact length of each line. Red dots on the fourteen-folio fragment appear both above and below the text line; these serve as diacritics to mark the normal vocalization of the text. On the other hand, the single-folio fragment displays gold dots on both the recto (hair side) and the verso (flesh side).[19] These gold dots give more precise directions on reciting the text by bringing the reader's attention to each unvocalized consonant (*sukun*), the duplication of a consonant (*tashdid*), and the accusative nunnation (*tanwin*).[20]

The fourteen-folio fragment (Figure 1.6) also bears a large gold fifty-verse marker on its third line of text, as well as a beautiful chapter (*sura*) heading for chapter 70, typically entitled "The Stairways" (*al-Maʿarij*), but here given a title according to the first two words of the chapter—"So asked the questioner"—followed by the total number of its verses.[21] The gold ink and the marginal finial mark the chapter heading apart and serve to visually demarcate the text's break for the reader. Furthermore, the variant chapter title is intriguing but not truly remarkable, since in the early period one sees *suras* sometimes entitled by the first word or series of words contained in the first verse rather than a peculiar term or animal (such as cow, spider, or ant) that is mentioned in the subsequent

FIG. 1.6. Qur'an written in Kufic script on parchment, folio 2r (out of a total of 14 folios), containing the gold chapter heading of chapter 70, possibly Hijaz or Iraq, 9th or 10th century, 11.8 × 18.4 cm, Allen mss. 8. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

narrative.[22] This chapter title does not truly present an aberration of the Qur'anic text per se.

Indiana University's Kufic Qur'an falls into "Group One" of Kufic Qur'ans as devised by the scholar Estelle Whelan: this group comprises Qur'ans executed in a horizontal format, containing thirty sections (*ajza'*), liturgical breaks, and *sura* titles with numerals in an archaic, and thus possibly ritualistic, form. Such examples differ from other Qur'ans identified as "Group Two" and produced in vertical format, which do not contain *ajza'* or *sura* titles and therefore do not seem to have fulfilled liturgical functions.[23] Although Whelan argues that Kufic Qur'ans belonging to "Group One" may have been produced in the Hijaz area or in Iraq, at present there is no firm method of establishing an exact provenance for these kinds of portable and peripatetic materials.[24] Despite these limitations, it is possible to suggest, based on paleographic style, ornamental details, and the gold-painted *sura* heading, that the fourteen-folio Kufic Qur'an was made in the ninth or tenth century, possibly for liturgical purposes rather than for private use.

Kufic script (and its variants) evolved from lapidary inscriptions and rightly can be said to be a "natural product of the chisel."[25] Although this angular script's use in Qur'ans survived for a number of centuries, the style eventually gave way to more fluid cursive scripts, which initially evolved out of the impetus to make written communication in administrative circles more swift and efficient. From the tenth century

onward, new proportioned cursive scripts were formulated by the calligrapher Ibn Muqla (d. 939) and later developed by his equally famous successors Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1022) and Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 1298). Together, these three leaders and their pupils created the calligraphic school known as the "six pens" (*al-aqlam al-sitta*), which include the six scripts *naskh, thuluth, muhaqqaq, rayhani, tawqi',* and *riqa'*. At the same time as these six "pens" or scripts matured, Arabic as a written system was perfected through the formulation and systematic use of diacritics. From the tenth to the thirteenth century, therefore, cursive lettering started to replace the rigidity of Kufic; the Arabic writing system became fully codified and thus wholly legible; and paper surpassed parchment as the medium of choice.[26]

Through these new cursive scripts, artists explored the aesthetic dimensions of calligraphy, thereby transforming scribal practices into an active pursuit of "beautiful writing" (*husn al-khatt*). Artistic writing surpassed the simple necessity of transcription, and as a result calligraphy emerged superior to scribalism.[27] Expressive but controlled and pleasant to the eye, Islamic calligraphy presents an artistic system of written forms that practitioners elevated beyond simple vocation. As the calligrapher Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. after 1009–1010) remarks, "Handwriting is a difficult geometry and an exacting craft. [It] is the jewelry fashioned by the hand from the pure gold of the intellect."[28] Through these many practices and surviving testimonies, it is clear that calligraphers understood their practice of "beautiful writing" as an intellectually rigorous enterprise.

Ibn Muqla was the first to expound a standardized system of proportional writing (*al-khatt al-mansub*), in which he described the relative size of each letter. Each letter's size was based on the dimensions of the *alif,* the first letter of the alphabet, itself shaped like a vertical line. The height of the *alif* was determined by a (variable) number of diamond-shaped rhombic points, created by slightly pressing down the reed pen's diagonally slit nib. Ibn al-Bawwab furthered Ibn Muqla's rhombic system by inscribing the *alif* into a circle; the *alif* served as a yardstick with which to determine the height of subsequent letters, and the circle's radius provided their relative length.[29] This proportional system, based on the rhomboid-based *alif* module, has been used, altered, and perfected by practitioners of cursive scripts from the tenth century until today.[30]

Calligraphers practiced proportioned scripts based on the rhombic system in their practice sheets (Arabic *mashq,* or Turkish *meşk*), which they used to teach the art of "beautiful writing" to their pupils and to practice their craft prior to carrying out a final product.[31] For example, the Turkish calligrapher 'Aziz Efendi (d. 1934) created a cursive *meşk* in black ink, which he signed and dated 1348/1929 (Figure 1.7).[32] This calligraphic piece, which includes prayers to God and other laudatory expressions in Arabic, is carefully marked by a series of rhomboids showing the relative height and width of each letter. Although the

FIG. 1.7. Calligraphy practice sheet (*meṣk*) in *thuluth* script, signed by ʿAziz Efendi (d. 1934), Turkey, dated 1348/1929, 22.2 × 25.8 cm, no. 95.45. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

exercise appears mathematical in its approach, it is not impossible that the rhomboids were added later and thus inserted *a posteriori* to give the calligraphy its presumed structure, rather than vice versa. Regardless of the actual function of the rhomboids, this specimen may have been used as a sample to teach a pupil the rules of calligraphic practice, or it may have been commissioned as an "exhibition piece" for a patron interested in the calligraphic process.

According to the Safavid calligrapher Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi (d. 1514), who wrote a famous treatise on calligraphy, the art of beautiful writing was essentially a "spiritual geometry." The rules for writings were many, and calligraphers had to pay particular attention to the shapes, arrangements, and proportions of their letters, especially their ascents and descents. We are told by Sultan ʿAli and other author-calligraphers that, in order to perfect this "spiritual geometry," the student must collect and imitate the writings of masters so as to "saturate" his eye. This practice of observation through the eye (*nazari*) is followed by manual

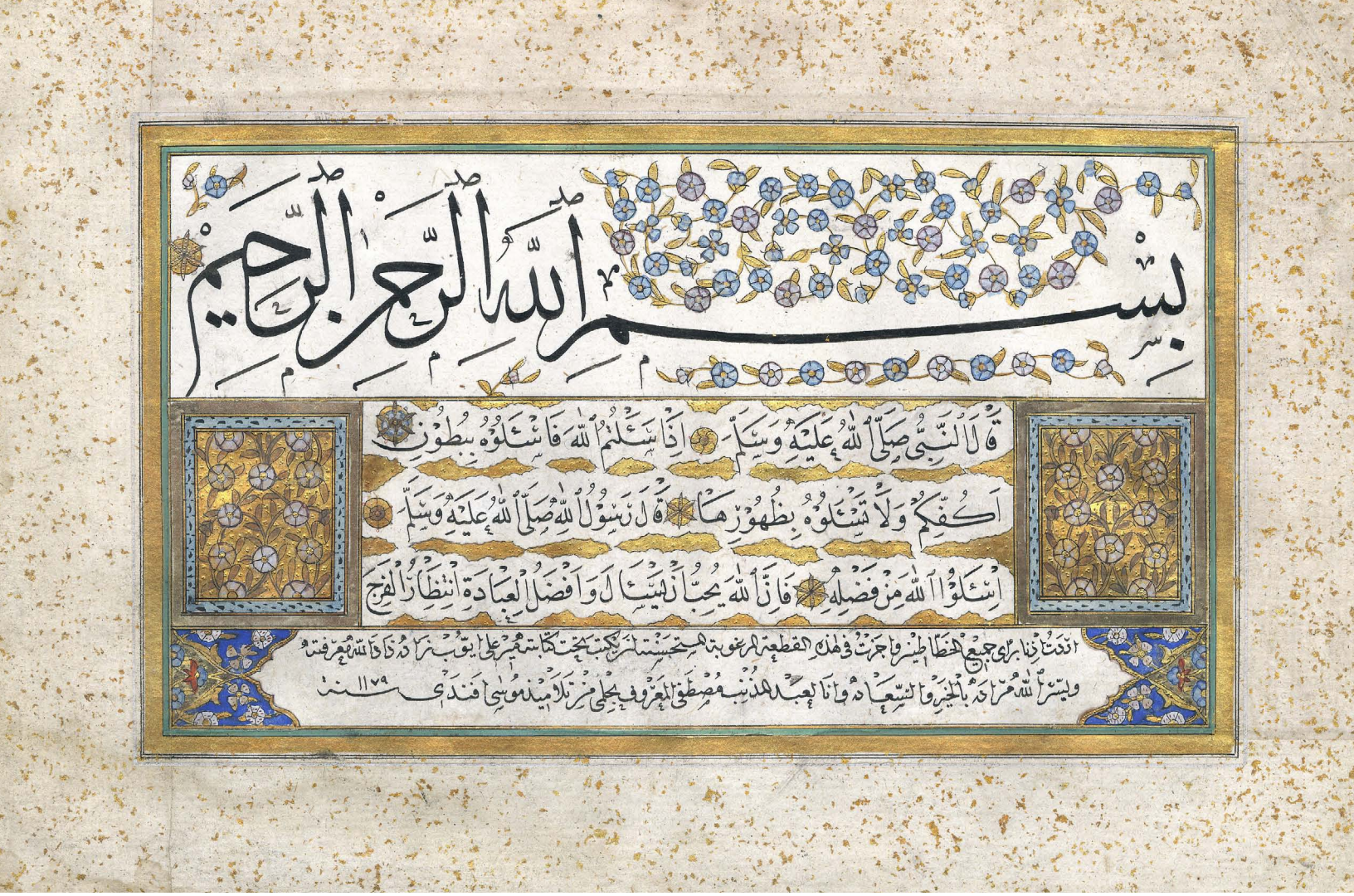


FIG. 1.8. Calligrapher's diploma (*icazet*) issued to Mir ʿAli Eyyübzade by Mustafa Hilmi, Turkey, dated 1179/1765, 18.8 × 27 cm, Ricketts mss. 3 no. 81. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

training through the pen (*qalami*).[33] By combining both the theoretical-observational and applied-practical aspects of the craft, calligraphers were able to establish particular rules governing both the principles and the teaching of calligraphy.

A pupil who had mastered calligraphy was granted a diploma (Arabic *ijaza,* or Turkish *icazet*) by his master(s). This certificate of competence in calligraphy typically includes a text transcribed by the pupil: often a hadith, verses of the Qur'an, or a proverb. Usually two scripts, such as *thuluth* and *naskh,* were used to display the pupil's ability to work in various calligraphic "pens." At the bottom of each *ijaza,* one finds the master's or masters' signed permission, in which he or they grant authorization to the pupil to sign his own calligraphic works with signatures that include the Arabic expressions *katabahu* (written by), *hararahu* (composed by), and *sawwadahu* (copied in black by or blackened by).[34] The *ijaza* thus allowed the student calligrapher to become a licensed master, to sign his calligraphic compositions, and to take on pupils of his own.

Some Ottoman Turkish *icazet*s were so beautifully executed and illuminated that they became collector's items. One of them (dated 1179/1765), for example, is lavishly decorated with marginal gold sprinkling and illuminated panels (Figure 1.8). This diploma includes a hadith

FIG. 1.9. Calligraphic panel (*levha*) signed by Mehmed Şefik (d. 1880), Turkey, ca. 1878, 14.3 × 21.3 cm, Ricketts mss. 2, no. 86. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

on the virtues of waiting for God's recompense copied by the student Mir ʿAli Eyyübzade. The saying begins with the initiatory *bismillah* ("In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful") written in *thuluth* (*sülüs*) script, followed by the hadith in *naskh* (*nesih*). In the lower panel, the master calligrapher Mustafa Hilmi, himself a student of Musa Efendi, notes that he grants Mir ʿAli Eyyübzade the right to sign his works with the expression *katabahu* because of the latter's masterful execution of this particular calligraphic composition (*kıtaʿ*). This *icazet* highlights a particular chain of calligraphers and provides a written testament to the tutorial system through which calligraphic knowledge and practice were transmitted in Ottoman lands.[35]

Once they received their *icazet*s, Ottoman Turkish master calligraphers could execute a wide variety of works, including transcribing manuscripts and composing letter exercises (*mürekkebat*), calligraphic descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad (*hilyes*), albums of calligraphies (*murakkaʿas*), single-page calligraphic compositions (*kıtaʿs*), writing specimens mounted on pasteboard (*levhas*), and texts using a diminutive writing (*gubari,* or literally "dust" script). *Levha*s could be large in scale and were frequently displayed in private homes and dervish lodges. Like *icazet*s, they often included a hadith, such as the Prophet's saying, "Whoever is content with the daily sustenance [of God] has no need of mankind," as inscribed on a *levha* in the Lilly Library (Figure 1.9). This pink calligraphic panel, decorated with illuminated corner pieces and

mounted to a pasteboard (a thin board made of pasted sheets of paper), is by the Ottoman Turkish calligrapher Mehmed Şefik (d. 1880),[36] who also notes that his composition is a copy of an earlier specimen executed by the famous Ottoman Turkish calligrapher Hafiz Osman (d. 1698). Based on comparable pieces executed by Mehmed Şefik,[37] the Lilly *levha* was probably executed ca. 1878, that is, almost two centuries after Hafiz Osman's template—thereby demonstrating that calligraphic masterpieces inspired a long chain of artists to transcend the mere practice of penmanship in order to perfect the more elevated art of "beautiful writing."

CONTAINING THE CODEX: BOOK COVERS AND BINDINGS

While calligraphers and scribes undertook the transcription of texts, other artists in book ateliers within the Islamic world provided assistance with ancillary arts, such as bookbinding. Protective covers for books or quires of folia began as early as the production of Qur'anic manuscripts. For example, a number of wooden boxes covered by tooled leather made in the tenth century were found alongside Kufic Qur'an fragments in the Great Mosque of Sanaʿa. These box-bindings are—much like the Qur'ans they contain—oblong in shape; they also include leather thongs with pegs and loops in order to keep the box hinged shut and thus to ensure the protection of the parchment folia from dust, dirt, and other elements.[38] During the first few centuries of Islam, bookbindings were therefore designed for protecting and containing parchment leaves rather than for "binding" them into a single, solid tome.

As parchment was replaced with paper and the horizontal page format gave way to a vertical one, the shape and function of bookbindings changed as well. Although they could be tooled and decorated in a variety of ways, Islamic bindings essentially retained the same basic shape from the tenth century onward (Figures 1.10 and 1.11). This shape was no longer a box but rather a kind of envelope, constructed with three main structural components: first, two leather-covered boards made either of wood or pasteboard compose the front and back covers of the book; second, these cover boards are held together by a flexible leather spine; and third, an envelope flap is attached to the back cover and wraps around to the front cover in order to protect the book's fore-edge.[39] The book's reader can also use the envelope flap as a bookmark or tuck it under the text block in order to slightly elevate the pages when reading. The folios of the book are sewn together and then affixed to the spine, thus transforming the binding into a kind of skin that is inseparable from the quires of folios. In their technical treatises on the subject, a number of practitioners in fact describe the various parts of a bookbinding by comparing them to parts of the human body, thereby stressing the functional integrality of a binding's constituent members.[40]

Most frequently, the leather binding is fashioned or decorated in one way or another by using a tool, manipulated in a freehand fashion, or by stamping the leather with ornamental designs. Sometimes, the

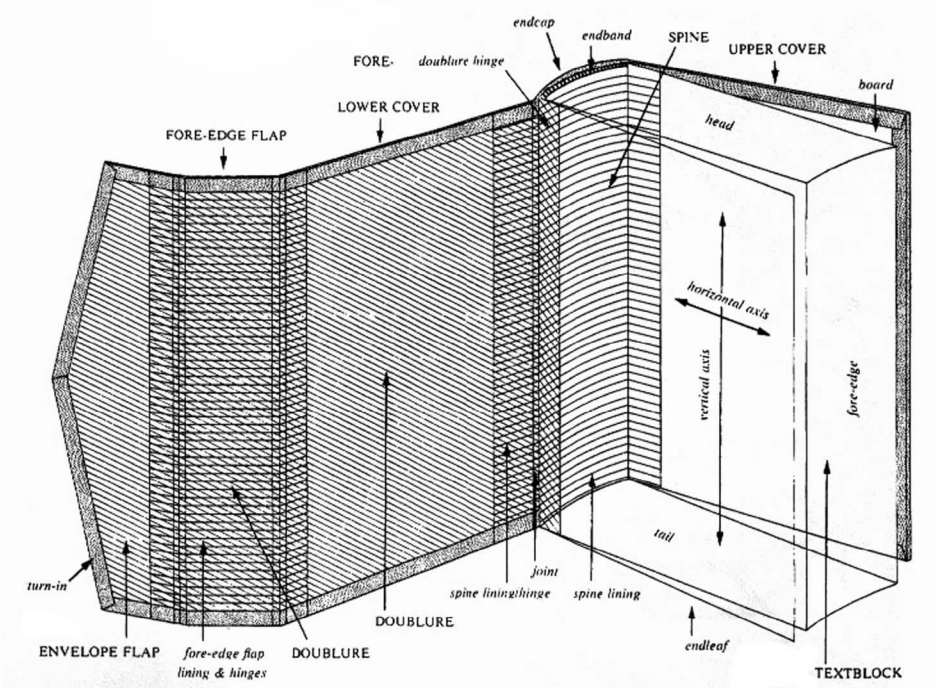


FIG. 1.10. Components of a typical Islamic bookbinding. Sketch from Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking*, 38.

FIG. 1.11. Blue- and gold-painted bookbinding, al-Bukhari, *Sahih* (Collection of the Prophet's Sayings), Ottoman North Africa, 1183/1769, 26.5 × 18.5 cm, Allen mss. 16. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

prepared and dyed leather is heated to make it more malleable to these decorative imprints, which include a wide range of designs, such as ornamental strapwork; center pieces shaped like suns, disks, or mandorlas; and floral corner pieces.[41]

In Timurid and Safavid Iran (ca. 1400–1700), figural compositions begin to appear on bindings covering Persian epic and romantic poems, while pious inscriptions at times decorate the cover of Qur'ans. One beautiful Safavid binding covers a Qur'an probably transcribed by the calligrapher ʿAli b. Muhammad b. Muqaddam in Herat (in modern-day

FIG. 1.12. Gold binding and doublure with gold filigree work, ninth section (*juz'*) of a Safavid Qur'an, probably made in Herat, ca. 979/1571, 35.6 × 23.7 cm, Allen mss. 10. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Afghanistan) in 1571 (Figure 1.12). This stupendous binding belongs to a series of thirty individually bound sections (*ajza'*) of a Qur'an now dispersed in a number of international collections.[42] The Lilly Library is fortunate to own the ninth section (*juz'*) of this multi-volume work, the large scale and luxurious design of which intimate that it was an elite, perhaps even royal, commission. The leather binding is stamped with a polylobed, central mandorla and vegetal designs, and is framed by a series of cartouches bearing a hadith on the virtues of the Qur'an—all brushed over in gold. The lavish attention paid to the binding foreshadows the high value of the Holy Book enclosed within, itself transcribed using copius amounts of gold and lapis (see Figure 1.17). Similarly, the binding's doublure (inner cover) also has benefited from close attention:

FIG. 1.13. Miniature Qur'ans in the collection of Ruth E. Adomeit, 16th–20th century, Ruth E. Adomeit box. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the delicate gold filigree work and colored in-painting used to decorate the medallions and corner pieces reveal this particular specimen to be the product of a master bookbinder.[43]

From the fifteenth century onward, bindings were clad in leather and painted with decorative motifs (as in Figure 1.11) or were made of other materials, such as silk and marbled paper. The Lilly Library owns a number of volumes that display a wide range of these bookbinding procedures, nowhere better encapsulated than in the Ruth E. Adomeit collection of miniature Islamic books (Figure 1.13).[44] These diminutive tomes form an interesting corpus of materials not only because of their minuscule sizes but also because of the wide range of their covers and bindings. Some leather bindings are octagonal, stamped with vegetal ornaments, and brushed with gold; others are polygonal, made of variously dyed leather, and decorated with tooled mandorlas; others are rectangular and decorated with gold-painted strapwork; and still others are covered with a series of differently colored marbled papers. One miniature volume, originating from sub-Saharan Africa, is protected by a leather satchel, with a thong to keep it shut and lateral leather cords so that it can be hung either from an object or around a human's neck. Although the sub-Saharan satchel is not equivalent to the early box-bindings of Kufic Qur'ans, it too provides a loose, leather-clad container intended to house leaves, which sometimes are left loose rather than bound.[45]

During the eighteenth century, bookbindings remained items that could add appeal and monetary value to a book, whether calligraphed by hand or mechanically produced by the newly emergent printing press. For example, Ottoman Turkish books printed in Istanbul by İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745) during the 1720s and 1730s might be mistaken for manuscripts if one were to look only at the stamped leather bindings and doublures sporting fine filigree work (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4).[46] Some of Müteferrika's printed books also were covered in bindings that combined both stamped leather and blue-and-white marbled paper, revealing a new experimentation with multiple media within the confines of the book's cover (see Figure 5.5).

Instead of relying solely on covers clad in leather, Persian artists developed new technologies for their bookbindings from the fifteenth century onward. The most important of these consisted in the use of lacquer covers made of papier-mâché thinly coated with plaster, itself painted over with vegetal and figural compositions and then covered with a protective varnish.[47] Although lacquer binding appeared in works from Persian lands already during the Timurid and Safavid periods,[48] it truly flourished during the nineteenth century under the sponsorship of two powerful Qajar monarchs, Fath ʿAli Shah (r. 1797–1834) and Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896).[49] At this time, lacquer was used not only for bookbindings but also for a variety of other objects, most especially pen-boxes and mirror-cases.[50] Scholars have attributed its pervasive use to a growing Persian interest in the European (*farangi*) technique of oil painting, which also displays vivid colors covered in high varnish.[51]

Lacquer paintings on boxes, cases, and bindings include hunting scenes, epic and romantic episodes, and even depictions of Christian subjects like the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ. Lacquer bindings containing religious texts, however, tend to shy away from figural imagery and instead represent an almost endless variation of floral motifs, as displayed on the covers of a Qur'an dedicated to Nasir al-Din Shah, signed by the Qajar calligrapher Muhammad ʿAli al-Tabrizi and dated 1270/1853 (Figure 1.14).[52] These kinds of floral motifs may have been inspired by printed designs found in European herbals like the *Hortus Floridus* (Garden of Flowers) published in 1614 by Crispin de Passe, which may have arrived in Iran through merchants and traders as early as the mid-seventeenth century.[53] Floral designs also may have been learned by Qajar painters who had gone to France to train with French painters and returned to Iran having fully assimilated contemporary European pictorial conventions, which they then passed down to their pupils.[54] Europeanizing trends and tastes thus infiltrated not only Persian painting but bookbinding traditions as well.

In addition to floral bouquets, another favored motif included in Qajar lacquer bindings is the flower-and-nightingale (*gul-u bulbul*) design.[55] This kind of composition varies because it draws upon a wide range of possible motifs from the natural world, with flora represented

FIG. 1.14. Lacquer binding decorated with floral sprays, Qur'an dedicated to Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896), probably Tehran, 1270/1853, 30 × 19 cm, Ricketts Q. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

by irises, narcissi, tulips, and roses, and fauna by various birds and/or butterflies. A *gul-u bulbul* cover, decorated with a glistening gold background, decorates a copy of the *Divan* (Compendium of Poems) by Hafiz (d. 1390) transcribed in 1257/1842 (Figure 1.15).[56] The motif expands to include figural imagery on the binding's doublures, which represent two men reading poetry and smoking a pipe, and a pair of lovers eating fruit and smoking a water pipe (Figure 1.16). Such themes appear to foreshadow much of the content of Hafiz's *Divan,* which uses mystical and figurative language to describe human love and yearning, as in the following verses:

> It is, o rose, thy beauty's pride
> That casts affection far aside
> Forbidding thee to court the tale
> Of thy fond mate, the nightingale?[57]

Hafiz often describes the lover's lament as similar to the nightingale's song, and compares the lover's mounting infatuation to the blossoming of the rose. He also depicts the love of God as a metaphorical "intoxication" with the beloved, and offers unabashed praise of the wine, music, and merriment typical of a medieval Persian tavern:

FIG. 1.15. Qajar lacquer binding with *gul-u bulbul* motif, Hafiz (d. 1390), *Divan* (Compendium of Poems), Iran (possibly Shiraz or Isfahan), text transcribed in 1258/1842, 17.5 × 10 cm, Near Eastern mss. Hafiz. Divan Persian. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Drink wine, and let the lute vibrate;
Grieve not; if any tell to thee,
"Wine is a great iniquity,"
Say, "God is compassionate."[58]

In this particular case, the coded language of Hafiz's poetry is mirrored in the vivid representations of birds, flowers, smoking, and drinking on the lacquer binding. In other words, the book's cover embraces the figural mode so as to inspire the reader's visual imagining of the mystical themes deeply embedded in Hafiz's lyrical poems.

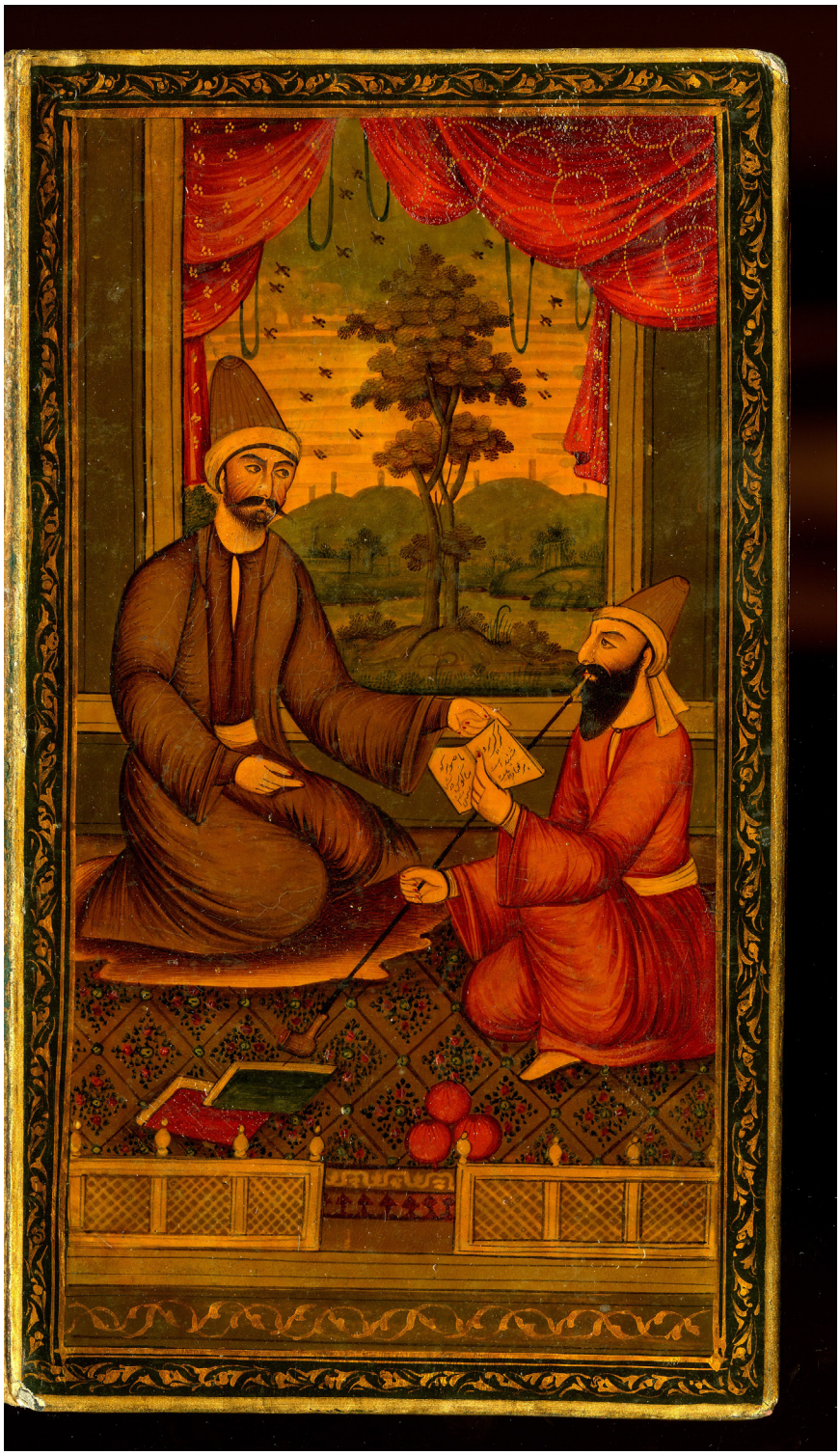
ENHANCING THE TEXT: ILLUMINATION AND ILLUSTRATION

Much as a binding may prefigure the contents of the text it contains, other artistic techniques can be used to embellish and augment texts. The most important of these are illumination (*tadhhib*) and illustration (*taswir*). While the former is non-figurative and serves primarily a decorative purpose, the latter is used to represent humans, animals, and landscapes and thus fulfills a representational function. Both techniques are included in book arts throughout the centuries, although from ca.

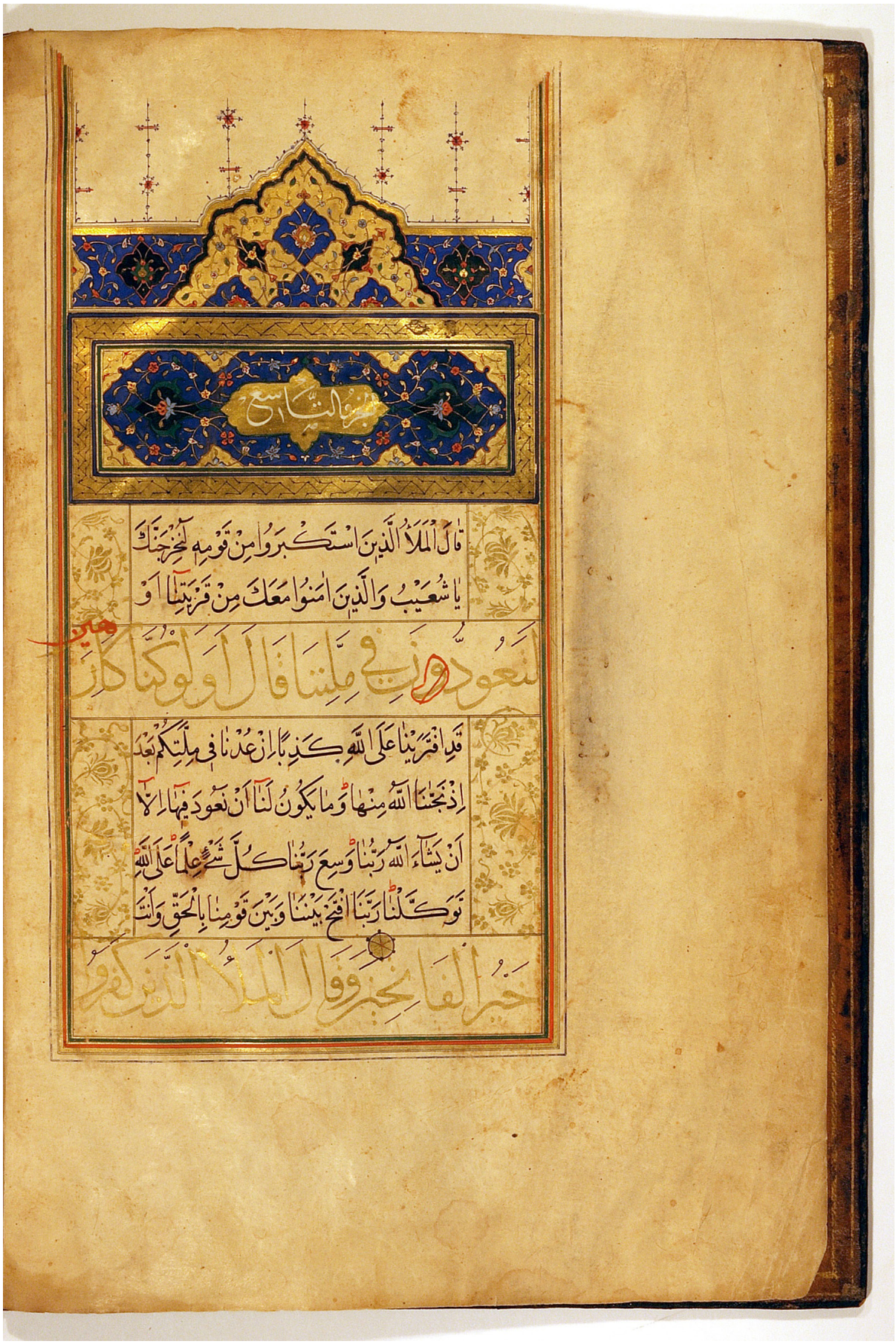
FIG. 1.16. Doublures of a Qajar lacquer binding representing two men reading poetry (right) and an amorous couple (left), Hafiz (d. 1390), *Divan* (Compendium of Poems), Iran (possibly Shiraz or Isfahan), text transcribed in 1258/1842, 17.5 × 10 cm, Near Eastern mss. Hafiz. Divan Persian. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

1600 forward they also appear on single-sheet calligraphic and figural compositions.

Supported by modern scientific analysis, technical treatises on calligraphy and painting by authors such as al-Muʿizz b. Badis and others reveal the extend to which pigment-makers mastered their craft and therefore contributed to the tonal complexity of illumination and illustration. By pulverizing plants or metals, decanting them, and moistening



them in a water solution that included gum arabic and sometimes egg yolk, artists were able to create a vibrant palette of liquid colors. They drew upon the possibilities offered by both organic and inorganic materials, which included (most prominently) gold, silver, lapis lazuli, ultramarine (blue), cinnabar (red), orpiment and arsenic sulfide (yellow), verdigris and copper (green), white lead (white), and charcoal and soot (black).[59]



الجزء التاسع

قال الملأ الذين استكبروا من قومه لنخرجنك
يا شعيب والذين امنوا معك من قريتنا او
لتعودن في ملتنا قال اولو كنا كارهين
قد افترينا على الله كذبا ان عدنا في ملتكم بعد
اذ نجنا الله منها وما يكون لنا ان نعود فيها الا
ان يشاء الله ربنا وسع ربنا كل شيء علما على الله
توكلنا ربنا افتح بيننا وبين قومنا بالحق وانت
خير الفاتحين وقال الملأ الذين كفروا

Gold and lapis lazuli were used most frequently in book illumination during the Timurid and Safavid periods (ca. 1400–1700), and after the eighteenth century bright vermillion, made of crushed cinnabar (mercury sulfide), dominates as well.[60] Illumination in sixteenth-century Persian Qur'ans is used as a visual clue to mark the beginning of a particular section (*juz'*) of the Holy Book (Figure 1.17). The number of the *juz'* is typically inscribed in a decorative headpiece (*sarlawh*) or section heading (*'unwan*) at the top of the folio.[61] Besides helping the reader to distinguish the incipit of the Qur'anic text, illumination is used in such cases as a way to emphasize the work's title or section number—a method that is especially important because Arabic script has no capital letters, and thus no large-scale initials mark the beginnings of sections as they do in European manuscripts.[62]

FIG. 1.17. Illuminated chapter heading (*sarlawh*) and beginning of the ninth section (*juz'*) of a Safavid Qur'an (Qur'an 7:88), probably made in Herat, ca. 979/1571, 35.6 × 23.7 cm, Allen mss. 10, folio lv. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Gold appears not only in the Qur'an's illuminated headpiece; it is also used to fill in *aya* markers shaped like flowers or sun disks and to create decorative frames filled with floral designs and vine scrolls. Finally, gold ink is employed to transcribe parts of the Qur'an proper (such as every fifth line of text), in which case the technique is referred to as "chrysography," or writing in gold. This lavish use of glittering and expensive material helps to increase the intensity of the believer's encounter with the Qur'an and to visually highlight its sacred qualities. In Qur'ans and other religious texts, therefore, illumination is an appropriate method for glorifying the sacred character of scripture, as well as elevating and emphasizing important doctrinal or theological points.[63]

Illumination can assume a rather independent role at certain points in the text, especially at its beginning or at important section breaks. The Qajar Qur'an made in 1270/1853 and dedicated to Nasir al-Din Shah, for example, includes a lavish double-page opening using large amounts of gold, lapis lazuli, and vermillion (Figure 1.18). The illumination dazzles but still contains a message written in gold letters: the two blue central medallions contain a petitionary prayer (*du'a*), identified as such in the red finials. All around the composition appears a frame with alternating red and blue registers that include the names of all the *suras* in the Qur'an, written in gold ink.[64] This frame is in turn decorated with a series of finely executed interlocking arabesques, also based on the three principal colors of gold, blue, and red. In this case, the impetus to decorate was driven by a desire to embellish the formal appearance of the Qur'an, to give weight to the *du'a* invoked prior to reading the sacred text, and to create an index of the Holy Text's constituent *suras*.

Illumination can also be used for section breaks throughout a text and for its colophon (signature panel) at its end. When used in a colophon, illumination not only highlights the author's name and the date of completion but also provides a formal buttressing for a final prayer addressed to the Prophet Muhammad. For instance, in a copy of al-Bukhari's *Sahih* (Collection of the Prophet's Sayings), a text second in theological importance after the Qur'an, the colophon text is contained in a polylobed medallion on a blue ground and framed in gold

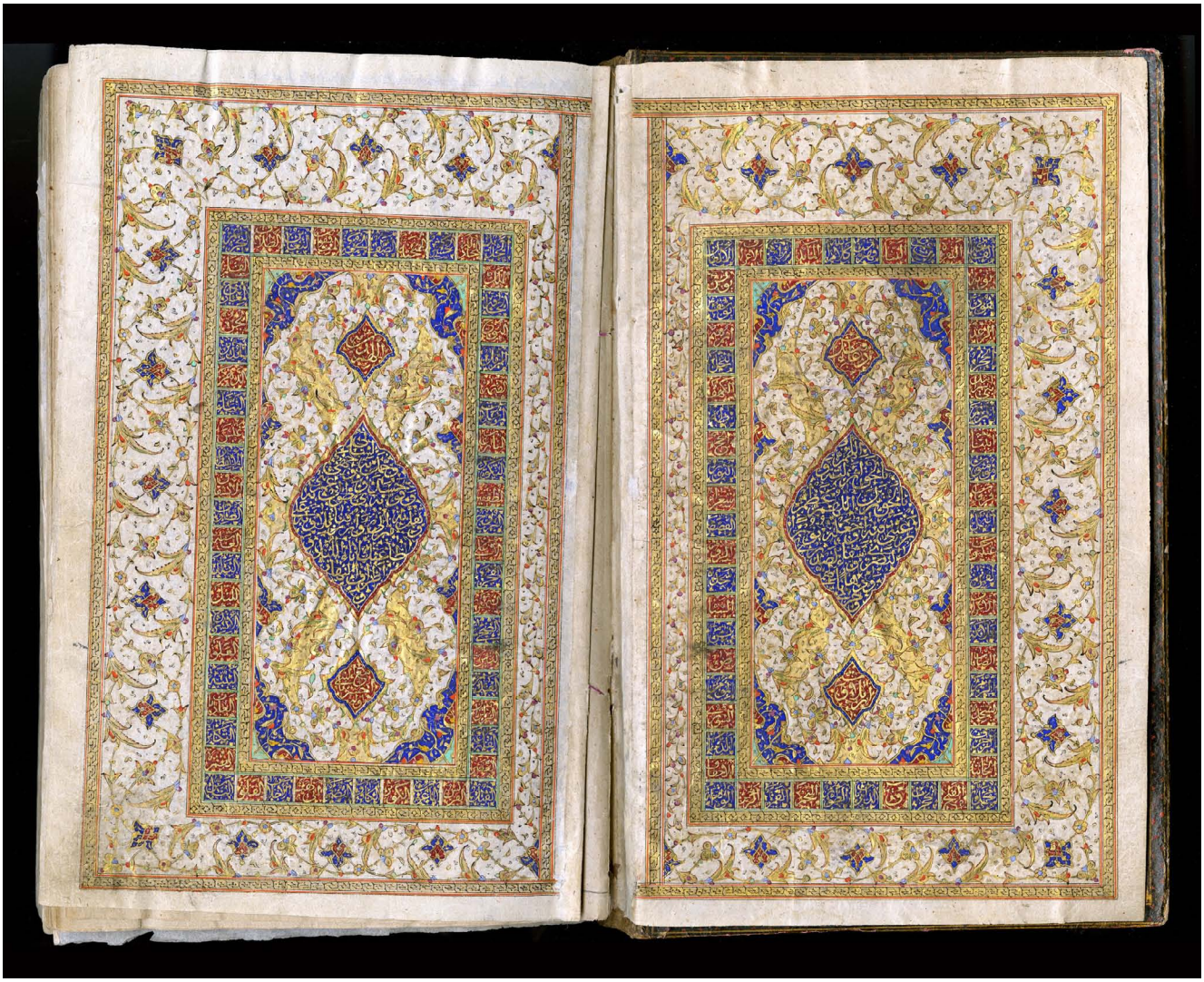


FIG. 1.18. Double-page illuminated opening containing a prayer and the names of all *suras,* Qur'an dedicated to Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896), probably Tehran, 1270/1853, 30 × 19 cm, Ricketts Q, folios 1v–2r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

(Figure 1.19). Again, gold, blue, and red dominate this illuminated panel, the design and layout of which is rather typical of Ottoman Turkish manuscripts made in North Africa.[65] The colophon text, which is entirely written in gold, informs us that al-Bukhari's *Sahih* was completed in the middle of Safar 1183 (ca. June 20, 1769) by the calligrapher Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Hulw. The colophon also provides terminal prayers for the Prophet Muhammad and his family. As a result, the separate illuminated panel allows the manuscript to end with a decorative splash, highlighting the calligrapher's name and glorifying the Prophet through the fitting mechanism of lavish ornamentation.

Besides the Qur'an and religious texts, Persian epic and poetic tales often are illuminated and illustrated from the early fifteenth century onward. A number of luxury editions of Persian poems include a double-page illuminated opening containing an ex libris or dedicatory note, followed by another double-page composition representing a royal feast or hunt. One folio in the Indiana University Art Museum contains an illuminated panel dedicating a (no longer extant) manuscript to Sultan Husayn Mirza Bayqara (r. 1469–1506), the last Timurid ruler based in

FIG. 1.19. (*opposite*) Colophon signed by Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Hulw, al-Bukhari, *Sahih* (Collection of the Prophet's Sayings), North Africa, 1183/1769, 26.5 × 18.5 cm, Allen mss. 16, folio 417v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 1.20. Recto and verso of a single folio showing an illuminated page (right) dedicated to Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469–1506), and a royal hunt (left), probably Bukhara, first half of 16th century, 27.3 × 17 cm (painting), 27.1 × 17 cm (dedication page), no 60.42. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

the capital city of Herat (Figure 1.20).[66] The folio is beautifully decorated with gold and lapis patterns, strengthening and focusing attention on the royal dedication in the folio's center.

Despite its lavish decoration and its dedication to a famous Timurid ruler, this illuminated page poses two substantial problems: first, the epithets used to describe Sultan Husayn are not consistent with Timurid practices,[67] and second, the illumination—as well as the one surviving painting from the manuscript (depicting a royal hunt)—appear closer to the style of illustrated manuscripts produced in Bukhara under Shaybanid patronage during the first half of the sixteenth century. It is well known that Shaybanid rulers inherited Timurid manuscripts and actively sought to imitate the artistic and cultural tastes of late fifteenth-century Herat.[68] When we consider this practice, the folio seems to belong to a "doctored-up" Timurid manuscript, provided at a later date with a faux dedicatory page, an illuminated *sarlawh,* and paintings in spaces initially left blank. As such, it belongs to a group of medieval "knockoffs" known to have been produced in Safavid Iran and Shaybanid Central Asia—thus revealing a quickly emerging interest in

the artistic (and pecuniary) value of illustrated manuscripts produced during the Golden Age of Timurid rule.[69]

Like illumination, painting thrived under the aegis of Persian patronage in Iran and Mughal India. Many texts by famous authors such as Nizami (d. 614/1218), ʿAttar (d. 627/1230), Rumi (d. 671/1273), Saʿdi (d. 691/1292), and Jami (d. 897/1492) were copied and put to picture, giving rise to the plethora of Persian illustrated manuscripts from the medieval to the early modern period. Persian poets, especially Nizami, helped to create a literary and cultural atmosphere in which painting not only was accepted but thrived because it was understood as a representational art and a skilled craft that the viewer had to approach through the activation of his or her imaginative faculty (*khiyal*).[70] Persian painters and calligraphers wrote about their respective arts in technical treatises and prefaces to albums, as well; through their corpus of written work, they created a historiography for Persian painting in which the artist came to be heralded as an inspired intellect, while painting was constructed as an endeavor of primordial and prophetic origins.[71] These many Persian belletristic, poetic, technical, and biographical writings aimed to legitimize pictorial representation as a laudable, even cerebral, pursuit rather than an objectionable attempt to usurp God's creative power and thus an act to be feared and rejected.

For these reasons, many Persian texts do not exclude illustrations. Chief among these stands Firdawsi's (d. 428/1020) *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), the national epic of Iran recounting the lives and deeds of Persian kings and heroes. The *Shahnama* could be produced as a whole in verse form or as an abridgement in prose and verse, as in the case of the *Shamshir Khani* (Book of Shamshir Khan Tarin) of the mid-seventeenth century.[72] Moreover, a particular book (*kitab*) could be extracted from Firdawsi's long epic for independent transcription and illustration. To name but a few, such books include the *Bahmannama* (Book of Bahman), the *Garshaspnama* (Book of Garshasp), and the *Luhraspnama* (Book of Luhrasp).

The *Luhraspnama* recounts the story of King Luhrasp, who decided to abandon violence in favor of passivism and therefore selected his peaceful grandson Ka'us over his own belligerent son Gushtasp to rule over Persian lands.[73] One folio of the *Luhraspnama* in the Lilly Library represents the monarch enthroned and surrounded by his ministers and servants (Figure 1.21). The painting serves as a visual encomium to the ruler at the same time as it reinforces the beginning of the text, itself clearly marked by the gold and lapis *sarlawh* inscribed with the title of the book in white ink. Four columns of text written in the Persian "hanging" script known as *nastaʿliq* are barely visible, squeezed between the illuminated headpiece above and the painting below, itself quite typical of compositions produced in Iran during the sixteenth century. The turbans (*taj-i Haydari*) with red and black rods that the figures wear provide a further indication of a Safavid provenance. The dominance of pink and pale green used for the tilework in the painting's background is

FIG. 1.21. Illuminated headpiece with title (*Luhraspnama*) and painting of King Luhrasp enthroned, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), possibly Shiraz, 16th century, 32.4 × 19.2 cm, Ricketts mss. 3, no. 80. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

muted; despite its serene hue, however, the verdigris used in producing the green paint has oxidized and corroded several sections of paper in the middle of the page.

The twin issues of authenticity and longevity—as previously discussed in relation to the Shaybanid continuation and imitation of Timurid artistic tastes—often surface when examining Persian illustrated manuscripts, since it appears that many items remained unfinished because of lacking funds, because they were taken as booty during military campaigns, or because they were transferred as a familial or diplomatic gift into another elite patron's *kitabkhana*. While some Timurid manuscripts from Herat found a new home in Shaybanid Bukhara, others went through Turkman hands and eventually arrived in Tabriz, where they were completed by artists active in the royal book atelier of Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–1524), the founder and first ruler of the Safavid state in Iran.[74] Just like the painters and calligraphers who produced them, Timurid manuscripts also made their way southeast to the Indian subcontinent, where they contributed substantially to the formulation of the Mughal painterly style.[75] And finally, Mughal manuscripts themselves also could have long and complex lives, both within Mughal and Sikh milieus in India or after leaving for Iran either as spoils after the 1739 conquest of Nadir Shah (r. 1736–1747)[76] or in subsequent Indian-Persian commercial activity.

One early Mughal illustrated manuscript of Jami's *Haft Awrang* (Seven Thrones) in the Lilly Library (Allen mss. 11) bears witness to such peregrinations. It includes seven colophons signed by four different calligraphers, placing the manuscript's production in Kabul around 959–960/1552–1553.[77] The manuscript comprises 310 folios of highly polished Indian paper, along with some thicker replacement folios made of Persian rag paper that is at times dyed light blue. It also includes twenty paintings, most of which are in the full-page format, executed with intricate geometric patterns created with a thick impasto and high patina not typical of the Mughal palette.[78] In one case, a painting is decorated with marginal compositions in a light wash (depicting birds, trees, and lions attacking deer) that attempt to approximate Mughal decorative borders (Figure 1.22).[79] In many cases, architectural details or vegetation within the composition break through the painting's frame.

Although the paintings appear to have been added at a later date—possibly at the turn of the twentieth century in Iran, in a revivalist or (in perhaps less euphemistic terms) "fake" Mughal style—the manuscript's original text places it among the earliest recorded manuscripts produced in Mughal India. Its date of 1552–1553 and its production in Kabul, which served as capital between 1546 and 1556, suggests that it was commissioned by the second Mughal ruler Humayun (r. 1530–56) or someone in his entourage after he returned to Kabul from his exile, which included an artistically fruitful stay at the court of the second Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576).[80]

After an efflorescence of illustrated manuscripts in Mughal India and Safavid Iran during the sixteenth century, the seventeenth century witnessed the efflorescence of a new genre of painterly practice: the single-page portrait. While many single-folio compositions and colored sketches were produced in Iran for a non-royal clientele, including a sophisticated cultural class interested in leisurely activities,[81] numerous single-page paintings produced in Mughal India catered directly to a ruler and his immediate social circle, using the hieratic language of form to convey the sitter's power or wealth. Such works, which often were included in Mughal albums of calligraphies and paintings, are heavily illuminated with gold and decorated with textured borders, while the sitter is represented usually in profile or in three-quarters profile and seated either singly or holding audience. The Mughal profile or bust portrait of the seventeenth century, moreover, bears the undeniable imprint of European pictorial conventions, which arrived through Jesuit missions and trade activities during this period.[82]

To convey the high status of their Mughal sitters, portraits of rulers such as the emperor ʿAlamgir I (r. 1658–1707) include details of kingly prosperity: embroidered canopies or robes, jewel-encrusted garments, gems such as pearls and rubies, and plumed turban ornaments (Figure 1.23). Rulers and men of high rank tend to be represented with attitudes of detached reverence, and therefore such compositions, which symbolically remove the represented person from the minutiae of human affairs, make strong statements about temporal and spiritual authority.[83] ʿAlamgir himself became rather detached and austere later in life, shunning music, dance, and painting, so to find several single-page portraits of very high quality dating from his reign might seem odd. As Stuart Cary Welch has suggested, it is possible that painters active in the royal book atelier realized that the Mughal emperor might close their workshops soon after his accession to the throne, so they strove to exceed themselves on his behalf,[84] in effect using pictorial flattery to try to ensure their professional stability.

Moving forward to the modern period, the output of Islamic art is best represented by a substantial corpus of oil paintings on canvas and lacquer paintings on book covers (see Figures 1.14–1.16) executed for the Qajar rulers of Iran over the course of the nineteenth century.[85] Although Qajar oil paintings on canvas are not represented in the collections of Indiana University, there nevertheless exists an exceptional collection of approximately sixty Persian erotic paintings and drawings in the Kinsey Institute (Figure 1.24). Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956) and his team of researchers actively collected paintings, sketches, prints, and objects that contain sexual, erotic, and pornographic contents because they deemed such artifactual data to be indispensable sources of information to complement the scientific or clinical observation of sexual practices worldwide. In fact, after having written his groundbreaking yet controversial studies on *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948)

FIG. 1.22. The maids slice their hands upon seeing Yusuf's beauty, Jami (d. 897/1492), *Yusuf va Zulaykha* (Joseph and Potiphar's Wife), Kabul, text transcribed in 959–960/1552–1553 and paintings probably executed in the early 20th century, 35.9 × 23.2 cm, Allen mss. 11, folio 173v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

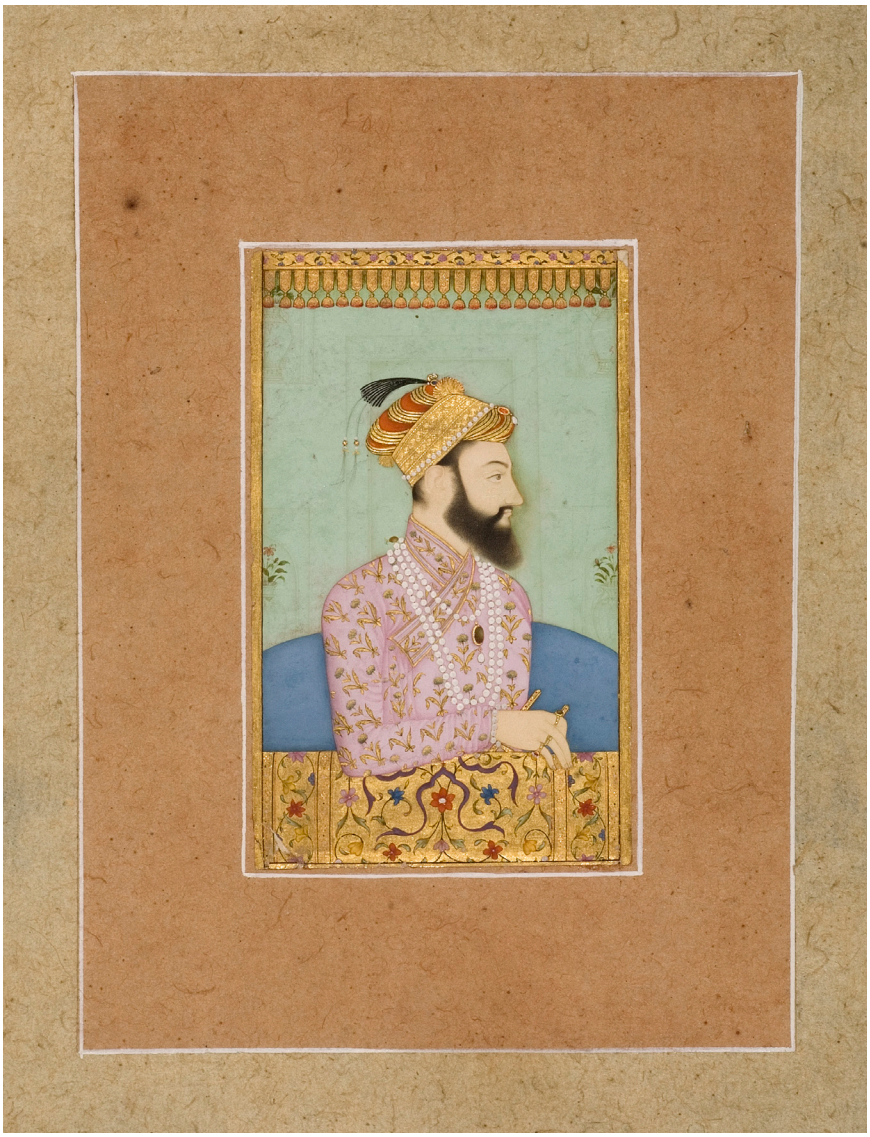


FIG. 1.23. Profile of the Mughal emperor ʿAlamgir I (r. 1658–1707) with illuminated canopy and cushion, Mughal India, ca. 1660–1700, 39.6 × 26 cm, no 83.14. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), Kinsey himself had planned to write a volume on erotic expression in the arts.[86]

The Persian erotic sketches and paintings in the Kinsey Institute, some of which include notes mentioning a 1937 "Kellermann Expedition" to Iran, appear to date from about 1880 to 1930. Although to date the material has not been the subject of close study, a selection of the Kinsey drawings and paintings were used as illustrations in Gabriele Mandel's *Oriental Erotica,* one of very few studies to examine eroticism in Islamic textual and visual sources.[87] The Kinsey materials represent a rather broad range of sexual subjects, including same-sex practices, group sex, prostitution, sexual education, voyeurism, and transvestitism, and they highlight these practices' presumed close relationship to drugs, alcohol, and other psychophysiological stimulants. Perforce, a number of questions emerge concerning this rather exceptional group of Persian erotica: in what ways are the scenes reflective of contemporary sexual practices in Iran? What was or were their purpose(s)? Who was

FIG. 1.24. A homoerotic encounter, Iran, ca. 1900–1930, 22.8 × 19.9 cm, 172Q.A001.3. The Kinsey Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington.

their target audience and toward what market or collectors were they principally geared?[88]

With regards to the extent to which these erotic paintings reflect Persian sexual customs, a few preliminary answers can be offered thanks to Afsaneh Najmabadi's recent study entitled *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity.* In her examination of Qajar sexuality and sexual practices, Najmabadi demonstrates that gender was not necessarily conceived as a strict male-female binary in late Qajar Iran—at least not until heteronormalization became an indexical mark of modernity over the course of the twentieth century.[89] Until this time, male same-sex practices in homosocial

settings (such as coffeehouses and taverns) were quite common, and even as late as 1921 a census of Tehran shows that the practice of adult men keeping younger males as their sexual companions—a practice known as "keeping a male" (*adam-dari*)—was still alive and well.[90]

Iranians began to change their sexual practices during the nineteenth century, due either to internal cultural and social developments or as a reaction to increased contact with Europeans, who deemed *adam-dari* and other related sexual practices "deviant" and thus "sinful." Curiously, it is precisely at this time that many foreign visitors to Iran—such as Richard Burton (1821–1890)—began to write travelogues in which they record Persian sexual practices not only through eyewitness accounts but also based on superannuated clichés.[91] It is perhaps for these reasons that some late Qajar erotica attempt to look "retro-Safavid" in style, since the Safavids were viewed by Europeans as being sexually uninhibited and proud of their alcoholic excesses.[92] In other words, older subjects could touch a foreign collector's antiquarian sensibilities.

It is possible to suggest that Persian erotic works were produced at least to a certain extent with a Euro-American clientele in mind—that is, for a base of customers with presuppositions of Persian sexual practices. The existence of this presumed customer group appears rather synonymous with what Irvin Schick has defined as "ethnopornography," the anthropological mode of western cultural production that describes the sexual practices of Muslims through an essentializing description of what was seen as most aberrant by a western audience[93]—in this case, same-sex practices and group sex, combined with an excessive use of alcohol and drugs.[94] Local artists in Iran appear to have purposefully catered to foreign patrons by producing sexually explicit paintings and drawings in Qajar and Safavid styles and by representing themes that would have most appealed to the overseas visitor, whose hedonistic curiosity about the sexual "other" was matched by his pecuniary power. Although they cannot be taken at face value as documentary evidence of sexual practices in late Qajar Iran, at the very least the Kinsey erotica can be said to have titillated traveling collectors while also reinforcing their largely eroticizing assumptions about sexual practices in Islamic lands.

From illumination to illustration and finally to erotica, the production of visual arts in Islamic traditions, and especially in Persian cultural spheres, is undeniably rich and varied. Lavish ornamentation adds a sacralizing dimension to holy scripture while also providing visual clues to the text's stopping and beginning points. Furthermore, painting heightens the reading experience by activating the reader's visual imagination through a pictorial form embedded within an illustrated manuscript, thereby accentuating the close and frequent connections between texts and images in Islamic artistic production. Paintings also can serve as buttresses for the delineation and promotion of royal authority, especially in a Mughal context, and therefore need not always

be attached to, or defined by, a text template. Finally, paintings such as Persian erotica could be produced with a potential foreign consumer in mind, and therefore market forces could determine some of the more notable developments in Islamic pictorial practices in the modern period.

TRADITION REVIVED: MODERN TURKISH ARTS

From the last decades of the twentieth century up to the present day, Islamic painting and calligraphy have gone through a stunning revival. In Iran, calligraphers are revisiting older forms under the aegis of the Institute of Calligraphers of Iran (*Anjuman-i Khushnivian-i Iran*),[95] while Iranian painters have not only experimented with new forms and techniques but also explored older Persian styles in what Hamid Keshmirshekan has described as a distinctly Iranian "neotraditional" movement.[96] Artists working in the Arab world have been active as well in reviving both calligraphy and painting. As highlighted by the recent exhibition "Word into Art,"[97] artists working in the Middle East today often explore both fields simultaneously, turning textual forms into visual compositions or using the written word as a primary device for pictorial inspiration and communication. These contemporary explorations of the visual arts in the Islamic world demonstrate the ways in which word and form often merge, creating a binary system of visual production that traces its lineage back through many centuries of calligraphic and painterly practices.

Perhaps nowhere in the Islamic world have artists been as active as they have been in contemporary Turkey. Since ca. 1980, various branches of Turkey's government have supported efforts to promote the handicrafts for both export abroad and sale within Turkey. At the same time, well-to-do Turkish collectors, such as the Sabancı and Koç families, have become increasingly interested in and appreciative of traditional Turkish art forms. Also since 1980, Istanbul-based IRCICA (Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture), an international institution dedicated to researching, publishing, and documenting various aspects of Islamic culture, has flourished. Among IRCICA's activities is an annual calligraphy competition, subsequently published as a catalogue.[98] Furthermore, academic institutions have sponsored exhibitions of modern Turkish art, with curators commissioning Turkish works specifically for the occasions; notable among these is Henry Glassie's exhibition "Turkish Traditional Art Today," held in 1993 at the Indiana University Art Museum.[99] The museum's rich collection of neotraditional Turkish art is a direct result of this exhibition and therefore bears testament to the ways in which such collections are created and sustained within today's museological context.

With Turkey's current stability after a long period of relative turbulence (World Wars I and II and military coups from the 1960s to 1980)—combined with the revival of traditional crafts for the purposes of cultural tourism, the emergence of affluent foreign and local collectors, and the institutional sponsorship of the arts via IRCICA and art

museums worldwide—the time certainly has been right for a reemergence of Islamic calligraphy and painting in contemporary Turkey.

Alongside these factors, two other trends have also helped stimulate artistic production in Turkey: a revitalization of what is seen as a distinctly "Islamic" identity and a growing interest in environmental issues and ecological materials, both of which can be seen, essentially, as reactions to globalization and its adverse effects on local identities and products. At the same time as linguistic and cultural homogenization and mass-produced goods have steadily come to dominate the global marketplace, various local practices and groups have emerged to resist what is seen as the damaging uniformity and "streamroller effect" of global culture.[100] In other words, increased regionalization and the revival of "indigenous" cultures have acted as primary impetuses for reinstituting a sense of belonging and identity in an increasingly transnational and closely fused world system.[101]

In Turkey, the formulation of a religious (Islamic) identity in lieu of a transnational one has represented cultural conservatism in the arena of culture and the arts. As noted succinctly by one Turkish writer in connection with the practice of paper marbling, "Culture and art are like trees. Healthier and more vigorous are the roots, better and [more] delicious are the fruits. We should pay attention to our roots so that they will not die."[102] For this particular scholar and practitioner of marbling, arts in general serve as a quest to understand God's natural order—and so, by extension, constitute a religious quest through the vocabulary of form—while simultaneously fortifying cultural roots so that they do not decay and vanish from view. Artistic practice is thus understood as an essential component of the invigoration and fortification of cultural identity in a period otherwise marked by the gradual dissolution of cultural barriers and distinctions.

Likewise, anxiety about mass-produced goods, artificial materials, and synthetic goods has prompted varied attempts to "return to nature." Ecological and environmental movements worldwide are advocating energy conservation, while cultural and social groups are active in promoting organic and locally produced foods. In the field of artistic production, as well, practitioners have embraced natural products, spurring a return to such materials not only as a revival of cultural identity but, just as significantly, as the quintessential mark of modernity. Turkish painters and calligraphers today prefer organic substances, for example, by seeking out natural pigments drawn from the earth (*toprak boyaları*) for use in their paintings and marbled papers.[103] Even their tools and materials—such as reeds for pens, animal hair for painting brushes, and macerated rags for paper—underscore the fact that the natural world is at the forefront of modern Turkish art and its overarching discourse, making Turkish marbling an especially prized and highly sought after commodity today.

The Indiana University Art Museum is home to a strong selection of modern Turkish marbled papers and calligraphic designs (Figure 1.25).

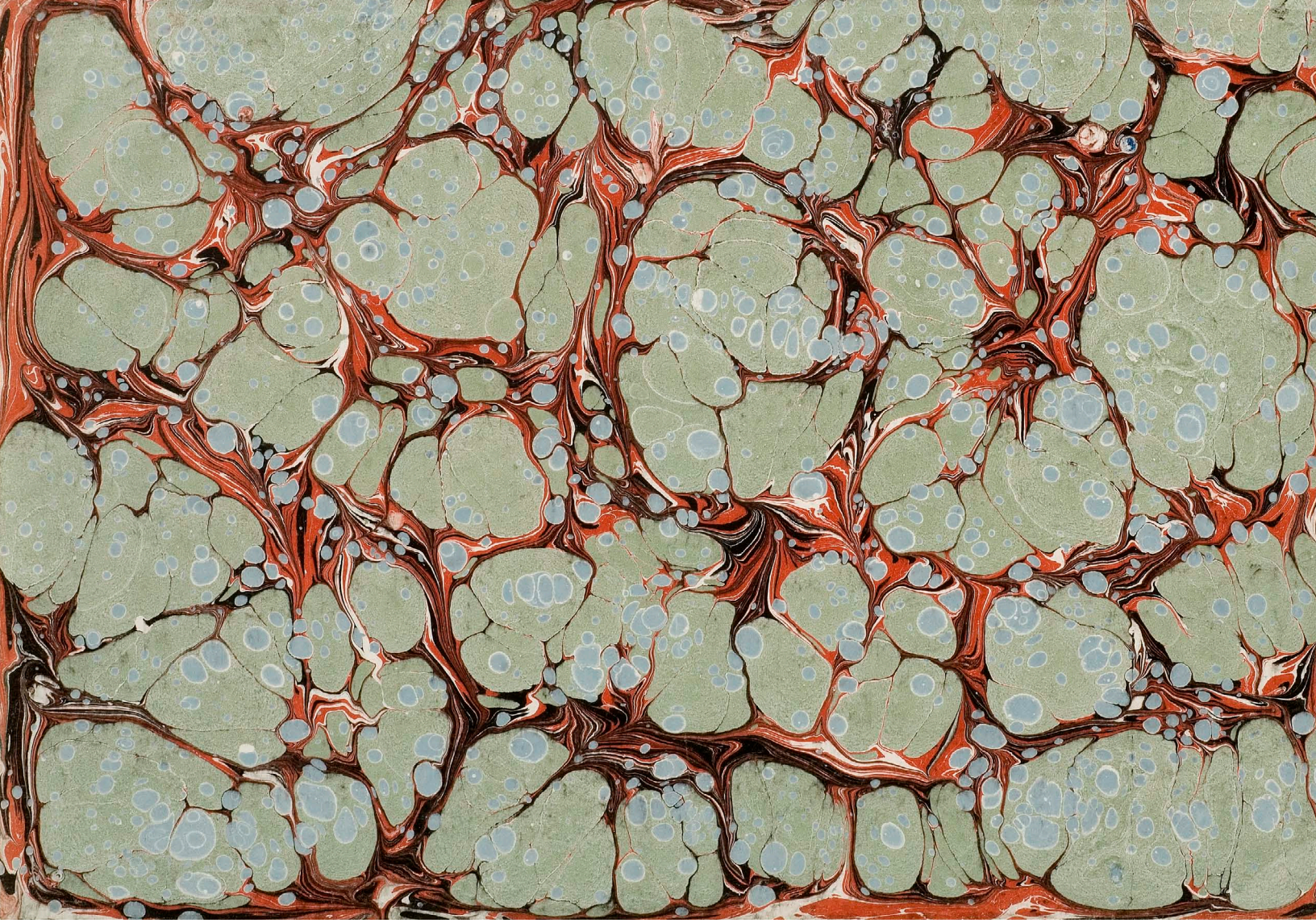


FIG. 1.25. Mustafa Düzgünman, cloud marbled paper (*ebru*), Turkey, ca. 1970–1990, 33.8 × 48.6 cm, no. 95.46. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

Marbling (Turkish *ebru*, from the Arabic *abri*, meaning "cloud-shaped") was particularly popular in Ottoman Turkish spheres from the seventeenth century forward. Marbled papers seem to be the descendants of colored and decorated papers that were first imported into Persian lands through pan-Asian trade over the course of the fifteenth century.[104] As a result, scholars have largely considered marbling an offshoot of dyed and tinted papers that were initially imported from China and then imitated within the Islamic world in an attempt to approximate the decorative value of foreign luxury items while simultaneously reducing the high cost of importation.

The technique of marbling involves preparing a basin filled with a solution in which gum tragacanth—a gum obtained from a leguminous plant that swells in water—is used as an emulsifying, suspending, or thickening agent. Once the solution is ready, the marbler uses a paintbrush, usually made of horsetail hairs bundled together and tied to a stick with wire thread, to sprinkle paint onto the surface of the solution. The darker colors are sprinkled on first, followed by lighter ones. Once a pattern emerges or is created by using a comb or awl (Figure 1.26), a paper is placed onto the surface of the solution and lifted carefully. The suspended pigments impress themselves onto the paper, which is

FIG. 1.26. Alpaslan Babaoğlu, floral marbled paper (*ebru*), Turkey, 1993, 33.1 × 48.7 cm, no. 93.36. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

hung to dry and then used for various purposes, such as decorating the doublures of a book or providing an ornamental frame to a calligraphic composition (see Figures 1.27 and 1.28).[105]

In the late twentieth century, marbling became a pursuit unto itself rather than merely an auxiliary decoration to another work of art. Besides the many factors mentioned above that lead to a veritable renaissance of Turkish arts over the course of the past few decades, it appears that for marbling in particular today's aesthetic sensibility for pure form has been a guiding factor as well. In the aftermath of abstract expressionism and formalism, marbling found a proper home in Turkish pictorial practices as a neotraditional reinterpretation and redeployment of modern abstract painting. With marbling's delimitation of flatness and its engagement with pure form, it is possible to imagine that theoreticians of modern art in support of the aesthetic values of abstract formality might well herald the practice as quintessentially progressive. For these reasons, modern Turkish marbling is a powerful double construct:

FIG. 1.27. Yusuf Sezer, *Ayat al-Nur* (Qur'an 24:35) on marbled paper, Turkey, 1992, 42.1 × 42.1 cm, no. 93.37. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

for many Turkish artists, it is a revival of traditional art forms, and for the acculturated tastes of the western collector it is a highly collectible item that can be interpreted, judged, and thus subsumed into a well-established Euro-American criterial system of connoisseurship.

At the same time as marbling has been revived, so has calligraphy in Arabic script, despite the fact that modern Turkish has used the Latin alphabet since 1928 and therefore only a small percentage of individuals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in Turkey are proficient in reading and writing Arabic script today. The revival of Arabic calligraphic pictures, also known as pictograms or pictorial calligraphies,[106] and calligraphic compositions containing Qur'anic verses is therefore quite intriguing: why do artists produce forms that are largely illegible and incomprehensible to most viewers in Turkey and collectors in Europe and America?

One possible (though not dominant) answer is that these materials were made specifically for a museum setting and therefore were intended to fit within the dominant scholarly narrative about Ottoman Turkish art, which puts precedence on both small- and large-scale calligraphic compositions. For example, the "Verse of Light" (*ayat al-nur,* Qur'an 24:35) written on a marbled paper (Figure 1.27) was composed by Yusuf Sezer (b. 1961), a professional calligrapher who remains active in a calligraphy studio in Istanbul, at the behest of Henry Glassie, curator of the 1993 exhibition "Turkish Traditional Arts Today." When organizing his show, Glassie arranged a virtual *qibla* wall in the museum's galleries and asked Sezer to create a circular and contextual calligraphic composition, as frequently found in mosques, to adorn the wall.[107] Sezer produced a composition blending calligraphy and marbling, and stated that "today, without spoiling the classical style or the special characteristics of Turkish calligraphy, it is possible to strive toward newness with modern creations."[108] For Sezer perhaps the "newness" of his piece consisted in the bold juxtaposition of a bright yellow roundel inscribed in black script on a piece of paper decorated with an equally vibrant, albeit visually disjunctive, mauve-and-white marble of porphyry, a work that de facto revives both practices of calligraphy and marbling while simultaneously inscribing them into a daringly new system of color combinations.

Perhaps more pleasing to the eye in its muted blue and beige tones is Şerif Tuğtekin's pictogram that shapes the *bismillah* into a standing stork (Figure 1.28). The calligraphic stork (*leylek*) is by no means a new one—there are many others that resemble Tuğtekin's composition, including one drawn by Mustafa Rakim Taşmektepli (d. 1767).[109] These pictographic works bear testament to the calligraphic tradition of copying the works of masters for both learning the tools of the trade and paying homage to a master's eminence. They also establish a clear pedigree between modern Turkish artists and the most famous Ottoman Turkish champions of calligraphy, thereby forming an unbroken link that gives weight and legitimacy to the craft as it is revived and practiced today.

Furthermore, such pictograms are reminiscent of those that were produced by the Bektashis, a Sufi order of dervishes well known for its calligraphic pictures, which were placed on walls of Sufi lodges (*tekkes*), tombs of saints, and meeting houses.[110] As a consequence, it is also possible to suggest that these modern calligraphic iterations are intended to have Sufi or mystical overtones, linked as they are both to Bektashi pictorial traditions and to the widespread practice of Islamic letter mysticism.[111] For some practitioners, these art forms may be linked to a kind

FIG. 1.28. Şerif Tuğtekin, the *bismillah* written in the shape of a stork, Turkey, 1993, 28.5 × 22.7 cm, no. 93.35. Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington.

of New Age mysticism that manifests itself, at least on one level, through a revivalist form of the visual arts—namely, the calligraphic pictogram.

From their beginnings to their revival, the traditional Turkish arts of calligraphy and marbling bear witness to the ways in which the book arts in Islamic traditions have continued to be practiced and updated according to the values and expectations of artists and patrons in today's art world. They also form a continuum for more than ten centuries of artistic traditions and offer fresh perspectives on what is—and certainly promises to remain—a living and lively tradition. The many materials in Indiana University's collections help to provide new evidence of such traditions, as well as a small but fascinating peek into the rich written and artistic heritage of Islam.

NOTES

1. Al-Muʿizz b. Badis, "Staff of the Scribes and Implements of the Discerning with a Description of the Line, the Pens, Soot Inks, Liq, Gall Inks, Dyeing, and Details of Bookbinding," trans. Martin Levey, in *Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* new series 52/4 (1962): 13.

2. The Arabic term for pen, *qalam,* is derived from the Latin word *calamus,* itself taken from the Greek *kalamos,* meaning the shaft of a feather or a quill.

3. Qur'an 96:4–5.

4. See Mawlana Sultan ʿAli, "Epistle of Maulana Sultan-ʿAli," in Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters, a Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir Munshi, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers* 3/2, trans. Vladimir Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 106.

5. On Islam as a semantic culture, see Mohamed Zakariya, "Islamic Calligraphy: A Technical Overview," in *Brocade of the Pen: the Art of Islamic Writing,* ed. Carol Garrett Fisher (East Lansing, Mich.: Kresge Art Museum, Michigan State University, 1991), 1.

6. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari/The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari,* ed./trans. Muhammad M. Khan (Medina: Dar Ahya al-Sunna al-Nabawiyya, n.d.), book 34, no. 318.

7. As Creswell notes, the prohibition against images in Islam appears influenced by Jewish practices (especially Talmudic bans on graven images) and did not arise until the late 8th century, perhaps at the Council of Nicaea in 787 (see K. A. C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," in *Ars Islamica* 11–12 [1946]: 159–166).

8. See Mazhar İpşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam: ein Verbot und seine Folgen* (Vienna: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1971).

9. See David Roxburgh, "The Pen of Depiction: Drawings of 15th- and 16th-Century Iran," in *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 2002), 55. The theory of the "two pens" first appears in ʿAbdi Beg Shirazi's *A'in-i Iskandari* (Rules of Alexander), composed in 1543. It is then reiterated in a number of later Safavid prefaces to albums of painting and calligraphy, as well as Qazi Ahmad's *Gulistan-i Hunar* (Rosegarden of Art) of ca. 1596–1597 (see Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters,* 50).

10. Yves Porter, "From the 'Theory of the Two *Qalams,*' to the 'Seven Principles of Painting': Theory, Terminology, and Practice in Persian Classical Painting," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 111–112.

11. Dust Muhammad, "Preface to the Bahram Mirza Album," in *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters,* trans. Wheeler Thackston (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 12. Here, the term for painting (*tasvir*) can also be understood as "portraiture" and thus can refer to figural imagery in particular.

12. For a further discussion of Semitic languages, see Robert Hetzron, ed., *The Semitic Languages* (New York: Routledge, 1997); on the contribution of Nabataean and Syriac to Arabic script, see Yasin Hamid Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 7–8; and for a general overview of the origins of Arabic script, see Sheila Blair's discussion of script standardization in chapter 3 of her *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

13. Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book,* trans. Geoffrey French (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 8.

14. Priscilla Soucek sees these reasons—religious (copying the Qur'an), governmental (writing official decrees), and private (copying of books and correspondence)—as the three main impetuses for the rise of Arabic script. See her "The Arts of Calligraphy," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14–17th Centuries,* ed. Basil Gray (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala, 1979), 7.

15. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book,* 15. Although

the Qur'an was redacted by the mid-7th century, a number of materials (such as coins, inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, Qur'anic manuscripts, etc.) produced after this period reveal variants and suggest that the Qur'anic text was not yet entirely fixed. Despite these slight deviations, it is clear that the Qur'an was canonized rather speedily by the initiative of the state (see Michael Cook, *The Koran: A Very Short Introduction* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000], 123). For a more controversial public discussion of the Qur'an as a historical document, collected and edited in successive states and thus a processual and diachronic text, see Toby Lester, "What Is the Koran?," *Atlantic Monthly* 283/1 (January 1999): 43–57.

16. Parchment is any animal skin (goat, sheep, camel, gazelle, etc.) that has been dehaired by enzymes or limes; vellum is more precisely the skin of a calf. Paper-making techniques were transferred to the Islamic world after the Battle of Talas in 751, at which time Chinese paper-makers were taken as prisoners by Arab forces in Central Asia. Chinese paper was made from the bark of the mulberry tree. However, due to the absence of the tree in Central Asia, linen rags were used as a source of fiber, which was then retted into a pulp, molded, and dried in the sun. Although paper was introduced to the Islamic world in the 8th century, parchment continued to be used (especially for Qur'anic manuscripts) until the 11th century because it was more durable and impervious than paper. From the 12th century onward, parchment was almost entirely displaced by paper, the quality of which improved over the centuries, and which was cheaper and faster to produce. See Helen Loveday, *Islamic Paper: The Study of the Ancient Craft* (London: Don Baker Memorial Fund, 2001), 12–24; Pedersen, *The Arabic Book,* 60–65; Joseph von Karabacek, *Arab Paper,* trans. Don Baker and Suzy Dittmar (London: Archetype Publications, 2001); and Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

17. For a discussion of the Sanaʿa fragments, see Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, "Masterworks of Islamic Book Art: Koranic Calligraphy and Illumination in the Manuscripts Found in the Great Mosque in Sanaa," in *Yemen: 3000 Years of Art and Civilization in Arabia Felix,* ed. Werner Daum (Frankfurt/Main: Umschau-Verlag, 1987), 178–81; and Ursula Dreibholz, *Frühe Koranfragmente aus der Grossen Moschee in Sanaa/Early Quran Fragments from the Great Mosque in Sanaa* (Sanaa, Yemen: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Orient-Abteilung Aussenstelle Sanaa, 2003).

18. The term "Kufic" is derived from the city of Kufa, known for its early school of grammarians and scribes. The term "Kufic" is retained here to refer to early angular style of proportional writing in Arabic (as most recently in Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 104). However, François Déroche prefers to abandon the misleading term "Kufic" and instead classify these scripts from the ʿAbbasid period (750–1250) into a set of formal taxonomies (see his *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD,* ed. Julian Raby, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 1 [Oxford: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992]).

19. Parchment folios consist of a hair and a flesh side. The hair side contains follicles left behind by the removed hair, and thus the ink penetrates into the folio's grooves and remains relatively well preserved. On the other hand, ink wears off easily from the smooth flesh side.

20. Red dots typically represent vowels, while green dots can be used for other purposes, such as prolonging the long "a" (*alif*) or phonetically joining it to the next word (*alif al-wasl*). Green dots also appear to have been used as corrections of red dots, and thus may be linked to the varying Qur'anic reading (*qira'at*) traditions. On the use of green and other colored dots, see Yasin Dutton, "Red Dots, Green Dots, Yellow Dots & Blue: Some Reflections on the Vocalisation of Early Qur'anic Manuscripts—Parts I and II," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 1/1 (1999): 115–140; and 2/1 (2000): 1–24; and Estelle Whelan, "Writing the Word of God: Some Early Qur'an Manuscripts and Their Milieux, Part I," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990): 121.

21. The chapter heading reads: "So asked the questioner, forty-four" (*sa'ala sa'ilun, arbaʿun wa arbaʿa*). The last part of the word "four" (*arbaʿa*) is extracted from the ground of the gold decorative finial.

22. Cook, *The Koran,* 65–66.

23. Whelan, "Writing the Word of God," 123–125. The archaic numeral form in *sura* headings appears as hundreds, tens, and units (rather than the other way around). Whelan interprets this archaic numeral form as a sacred mode of counting and thus essentially ritual in character.

24. No early Kufic Qur'an includes a colophon providing an exact place and date of production. Even the Qur'an of the ʿAbbasid governor Amagur (r. 870–878), donated to the Great Mosque of Damascus in 876 and believed to have been made in that same year, does not record a place of production. See François Déroche, "The Qur'an of Amagur," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–1991), 59–66.

25. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book,* 79.

26. There appear to be many reasons why the cursive scripts were codified by ca. 1000. Three of the possible reasons include the use of the reed pen and paper; the important role of chancery scribes, who preferred cursive scripts in their day-to-day dealings; and possible political motivations (for a review of

these theories, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 173–177). Other possibilities include the growth in private patronage and literacy, as well as the necessity to render texts in a (fully) legible fashion rather than to use them as (defective) visual clues to an oral recitation.

27. Zakariya, "Islamic Calligraphy," 1.

28. Franz Rosenthal, "Abu Haiyan al-Tawhidi on Penmanship," in *Ars Islamica* 13–14 (1948): 9 and 13.

29. For a sample *alif* module, see Gabriele Mandel Khan, *Arabic Script: Styles, Variants, and Calligraphic Adaptation* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2001), 27.

30. Although the rhombic proportional system was devised by Ibn al-Bawwab in the 11th century, the earliest surviving evidence of its use is by the calligrapher al-Ravandi in 1238 (see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 212 and fig. 6.11).

31. On Ottoman and modern Turkish *meşk* practices and the rhombic system, see Muhittin Serin, *Hat San'atımız: Târihçesi, Malzeme ve Âletler, Meşkler* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 1982), 117; M. Şinasi Acar, *Türk Hat Sanatı: Araç, Gereç ve Formlar / Turkish Calligraphy: Materials, Tools and Forms* (Istanbul: Antik Palace, 1999), 204–206; M. Uğur Derman, *Calligraphies ottomanes: collection du Musée Sakıp Sabancı, Université Sabancı, Istanbul* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 126–127 and 154–155; Mary McWilliams and David Roxburgh, *Traces of the Calligrapher: Islamic Calligraphy in Practice, c. 1600–1900* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2007), 76–77; and Nabil Safwat, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries,* ed. Julian Raby, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 5 (Oxford: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1996), 32.

32. For a discussion of ʿAziz Efendi's life and works, see Muhittin Serin, *Hattat Aziz Efendi* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 1999); and Serin, *Hat San'atımız,* 81–83.

33. Sultan ʿAli Mashhadi, "The Epistle of Maulana Sultan ʿAli," in Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters,* 117–118. On the question on *nazari* vs. *qalami* practices, see Maryam Ekhtiar, "Practice Makes Perfect: the Art of Calligraphy Exercises (*Siyah Mashq*) in Iran," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 107–130; and Carl Ernst, "The Spirit of Islamic Calligraphy: Baba Shah Isfahani's *Adab al-Mashq,*" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 279–286.

34. For a general discussion of *ijazas,* see Safwat, *The Art of the Pen,* 40; Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 491–493; Acar, *Türk Hat Sanatı,* 206–208; and François Déroche, "Maîtres et disciples: la transmision de la culture calligraphique dans le monde musulman," *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 75–76 (1996): 81–90. Other Arabic expressions used in calligraphers' signatures include *nammaqahu* (written elegantly by), *raqamahu* (written with correct vocalization by), and *harrasahu* (composed by).

35. In some cases, a diploma may include the calligrapher's chain of teachers reaching all the way back to the Prophet Muhammad himself (see Adam Gacek, "The Diploma of the Egyptian Calligrapher Hasan al-Rushdi," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 [1989]: 44–55). In the Ottoman tradition especially, the calligraphic diploma (*icazetname*) was a well-established practice (on which, see Uğur Derman, "Türk yazı san'atında icazetnameler ve teklid yazılar," *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi* [Ankara: Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973], 716–728). Also see a comparative Ottoman *icazet* dated 1206/1791 in the Library of Congress (no. 1-88-154.129) in Christiane Gruber, *Selections of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2006), http://international.loc.gov/intldl/apochtml/apochome.html, accessed December 27, 2007; as well as a diploma dated 1244/1828 in McWilliams and Roxburgh, *Traces of the Calligrapher,* 75.

36. For the life and works of Mehmed Şefik, see Ali Alparslan, *Osmanlı Hat Sanatı Tarihi,* 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 82; Muhittin Serin, *Hat Sanatı ve Meşhur Hattatlar,* 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Kubbealtı, 2003), 170; and Derman, *Calligraphies ottomanes,* 122.

37. See the same hadith panel in *thuluth* and *naskh* composed by Mehmed Şefik and dated 1295/1878 in Alparslan, *Osmanlı Hat Sanatı Tarihi,* 141; for other comparative *levhas* by Mehmed Şefik, see Serin, *Hat Sanatı ve Meşhur Hattatlar,* 172–173; Acar, *Türk Hat Sanatı,* 132; and Derman, *Calligraphies ottomanes,* 123 (fig. 39).

38. Ursula Dreibholz, "Some Aspects of Early Bookbinding from the Great Mosque of Sana'a, Yemen," in *Scribes et Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient,* ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 15–34. Ninety-five fragments of bindings probably dating ca. 900 were found in Sanaʿa; other early examples of bookbindings have also been found in Kairouan and Cairo.

39. For a helpful diagram of the book cover's components, see Adam Gacek, "Arabic Bookbinding and Terminology as Portrayed by Bakr al-Ishbili in his *Kitab al-Taysir fi Sinaʿat al-Tasfir,*" *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 5 (1990–1991): 108; and Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell, and Guy Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 38.

40. For example, Bakr al-Ishbili composed a treatise on bookbinding in the last quarter of the 12th century, in which he calls the envelope flap an ear (*udhun*), the cover a cheek (*shidq*), the spine a back (*qafan*), the fore-edge a chest (*sadr*), and the upper cover of the book a face (*wajh*). See Gacek, "Arabic Bookbinding and Terminology," 106.

41. On the various kinds of book cover decorative motifs, see Bosch et al., *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking,* 68–71.

42. See the twenty-first *juz'* of the same Qur'an in the Khalili Collection in David James, *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries,* ed. Julian Raby, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 3 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 206–208, cat. no. 49; and in the National Museum of Kuwait in Esin Atil, *Islamic Art and Patronage: Treasures from Kuwait* (New York: Rizzoli, 1990), 232, cat. no. 72. Also see a related volume held in the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Munich, published in *Schätze aus 1001 Nacht: Faszination Morgenland / Trésors des 1001 Nuits: la fascination de l'Orient* (Völklingen: Europäisches Zentrum für Kunst und Industriekultur, 2005), 8. I wish to thank Maria Maurer for bringing this publication to my attention.

43. For comparative Safavid bindings brushed in gold, see Marie-Geneviève Guesdon and Annie Vernay-Nouri, *L'Art du livre arabe: du manuscrit au livre d'artiste* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001), 155, cat. no. 115; Sheila Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art, 1501–1722* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 59, cat. no. 44; and Sheila Canby and Jon Thompson, eds., *The Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576* (Milan: Skira; and London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 164, cat. no. 6.8. One gold-brushed Safavid binding from ca. 1530–1540 also includes inscriptions, which contain verses from the Qur'an rather than a hadith: see Shen Fu, Glenn Lowry, and Ann Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 132, cat. no. 47.

44. For a discussion of Ruth E. Adomeit and her collecting activities, see the chapter by Janet Rauscher, and on the miniature Islamic books in particular, see Heather Coffey's chapter, both in this volume.

45. For a discussion of the sub-Saharan manuscript and its leather satchel, see Kitty Johnson's chapter in this volume.

46. For a discussion of İbrahim Müteferrika and his press based on the complete collection of his printed works in the Lilly Library, see Yasemin Gencer's chapter in this volume.

47. For an overview of Qajar lacquerwork, see Basil Robinson, "Qajar Lacquer," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 131–146.

48. For Timurid lacquer bindings, see Oktay Aslanapa, "The Art of Bookbinding," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia,* ed. Gray, 69, pl. XIII; 72, pl. XVII; and 73, pl. XVIII.

49. Basil Robinson, "Lacquer in the University of Oxford," in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum,* ed. James Allan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), part 2, 45.

50. See the Qajar lacquer binding with floral designs belonging to a manuscript dated 1817 in McWilliams and Roxburgh, *Traces of the Calligrapher,* 40, fig. 25; and other early 19th-century lacquer bindings with floral sprays in *Golestan Palace Library: Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy* (Tehran: Zarrin and Simin Books, 2000), 35 and 46. For other kinds of lacquer objects, see Basil Robinson, "Persian Lacquer in the Bern Historical Museum," *Iran* 8 (1970): 47–50.

51. Robinson, "Qajar Lacquer," 139. For the influences of European styles and techniques in Persian painting during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Sheila Canby, "*Farangi Saz*: The Impact of Europe on Safavid Painting," in *Silk and Stone: The Art of Asia, The Third Hali Annual* (London: Laurence King, 1996), 46–59.

52. Muhammad ʿAli al-Tabrizi b. Muhammad Shafiʿ was a master of revival *naskh* script in the 1850s (see the mention of a piece signed by him and dated 1272/1853 in Mahdi Bayani, *Ahval-u Asar-i Khushnivisan* [Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1358/1939] vol. 3, 790–791). However, he is not related to the famous calligrapher Muhammad Shafiʿ, known as Visal-i Shirazi (d. 1846). Also see the calligraphic piece dated 1234/1818 signed by Muhammad ʿAli al-Tabrizi's father, Muhammad Shafiʿ, in Safwat, *The Art of the Pen,* 221–222, cat. no. 166.

53. Canby, "*Farangi Saz,*" 54.

54. Layla Diba with Maryam Ekhtiar, eds., *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1785–1925* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers in association with the Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1998), 241.

55. Robinson, "Qajar Lacquer," 134; and Robinson, "Lacquer in the University of Oxford," 48 and fig. 4.

56. For comparative 19th-century lacquer book covers with *gul-u bulbul* designs, see McWilliams and Roxburgh, *Traces of the Calligrapher,* 41, fig. 26; and *Golestan Palace Library,* 72.

57. Arthur J. Arberry, *Fifty Poems of Hafiz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 40 (Persian verses, in which the term *murgh* is used in lieu of *bulbul*), and 87 (English rendition).

58. Arberry, *Fifty Poems of Hafiz,* 60 (Persian verses), and 109 (English rendition, slightly adapted).

59. Nancy Purinton and Mark Watters, "A Study of the Materials Used by Medieval Persian Painters," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 30/2 (Autumn 1991): 125–144.

60. For a general overview of illumination, see Oleg Akimushkin and Anatol Ivanov, "The Art of Illumination," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia,* ed. Gray, 35–58; and Richard Ettinghausen, "Manuscript Illumination," in *Survey of Persian Art,* vol. 3, ed. Arthur Upham Pope and Philis Ackerman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938–1939), 1937–1974. For the preparation of red colors in particular, see al-Muʿizz b. Badis, "Staff of the Scribes," 30–31.

61. The term *ʿunwan* has been used in a

variety of ways. According to some scholars, it should be used to identify the entirety of the illumination on the first page of text in a manuscript, while according to other scholars, it is only the illumination of the upper part (in particular, the title itself). The Arabic term *sarlawh* (in Persian, *sarloh;* and in Turkish, *serlevha*) designates a full page of illumination. There is still no scholarly consensus and so the terms *ʿunwan* and *sarlawh* continue to be used interchangeably (Adam Gacek, "ʿUnwan: 2. In Manuscript Production," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. 10, 870–871).

62. Akimushkin and Ivanov, "The Art of Illumination," 46.

63. Muhammad Isa Waley, "Illumination and its Function in Islamic Manuscripts," in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient,* ed. Déroche and Richard, 88–112.

64. For a comparative Qajar Qur'an dated 1281/1864–1865 containing a double-page illuminated opening with the names of all *suras,* see Nabil Safwat, *Golden Pages: Qur'ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 152–153, cat. no. 33.

65. See Guesdon and Vernay-Nouri, *L'Art du livre arabe,* 99–100, cat. nos. 67–68.

66. The inscription reads: "For/by the order of the library of the fortunate ruler, the illustrious *padishah,* epitome of the Timurid family, Sultan Husayn Mirza Bayqara, may God perpetuate his rule" (*bi-rasm-i kitabkhana-i khusraw-i kamgar, padishah-i namdar, khulasa-i dudman-i timur khani, Sultan-Husayn Mirza-yi Bayqara, khallada Allahu mulkahu*).

67. Sultan Husayn's usual honorific titles, Abu'l-Ghazi and Bahadur, do not appear in the dedication. Instead, the unusual expression *khusraw-i kamgar* appears. Furthermore, the expression *timur khani* normally would not have been used for the name of the Timurid dynasty during Sultan Husayn's rule. At this time, the Timurid family was referred to as *sahib-qirani* or *timuri,* not *timur khani.* These odd turns of phrase suggest that the ex libris note is not an original Timurid illumination. I wish to thank Maria Subtelny for discussing these terms with me.

68. For comparative Shaybanid illustrated manuscripts and Shaybanid copies of Herati manuscripts, see M. M. Ashrafi-Aini, "The School of Bukhara to c. 1550," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia,* ed. Gray, 248–272; and Barbara Schmitz, "Islamic Art, III, 4 (vi) (c): Western Central Asia," in *Grove Dictionary of Art,* ed. Jane Turker (New York: Grove, 1996), vol. 16, 342–344.

69. For a "Timuridized" Shaybanid manuscript, see Lisa Golombek, "Early Illustrated Manuscripts of Kashifi's *Akhlaq-i Muhsini,*" *Iranian Studies* 36/4 (December 2003): 615–631; and, on these kinds of "medieval fakes" more generally, see Abolala Soudavar, "The Concepts of '*Al-Aqdamo Asahh,*' and '*Yaqin-e Sabeq,*' and the Problem of Semi-Fakes," *Studia Iranica* 28 (1999): 255–269.

70. Priscilla Soucek, "Nizami on Painters and Painting," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), 9–21.

71. David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran, Supplements to Muqarnas 9* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 8 and 164.

72. See Brittany Payeur's chapter in this volume, which discusses a Sikh illustrated *Shamshir Khani* produced in Lahore ca. 1835.

73. For a synopsis and discussion of the story of Luhrasp, see Olga Davidson, *Poet and Hero in the Persian Book of Kings* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 137–138, and 146–156.

74. After Shah Ismaʿil's victory against the White Sheep (Aq Qoyyunlu) Turkmen and his proclamation as ruler in 1501, a number of manuscripts fell into his hands. The most famous among these is a copy of the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Nizami originally produced for the Timurid prince Babur b. Baysunghur (d. 1457). The manuscript was continued for the Aq Qoyyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan by his son Khalil. At Uzun Hasan's defeat and death in 1478, his brother Yaʿqub Beg (r. 1478–1490) took over the manuscript, had its text completed in 1481, and ordered a dozen paintings added by his court painters. At the moment of Shah Ismaʿil's victory, the manuscript was still unfinished when it passed into his library. For this reason, in 1504–1505 the Safavid monarch commissioned his artists in Tabriz to add eleven paintings to the work. The original manuscript (Topkapı Palace Library, H. 762) includes 317 folios and nineteen paintings. However, three paintings were removed from the original manuscript and are now held in the Keir Collection (formerly in London and now on loan to the Islamic Art Museum, Berlin). For a further discussion of the manuscript and its peregrinations, see Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art,* 17 and fn 16.

75. Many Timurid-period manuscripts arrived in Mughal India: it can be argued that the most important of these is the *Zafarnama* (Book of Conquest) copied by Sultan ʿAli al-Mashhadi in 1485 and containing paintings attributed to Bihzad. For a discussion of this and other manuscripts, as well as Persian artists who migrated India, see Priscilla Soucek, "Persian Artists in Mughal India: Influences and Transformations," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 166–181.

76. Diba with Ekhtiar, *Royal Persian Painting,* 137. Nadir Shah brought back paintings, prints, and jewelry, in particular the famous *Kuh-i Nur* (Mountain of Light) diamond and the peacock throne.

77. The seven signed and dated colophons of Jami's *Haft Awrang* (Allen mss. 11) are: (1) folio 52r (first *daftar* of *Silsilat al-Dhahab*): written by ʿAbd al-Hayy b. ʿAla al-Din

Muhammad al-Katib al-Haravi on 22 Dhu'l-Qa'da, 959 (9 November 1552); (2) folio 74v (second *daftar* of *Silsilat al-Dhahab*): written by 'Abd al-Hayy b. 'Ala al-Din Muhammad al-Katib al-Haravi on Tuesday, 16 Dhu'l-Qa'da, 960 (24 October 1553) in the capital (*dar al-sultanat*) of Kabul; (3) folio 125v (end of *Layla va Majnun*): written by Salamat al-Katib in Dhu'l-Qa'da, 959 (October–November 1552); (4) folio 143r (end of *Salman va Absal*): written by Mahmud b. 'Ali; (5) folio 199r (end of *Yusuf va Zulaykha*): written by Muhammad Javid b. 'Abd al-Vahhab al-Husayni, in the capital (*dar al-sultanat*) of Kabul; (6) folio 226r (end of *Tuhfat al-Ahrar*), dated 7 Ramadan, 959 (27 August 1552); and (7) folio 310r (end of *Suhbat al-Abrar*): written by Muhammad Javid al-Husayni at the beginning of Ramadan, 960 (August 1553) in the city (*bildah*) of Kabul. Thus, the time of the manuscript's execution spans between August 27, 1552, and October 24, 1553, for a total of fourteen months of work. The colophons are non-sequential; however, it seems that both the calligraphers 'Abd al-Hayy and Muhammad Javid transcribed two *daftars* sequentially. For a similarly complex and contemporaneous process of manuscript production in Iran, see the illustrated manuscript of Jami's *Haft Awrang* (Seven Pavilions), executed by five calligraphers over the course of nine years (1556–1565) in three different cities (Mashhad, Qazvin, and Herat). For a detailed analysis of this "mail-order" manuscript assembled in a piecemeal fashion, see Marianna Shreve Simpson, "The Production and Patronage of the *Haft Awrang* by Jami in the Freer Gallery of Art," *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982): 93–119. And for a general discussion of the manuscript and its paintings, see idem with Massumeh Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang*: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

78. Along with a close codicological analysis of the manuscript, its pigments should be scientifically analyzed in the future in order to help determine the exact date of the paintings' execution. The pigment results would help shed new light on the manuscript's history, as the indication of chrome green would help place its paintings to ca. 1900. This analysis helped to date the paintings included in a manuscript of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* (originally dated 1023/1614) to ca. 1900–1925. See New York Public Library, Spencer Pers. Ms. 2 in Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Public Library; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 105–111, cat. no. II.12.

79. Mughal decorative borders in albums (rather than in illustrated manuscripts) are studied in detail in Marie Swietochowski, "Decorative Borders in Mughal Albums," in Stuart Cary Welch et al., *The Emperor's Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 45–78. For a Mughal border comparable to the Lilly Jami, see the Shah Akbar–period manuscript copy of Sa'di's *Gulistan* of 1581 reproduced in Jeremiah Losty, "The 'Bute Hafiz' and the Development of Border Decoration in the Manuscript Studio of the Mughals," *Burlington Magazine* 127/993 (December 1985): 862, fig. 15.

80. Humayun stayed at the court of Shah Tahmasp in 1544. Aided by the Safavids, he conquered Qandahar in 1545 and then moved on to Kabul. While at Shah Tahmasp's court, Humayun was inspired by the work of Safavid calligraphers and artists. Thankfully for him and the future course of Indian painting, Shah Tahmasp began to reject the arts and so the Mughal ruler was able to take artists with him back to Kabul and summon others to join him there later. Famous artists who joined Humayun in India include Mir Sayyid 'Ali and 'Abd al-Samad, who both arrived in Kabul in 1549 (see in particular Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* [New York: Braziller, 1978], 14–15; Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art,* 54; and Jeremiah Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* [London: British Library, 1982], 75).

81. Massumeh Farhad, "Safavid Single Page Painting, 1629–1666," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987, 265–267.

82. See Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of Mughal Emperors," in *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries,* ed. Christian Troll (New Delhi: Vikas Publ. House, 1982), 14–29.

83. Rochelle Kessler, "In the Company of the Enlightened: Portraits of Mughal Rulers and Holy Men," in *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums, 2002), 21, 28.

84. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting,* 112, pl. 37 (a lavish single-page painting representing the Darbar of 'Alamgir); also see 114, pl. 38 ('Alamgir hunting).

85. The most thorough discussion of Qajar oil paintings is included in Diba with Ekhtiar, *Royal Persian Paintings.* Other materials of the Qajar period are included in a related volume of articles published in *Iranian Studies* 34/1–4 (2001).

86. Jennifer Pearson Yamashiro, "Collecting Sex," in *Peek: Photographs from the Kinsey Institute* (Santa Fe: Arena Editions, 2000), 161–181.

87. See Gabriele Mandel, *Oriental Erotica,* trans. Evelyn Rossiter (Ware, England: Omega Books, 1983). For a further discussion of erotica, although with almost no discussion of images proper, also see Robert Surieu, *Sarv-é Naz: An Essay on Love and the Representation of Erotic Themes in Ancient Iran,* trans. James Hogarth (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1967). Although he does not discuss Qajar erotica at great length, Willem Floor recognizes it as a distinct genre of Qajar artistic production in his "Art (*Naqqashi*) and Artists (*Naqqashan*) in Qajar Persia," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 138.

88. The question about which market Qajar pornography was guided to is raised (but not answered) in Robinson, "Qajar Lacquer," 143. On the other hand, Mandel hypothesizes that these works were produced as souvenirs for western tourists who were avid collectors of such subjects (Mandel, *Oriental Erotica,* 68).

89. Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 3.

90. Ibid., 24.

91. For Burton's report of sexual practices, especially Iranian men touching each other in a practice known as *alish-takish,* or mutual touching, see Stephen Murray, "Some Nineteenth-Century Reports of Islamic Homosexualities," in *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature,* ed. Murray and Will Roscoe (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 214. In their travel narratives, both Tancoigne and Ouseley state that "indecent" subjects were painted and offered for sale in Iran (cited in Floor, "Art (*Naqqashi*) and Artists (*Naqqashan*) in Qajar Persia," 138; and Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Gendered Transformations: Beauty, Love, and Sexuality in Qajar Iran," *Iranian Studies* 34/1–4 [2001]: 98).

92. On Safavid sexuality, see Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards,* 11; on Safavid alcoholic practices, see Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 183; and for Safavid erotic sketches, see Esin Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 59, cat. no. 22 (a tinted sketch of two youths embracing outdoors, mid-17th century), and 80, cat. no. 55 (a sketch of an old man making an indecent and highly suggestive gesture to a youth, also mid-17th century).

93. Irvin Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alterist Discourse* (London: Verso, 1999), 77–104.

94. In the 19th century, the use of alcohol rose in Iran, in part due to contact with Europeans and the importation of liquor (Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure,* 200). Around 1860, cigarette smoking became popular alongside the water-pipe (*qalyan*), a sine qua non of social interaction in Qajar Iran (ibid., 225, 230).

95. For a discussion of the revival of calligraphy and the handicrafts in Iran, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 592.

96. Hamid Keshmirshekan, "Discourses on Postrevolutionary Iranian Art: Neotraditionalism during the 1990s," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 132–157; and idem, "Contemporary Iranian Art: The Emergence of New Artistic Discourses," *Iranian Studies* 40/3 (June 2007): 335–366.

97. See the show's catalogue: Venetia Porter and Saeb Eigner, *Word into Art: Artists of the Modern Middle East* (London: British Museum Press, 2006).

98. For further information about IRCICA, see its website: http://www.ircica.org/.

99. Henry Glassie, *Turkish Traditional Art Today* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

100. For a discussion of various cultural struggles against the uniformity of globalization, see Immanuel Wallerstein, "The National and the Universal: Can There Be Such a Thing as World Culture?" in *Culture, Globalization, and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity,* ed. Anthony D. King, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 91–105. For globalization's "steamroller effect," see Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Globalization and Culture: Three Paradigms," in his *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 41.

101. Sheila Croucher, *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 35.

102. Hikmet Barutçugil, "Ebru: Art of Marbling," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization,* ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), vol. 4, 706.

103. Glassie, *Turkish Traditional Art Today,* 122.

104. For a discussion of Islamic decorated and marbled papers, see Sheila Blair, "Color and Gold: The Decorated Papers Used in Manuscripts in Later Islamic Times," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 24–36; and Loveday, *Islamic Paper,* 50–52.

105. On marbling techniques and tools, see Fuat Başar and Yavuz Tiryaki, *Turkish Art of Marbling* (Istanbul: Sinan Gözen, 2000); Nedim Sönmez, *Ebru: l'art du papier marbré turc* (Hückelhoven, Germany: Anadolu Verlag, 2001); and Yves Porter, "*Kâqaz-e abri,* notes sur la technique de la marbrure," *Studia Iranica* 17/2 (1988): 207–223.

106. Pictograms are called in Turkish *istifli,* or words piled into variously shaped compositions (Glassie, *Turkish Traditional Art Today,* 131). The most prominent shapes include the leaf, mosque, turban, dervish, lion, and stork.

107. Glassie, *Turkish Traditional Art Today,* 131–133.

108. Ibid., 135.

109. Mandel Khan, *Arabic Script,* 154; and Şevket Rado, *Türk Hattatları, XV. Yüzyildan Günümüze Kadar Gelmiş Ünlü Hattatların Hayatları ve Yazılarından Örnekler* (Istanbul: Yayın Matbaacılık Ticaret, 1983), 199.

110. For other pictograms primarily made within Bektashi circles, see Frederick DeJong, "Pictorial Art of the Bektashi Order," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 229.

111. On letter mysticism as it relates to pictograms in the Ottoman period, see Annemarie Schimmel, "Calligraphy and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey," in *The Dervish Lodge,* ed. Lifchez, 242–252.


The Little
COOKIE
BOOK
Butterscotch
Brownies
ABC

Ruth E. Adomeit: An Ambassador for Miniature Books

2

JANET RAUSCHER

Indiana University's Lilly Library is the repository of the Ruth E. Adomeit Collection of Miniature Books, which comprises thousands of Lilliputian volumes from a wide range of geographic and temporal worlds. Adomeit (1910–1996)—a native and lifelong resident of Cleveland, Ohio—not only amassed one of the world's largest collections of miniature books, she was a significant contributor to the field during a critical period of its development and advancement. An active member of the Miniature Book Society, a lecturer, and an author, Adomeit was a tireless promoter of miniature books and a leading scholar of their history and provenance.

This chapter outlines Adomeit's contributions to the realm of miniature books and explores her activities within the context of collecting as a personal avocation. My research draws on the Adomeit archives, also housed at the Lilly Library, to construct Adomeit's professional biography as an aspect of her personal life. Adomeit's publications, lecture notes, and correspondence illuminate her dedication to the world of miniature books and provide the opportunity to examine an influential collector at a rare level of detail. A working woman, not a society belle, and a self-made scholar, not a hobbyist, Adomeit is a rather unusual example among mid-twentieth-century American collectors; her story both contributes to a context for the fine miniature Islamic books in the Lilly's collection[1] and illuminates the activities of one of Indiana University's most distinctive benefactors.

"AN INCURABLE DISEASE"

Adomeit termed collecting "an incurable disease" and claimed to have contracted the condition as a pre-teen, in a manner that seems nearly random: browsing a New England antique shop, she found a thin, four-inch-high chapbook from 1840 called *Father Shall Never Whip Me Again*.[2] The same summer, she happened upon a wooden book about one inch high and later recalled, "I often wished it were a real book, but of course I knew no one could make a book that small. How wrong I was!"[3] These early acquisitions seem to have sparked a curiosity in young Adomeit; the next year, she encountered an 1848 copy of *The Little Pilgrim's Progress,* just three inches high.

In 1929, Adomeit entered a more concentrated phase of collecting, spurred by her father's gift of a "real" miniature: a copy of *Addresses of Abraham Lincoln* that was less than one inch tall. Adomeit recalled, "when he gave it to me I was overjoyed for it was even smaller than [*The Little Pilgrim's Progress*]." Sometime later, Adomeit's father presented her with another volume from the set: Coolidge's autobiography. A decade

FIG. 2.1. Ruth E. Adomeit among her miniature books. In her hands are copies of *Little Cookie Book*. Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

later, Adomeit learned of a third book in the series—*Washington, His Farewell Address*—and obtained a copy.[4] Soon after, Cleveland book collector Otto Ege, whom Adomeit met while enrolled in a calligraphy class under his instruction, saw Adomeit's minute volumes and presented her with an English sales catalog that included a listing for a collection of fifteen miniature books. Adomeit ordered these works, and her collection began to grow.[5] By the 1990s, Adomeit believed her collection to rank as the second largest in the world,[6] an impressive feat for any individual, particularly for a woman from her milieu. Her vast miniature book collection competed for space in her Cleveland home with Mexican folk art, pre-Columbian art, Russian icons, antique paper cuts, early children's books, and antique butter and cookie molds (Figure 2.1).

Adomeit's collections formed but one facet of what seems to have been a rich and full life. In addition to her professional work as a fourth-grade teacher and a secretary for the Cleveland Institute of Art, she was involved with natural conservation efforts[7] and studied history from various perspectives. She also served on the governing board of the Clarke Historical Library (Michigan) for many years and in 1983 was elected to the American Antiquarian Society.[8] Adomeit never married, and her many pursuits seem to have been financed mostly through her (presumably) modest salaries—a somewhat unusual scenario for a mid-twentieth-century collector prominent within her primary genre of acquisition. Perhaps Adomeit's household status as single-income prompted her to comment that collecting miniature books is "a wonderful sport on a slim budget."[9] Adomeit may have been struck by miniature books as a pre-teen—and bitten by the bug of collecting as a calling—but her focus on miniature books rather than more costly collectibles seems to have had a practical dimension as well as an emotional source.

Twice inflicted, Adomeit suffered from the incurability both of collecting and of wanderlust, a desire to travel the world and take pieces of it home with her. Adomeit's travel experiences were as broad as her interests. She journeyed to Mexico several times and made domestic and international trips with the Society of Architectural Historians. She also spent time visiting friends and family in Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere in Europe. Exhibiting an independent streak, in 1953 Adomeit traveled alone as one of four passengers on a freighter bound for the Middle East, where she visited Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Israel, and Turkey before heading to Europe.

The freighter's first stop seems to have been Algeria, a place that captivated Adomeit. Her long letters to her parents describe the places she saw and particularly the clothing worn by those around her. Revealing an Orientalist bent not unusual for her time, Adomeit exclaimed, "Arabs are exactly like something out of Hollywood movies. You just can't believe it—yellow, red, or white curtains, gay colored clothes, strange pantaloons . . . The women all covered but one eye . . . very graceful and striking."[10] Adomeit probably had in mind Hollywood portrayals of eastern lands and cultures (from North Africa and the Middle East

to Southeast Asia) that had become conventional early in twentieth-century cinematography; such depictions have been described as "titillating viewers with the thrills of unbridled passion, miscegenation, and wild adventure in a raw and natural setting."[11] Through film, Adomeit would have gazed upon generalized, exoticized treatments of her destinations, and it seems that the reality—replete with new geography and sights—did not disappoint her.

Although Adomeit loved the Middle East, her experiences there did not quite compare to what she saw in Mexico, which seems to have been her favorite destination. For instance, she described her visit to the pyramids at Giza: "It was wonderful, but really these pyramids are much less impressive than the Mexican."[12] Nevertheless, Adomeit wrote enthusiastically about her time overseas, particularly in Syria and Turkey. She ended her trip in Europe, which seems to have been a disappointment after her time farther east. From Greece she wrote, "I can't say I like Greece—a great comedown after Asia—too civilized, uninteresting, full of tourists, no costumes, just like travel in the U.S.A."[13] Italy was a similar disappointment, seeming "so civilized that it is hard to get used to."[14]

As she collected experiences in the world, Adomeit sought to share them with others. Among her travel documents are long lists of family and friends for whom she purchased gifts and to whom she mailed cards. Similarly, Adomeit's collection of miniature books had an undeniable social dimension. She believed that the miniature tomes could cut across social divisions and instigate conversation:

> Even people who are not interested in books enjoy looking at the diminutive volumes and all collectors find some which interest them particularly, because miniature books cover a multitude of subjects, are in all languages, in all varieties of bindings, and have been made from the earliest times up through all the centuries and are still being produced today.[15]

Adomeit seemed to delight in the fact that—because miniature books cover such a range of subject matter—she could discuss an aspect of her collection with anyone she met. In her writings and lectures, Adomeit highlighted the diversity of Lilliputian manuscripts, citing a range of subject matter from Cicero to erotic Japanese poetry. She enjoyed anecdotes and once wrote of miniature books used in China as cheat sheets: university examinations covered famous essays, and popular with students were miniature copies of the texts that could be slipped up their sleeves. Adomeit also revealed that, "the only book taken to the moon by our astronauts was a . . . miniature book about Goddard, the father of rocketry."[16]

As a woman interested in countless subjects and places, Adomeit could incorporate many interests into her miniature book collection and enjoy sharing her material with others. Her unwavering commitment to this range of endeavors—the collection and promotion of miniature books; traveling; maintaining social connections with her many friends

and contacts—reveals an intense personality, one that seems almost compulsive. That Adomeit committed herself to the world of miniature books came to benefit not only the many collectors who fell under her tutelage but also, through Adomeit's generosity, the students and scholars of Indiana University.

"A VERITABLE LIBRARY OF LIBRARIES"

As her collection expanded, Adomeit began to study miniature books more systematically, acquainting herself with the standards of the field and carefully considering the scope and direction of her own collection. More committed to defined standards, perhaps, than many collectors in her situation—enjoying collecting as a hobby, but not a vocation—Adomeit developed a rather firm opinion on the dimensions that define a true miniature book. On a study visit to the Library of Congress, Adomeit inquired with the head of the rare books division about the maximum size used to define a miniature book. She recalled his response:

> Somewhat embarrassed by the question [he] said he did not know, but would phone the cataloger and inquire. After putting down the phone he turned to me and said, "They use the rule of thumb." "And what is that?" I asked. More embarrassed he picked up the phone and again spoke to the cataloging department. When he put down the phone this time he had a clear explanation, or did he?? Choose a hand, hold the thumb of that hand at a right angle to the index finger of the same hand. Then set the book to be measured into that angle. If the spine does not project, the book is a miniature. Have you any questions? I did. Should the spine lie along the thumb or along the index finger? Actually you may take your choice (the cataloging department did) and the fact that your thumb, my thumb, and the thumb of the cataloger at the Library of Congress are all of different lengths, not to mention the lengths of our index fingers, makes the size of a miniature book as defined by the Library of Congress as variable as the size of a human being—it may be a giant or dwarf.[17]

Adomeit seems to have told the story of her visit to the Library of Congress in a humorous manner, expressing surprise at the lack of precision in cataloging standards at the national library,[18] but her recollection reveals perhaps as much about the state of the miniature book field as about the Library of Congress standards. Adomeit was a relatively early collector of miniature books, becoming involved as the field was evolving into a professional one and defining its standards.

Despite her belief that the definition of a miniature book should be universal and consistent, Adomeit made exceptions to her standard in building her collection. As Lilly cataloguer Stephen Cape remarks, "To a purist the best definition of a miniature book was 2½ inches; however, she and everyone else in the practical terms of collecting broke the rule as it seemed to make sense."[19] Indeed, the maximum size at which a book could be considered miniature seems to have varied by collector, generally between two and four inches,[20] according to the individual's tastes and interests. Concerning her own collection, Adomeit recorded her standard of 2½ inches as established in part because, "it would include

FIG. 2.2. Adomeit setting up her 1972 exhibition at the Cleveland Public Library. Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Thumb Bibles and many other important books while eliminating many uninteresting 19th-century books."[21] As dedicated as Adomeit was to the idea of standardized collecting, her own collection's parameters (like those of her peers) were established according to her own interests in addition to evolving practices among those who shared her avocation.

Adomeit's vast collection was shared with the general public through several exhibitions, including two held at the Cleveland Public Library in 1972 and 1989 (Figure 2.2). The 1989 exhibition featured more than 3,900 books and was, at the time, the largest display of miniature books held anywhere in the world.[22] It seems to have been a success: the exhibition was extended past its planned closing date due to popular demand.[23] In 1992, Adomeit lent material to the Lilly Library's exhibition of children's books published by William Darton and his sons in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Her loan to the Lilly Library was only one aspect of a relationship with Indiana University that began in June of 1990, when Lilly librarian William Cagle wrote to Adomeit, having heard from rare book dealer

Justin Schiller that Adomeit was considering the Lilly as the future home of her collection of miniature books.[24] Adomeit's friend Elisabeth Ball had gifted her collection of historical children's books to the Lilly, and in doing so, it seems, given Adomeit the idea of following suit.[25] Before she met Cagle or visited the Lilly, Adomeit had committed her collection to Indiana University.[26]

Adomeit and Cagle wrote to each other for several years and exchanged visits. After the first of these, an impressed Cagle called Adomeit's book room "a veritable library of libraries."[27] Adomeit began giving the Lilly selected books from her collection in 1991 so that the library could catalog the books more gradually than if the entire collection was received at once, and asked for a list of the Lilly's miniature book holdings so that she might avoid purchasing books that would become duplicate copies in the Lilly's holdings.[28] Adomeit also gave a selection of juvenile books and games to the Lilly and endowed her collection, so that it could continue to grow.[29] The Lilly Library celebrated Adomeit's gift with an exhibition of nine hundred examples in 2001. Adomeit's gift thus made her miniature book collection, comprising sixteen thousand items, by any standard one of the largest in the world.[30]

"FINDING A RARITY IS ALWAYS A HIGH SPOT OF ONE'S LIFE"

In addition to sharing her collection through public exhibitions, Adomeit shared her knowledge of miniature books and examples from her vast collection in public talks. Her papers include preparatory notes for some of the lectures that she delivered on miniature books and on her collection. She spoke, for example, at garden clubs, at the Shaker Historical Society (1980), at a group she called the College Club (1981), and at the Cleveland Public Library (1989). Adomeit seems to have used a formula for developing such presentations as well as general written work. Again and again, she provided her audience with answers to questions that seem to have been posed to her repeatedly. These included, what is a miniature book? How many do you have? Where do you find them? What do they cost? How many collectors are there? Why collect miniature books? Aren't small books made mostly for children? Why did you start collecting miniature books? What is the smallest book in the world?

Having addressed the questions she presumed her audience might have, Adomeit continued, describing specific books and telling stories that she hoped would be of interest to her addressees. When Adomeit spoke at garden clubs, she culled from her collection miniature books on flowers and plants, those with flowers in their titles, and those dealing with botanical matter, and brought examples to share with her audiences.[31] When presenting in front of a more generalized audience, she described more fully the history of miniature texts, starting with Assyro-Babylonian clay tablets drawn from her own collection.

Sprinkling the history of miniature books with the anecdotes she loved, she described some of the diminutive tomes from the ancient

world, telling her audiences that, "Pliny . . . quoted from one of the lost works of Cicero a statement that the *Iliad* of Homer had been written on a piece of parchment so small as to be enclosed in a nutshell. There is also the record of a Spartan artist who wrote a poem in letters of gold enclosed in the rind of a grain of corn—a surprising occupation for the supposedly uncultured and matter-of-fact Spartans."[32] She described miniature manuscripts from the Middle Ages and particularly interesting examples in the British Museum, including a famous miniature belonging to Queen Elizabeth and one that was Anne Boleyn's, "fitted with a ring so [that] it could be worn at the waist—a girdle book. This is a book of English psalms and contains a portrait of Henry the 8th. The story is that Ann [*sic*] Boleyn carried it with her to the scaffold, presenting it to one of her ladies-in-waiting just before she was beheaded."[33] Such stories must have helped Adomeit's material come alive for the audience, at the same time as they legitimized the serious collecting of miniscule volumes to groups unfamiliar with their historical significance.

Adomeit also regaled her audiences with adventures from her years of collecting. Adomeit enjoyed the acquisition aspect of collecting so much that she maintained that "finding a rarity is always a high spot of one's life." By way of example, she recalled a visit to Providence, Rhode Island, where she visited a book dealer and asked him for miniature books. As the dealer showed her a file drawer, he said that he currently had nothing important. Sorting through a group of unremarkable books, Adomeit found *Fruits of Philosophy,* an extremely rare book on the subject of birth control that was printed in 1832. So rare was the book that Adomeit maintained that she had seen only three copies—all in poor condition—during forty years of collecting. Such exciting acquisitions not only rewarded Adomeit as a serious collector, they became the basis for interesting conversations and for education on all manner of topics.[34]

In her lectures, Adomeit's skills as an elementary school teacher were put to good use, as she presented her students with useful information in a lively, memorable manner. As she did in other aspects of her life, in these presentations Adomeit used miniature books as a means toward social engagement, entertaining her audiences with stories culled from years of seeking miniature books. Adomeit's social charms and engaging manner as a writer and lecturer perhaps belie the gravity with which she approached her role as a collector and scholar of—as well as ambassador for—miniature books.

"THE GRANDE DAME OF AMERICAN MINIATURE BOOKDOM"

Adomeit not only used miniature books as a means of engaging local groups, she helped bring together miniature book collectors and enthusiasts into a national community through her involvement in founding a small publication called the *Miniature Book Collector,* whose inaugural issue appeared in April 1960.[35] The publication's issues featured short,

themed articles by Adomeit and others, as well as clippings from other publications and checklists of miniature books from various publishers or produced in specific locations or time periods. The first issue, for example, comprised a list of foreign languages represented by miniature books in Adomeit's collection—with a request that readers send Adomeit their own such lists—as well as articles on Dutch miniature books; on a series of miniature books published in Buffalo, New York; and on the definition of a miniature book.

This short-lived publication, which ended in 1962, sought to provide information that would be useful to the novice hobbyist and the seasoned collector alike, and, as editor, Adomeit encouraged readers to contribute and share texts.[36] She later recalled the impact of the *Miniature Book Collector* on the miniature book world: "it revived the dormant interest in miniature books and best of all I was able to encourage a number of printers with private presses to do mini-books so that within 5 years over 80 new miniature books had been published."[37] For example, Adomeit's preparatory lecture notes recall that she wrote in an early edition of the *Miniature Book Collector* about a miniature copy of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address printed by William Cheney—and suggested that if the printer was still alive perhaps the miniature could be reprinted for new collectors. A book dealer living near Cheney, Glen Dawson, read Adomeit's request and contacted the printer—beginning what Adomeit called the "avalanche of mini books published in California."[38]

By 1983, Adomeit would be instrumental in founding the Miniature Book Society, an international organization that still fosters the study and trade of miniature books,[39] and a group with which Adomeit would remain involved throughout the rest of her life. Indeed, in 1986 the Miniature Book Society presented Adomeit (who in that year had co-organized the group's annual meeting) with a plaque honoring her as the "Grande Dame of American Miniature Bookdom."[40] Evron Collins, who wrote a biography of Adomeit—in miniature book format, naturally—for the society in 2003, states that Adomeit was particularly eager to broaden an early, informal meeting of collectors to include other non-specialist members. During her term on the society's board of governors (1983–1987), she also attempted to keep the organization's proceedings somewhat unstructured.[41] Perhaps Adomeit felt that too much formality would dampen the friendly nature of the group and discourage the beginning collectors whom she so often took under her wing. Collins recalled Adomeit's habit of purchasing entire collections, resulting in the acquisition of duplicate copies within her library, which she sold to other (often new) collectors at "reasonable or ridiculous prices" or gave as outright gifts.[42] Of course, as Adomeit was neither a book dealer nor an established collector expanding her activity to include a new sub-genre, she might have been particularly interested in maintaining the active participation of "non-professional" enthusiasts in the group's proceedings.

In 1986 and 1987, Adomeit served as editor for the *Miniature Book Society Newsletter,* which was similar to the *Miniature Book Collector.* The newsletter published a letter from the editor; information about the group's annual meeting (called the Grand Conclave); reproductions of articles published elsewhere; auction lists; news; and information to assist members in finding interesting books for sale. Many of Adomeit's writings in both newsletters strike a balance between providing readers with practical and historical information about miniature books and giving them a light, entertaining read.

An undated manuscript in the Lilly Library's collection of Adomeit's papers is typical of her writings. This paper, entitled "Christmas Tree Ornaments," introduces the minibibliophile to the production of holiday decorations in the form of miniature books. "If you are a mini-book fan then the ornaments for you to use are miniature books," Adomeit suggests. Although she notes that many miniature book ornaments do not meet her exacting size standards for proper miniature books, she suggests that "your admiring friends will not be so size conscious as you and I are" and continues, over four typewritten pages, to present a basic description—including the book's title, publisher, place of publication, date, dimensions, condition, page count, and number of illustrations—of each miniature book ornament she had encountered as a connoisseur of miniature books.[43]

Although the paper is undated, we might assume that it was meant for publication in the *Miniature Book Collector* or the *Miniature Book Society Newsletter.* By the time of the paper's writing, Adomeit was versed enough in the practices of collecting and connoisseurship to present each example's specifications in an organized fashion. In sum, the paper is scholarly enough to provide the serious collector with solid data on a genre but retains a light-hearted tone appropriate to the hobbyist. In such writings, Adomeit used her own collection, as well as the vast array of miniature books that she had encountered during many years of collecting, as the foundation of her research. Her writings in miniature book newsletters thus represent the beginnings of Adomeit's scholarly literature on the topic.

"A LEADING SCHOLAR IN THE FIELD"

Adomeit's other publishing ventures resulted in books. In 1960, Adomeit compiled thirty-one of her favorite cookie recipes into a miniature volume, *Little Cookie Book,* which she sold and gave away as a gift. The publishing arrangement was made with old friends: the book was printed by Frank Teagle, operating the imprint Lilliputter Press in Woodstock, Vermont.[44] In letters between the two concerning the business aspects of the book, Adomeit wittily called herself "Polly Patter" and Teagle "Peter Putter."[45]

Not all of Adomeit's publications were so light in tone. In 1980, Adomeit published a checklist of thumb Bibles. Adomeit's collection is particularly strong in this genre, which was one of her main collecting

interests. Thumb Bibles are not miniature Bibles, but condensed versions of one or both testaments, in prose, verse, or picture format. For example, in one of Adomeit's volumes, the book of Genesis is condensed to: "Jehovah here of Nothing, all things makes, / And Man, the chief of all, his God forsakes."[46] As Adomeit explains in her introduction to the checklist, thumb Bibles—the earliest of which was published in London in 1601—are created for children, on the basis that the Bible is too long and too difficult for children to read and comprehend.

Garland Publishing first approached Adomeit about the book (which became volume 127 in their Garland Reference Library of the Humanities) in 1977, but illness prevented her from devoting herself to the venture full-time until 1979. That year, she made several study trips to examine relevant volumes firsthand.[47] The resulting work, *Three Centuries of Thumb Bibles: A Checklist,* is an admirable piece of scholarship. Adomeit's introduction surveys the history of thumb Bibles and introduces a lengthy checklist. Each of the 296 entries details—and, in most cases, illustrates—a thumb Bible's table of contents; the number of illustrations it contains; the location of plates not included in the volume's pagination; the work's binding; differences among variant editions; and locations of copies. Adomeit also included a selected bibliography of the most important sources on thumb Bibles.

Adomeit's project represents countless hours of tedious work, and her organization of the material demonstrates her understanding of the ways in which the information would be used. She seems to have wanted to make a serious contribution to her field and, according to the reviews her book garnered, she achieved her goal. Los Angeles book dealer Glen Dawson, in a review for *Bibliographical Society of America,* commented, "Miss Adomeit modestly calls her book a checklist,[48] but it is actually a bibliography. . . . The forty years spent in study and aggressive search are a testimony to the unique combination of knowledge and enthusiasm Ruth Adomeit brought to her task. No one else was so well equipped and so dedicated."[49] Another reviewer called the book "a fascinating, serious reference book for collectors and students of antique miniature books . . . by a leading scholar in the field and the owner of one of the world's great collections of Thumb Bibles."[50] Book dealer Anne C. Bromer, reviewing for *American Book Collector,* called Adomeit's work the "most important bibliography of miniature books to be issued in nearly two decades and the only reference to treat an entire area of the field."[51] The accolades from Dawson and Bromer must have been particularly meaningful to Adomeit, as Glen Dawson and Anne Bromer were longstanding associates.[52] In a letter to Dawson, Adomeit expressed her delight that his review would appear in such a prestigious publication: "I will really feel important if I can get my book reviewed there!"[53]

Adomeit's relationship with Dawson and his family was a long and fruitful one, which included collaboration on a 1980 Dawson's Book Shop book, *An Original Leaf from the Newberry Bible, 1780.* Adomeit's

short essay for this publication includes the history of and publication details for the Newberry Bible,[54] a contextual analysis of thumb Bibles, and a short history of the Newberry family—who, in the eighteenth century, had been among the first publishers to create books especially for children. In addition to her essay, each of the 125 copies of this book contains an original folio from an "imperfect" Newberry Bible supplied by Dawson's.

Adomeit's final serious publishing project, completed in 1991 in collaboration with Dawson's Book Shop, was *An Original Leaf from the Kleine Print Bybel, ca. 1750.*[55] The Dutch book to which this project was devoted is very rare. When Adomeit first wrote to Glen Dawson to gauge his interest in the project, she knew of merely five copies, only three of which included both the Old and New Testaments.[56] Adomeit owned both a complete, two-volume set and a fragment that comprised sixty Old Testament leaves. As had *An Original Leaf from the Newberry Bible, 1780,* each copy of the limited edition of Adomeit and Dawson's book included one original leaf from a fragmented copy of the Dutch book.

Adomeit devoted much of her collecting, research, and publishing efforts to thumb Bibles, and her dedication to the topic might tempt us to make assumptions about her own religious beliefs. However, an examination of her papers reveals little to suggest that Adomeit held dogmatic religious convictions. In perusing a sample of her personal correspondence, I found only one brief mention of church membership[57] and no allusions to Christian belief in letters to her parents or friends. In fact, Adomeit once described some of her traveling companions as "sort of missionaries, I guess . . . they are nice, but a little over-religious."[58] Writing from Jerusalem, she joked that "the old city is charming but so commercialized that it makes you want to turn Moslem."[59] Though this comment was light-hearted, Adomeit seems to have been open to exploring various religious traditions. She visited a mosque in Algiers and described the setting as "much more peaceful, calm and seeming closer to God than the cathedrals."[60] From Damascus she told her parents a bit about Ramadan, calling the holiday "the equivalent in importance to our Christmas."[61] We might also consider that Adomeit's memorial service was held at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History instead of in a church.

Moreover, when Adomeit wrote about her group of Bibles as a favorite aspect of her collection, she stated that "I have over sixty-five different editions of these, mainly American, dating from 1693 to 1896, several of which are the only known copies, a phrase dear to any collector's heart."[62] Adomeit's words suggest that the value these books held for her came from their rarity, an issue central to both scholars and collectors. These Bibles' value to Adomeit seems derived more from their status as rare treasures to be studied than as objects of religious devotion. In fact, to consider Adomeit's checklist of thumb Bibles as a religiously motivated project might suggest that the work is something

other than the scholarly, serious contribution to the literature on a genre of miniature books that it is.

"THE MOST BEAUTIFUL OF ALL MY MINIATURES"

Thumb Bibles are not the only religious works in Adomeit's collection: among seventy-two items of Middle Eastern provenance[63] are sixteen so-called "banner" (*sancak*) Qur'ans, which are remarkable in craftsmanship and origin. Adomeit's interest in such works seems to date at least to her 1953 voyage to the Middle East, where she viewed "banner" Qur'ans at the Damascus Museum and purchased her first such work in the city. In Istanbul she acquired three additional "banner" Qur'ans and sought more information about them.[64] Writing for the *Miniature Book Collector,* she recalled:

> In the Museum of Islamic Art in Istanbul I saw two more banner Korans in metal cases, but was unable to get any information about them. Then I visited the Topkapu Museum with its unbelievable treasures and found that they had not two or three miniature Korans, but cases full of tiny handwritten volumes. At last I arranged to be admitted to the library of the Museum. There the Director and his assistant admired my four octagonal books, dated them for me, and told me that these were all "banner" Korans. They also told me that in the library there were about 1500 miniature books, all handwritten and all Korans or parts of the Koran. . . . At a bookshop in Istanbul I was told that only a month earlier they had sold for about $250 the loveliest banner Koran anyone had ever seen. It had been taken to Korea by a group of Turkish soldiers to hang on their flag as they went into battle. Now whenever I look at my little octagonal Korans I think of that beautiful book facing the fire of a modern battlefield and only hope that it was carried back triumphantly to Turkey.[65]

Because of their exquisite design and amuletic potential—as well as, perhaps, the romanticized notions conjured by the latter—Adomeit considered such banner Qur'ans in her collection "the most beautiful of all my miniatures" (Figure 2.3).[66] Her admiration for these works, in fact, led her to make them the subject of her essay in the 1984 edited volume *My Favorite Miniature Book: Nine Essays by Collectors of Miniature Books.*

After returning home from her 1953 trip to the Middle East and Europe, Adomeit sought additional Islamic volumes for her collection. As early as 1954 she wrote to Dawson's Book Shop, stating that she was "particularly interested in Bibles and Korans"[67] as well as "oriental books, unusual languages, and in miniature Bibles or Bible Histories."[68] In 1985, Adomeit's connoisseurship regarding such material was considered so advanced that Dawson sent her seven miniature Qur'ans, asking for her help in determining potential publication dates and other specifications.[69] Upon examining the volumes more closely, Adomeit was able to provide Dawson with specific information on one book, approximate dates for several others, and to point out a detail that had escaped the dealer: one was not a Qur'an at all but a miniature *Khordeh Avesta* (Little Avesta), a Zoroastrian prayer book.[70]

FIG. 2.3. Adomeit with a Safavid miniature octagonal Qur'an and its metal case (Adomeit mss. C12), setting up her 1989 exhibition at the Cleveland Public Library. Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.


MANY
GUAGES
ENGLISH KOREAN

A COLLECTOR AMONG COLLECTORS

In amassing and studying Islamic material, Adomeit joined a trajectory of western inquiries concerning the "Orient" that accelerated substantially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (alongside European colonialism) and continued throughout the twentieth century.[71] Indeed, an estimated sixty thousand books about the Near East were written between 1800 and 1950.[72] Many such studies treated the area as "a place of romance, exotic beings, [and] haunting memories and landscapes," teeming with "sensuality, promise, terror, sublimity, idyllic pleasure, [and] intense energy."[73] Although Orientalist notions of the Near East sometimes evoked a sense of sublime terror, in artistic realms, Islamic art was regarded as a potential antidote to the stress and anxiety of modern life, a "palliative to refresh the spirit and soul."[74] Adomeit's professed enthusiasm for the novel sites she encountered during her time overseas—and her romanticized imaginings concerning the (potentially) militarized histories of the *sancak* Qur'ans in her collection—are heir to the Orientalist tradition, which infiltrated popular (as well as intellectual) culture in Europe and North America.

Critical in introducing Islamic artistic culture to North American collectors were World's Fairs held in Philadelphia in 1926 and New York in 1939;[75] following the former, an expanded Persian exhibition was held in Philadelphia's Memorial Hall.[76] Museum exhibitions of Islamic art in the United States began with a 1910–1911 display of carpets at New York's Metropolitan Museum,[77] which also exhibited Islamic art in 1931, 1933–1934, and 1935. The same year, exhibitions in Brooklyn, Detroit, and Toledo were held, and by 1937 San Francisco's M. H. de Young Memorial Museum hosted the first such exhibition on the West Coast of the United States.[78] Exhibitions in the eastern United States included a large display in 1940 at New York's Iranian Institute, but most significant for Adomeit would have been the Cleveland Museum of Art's 1944 exhibition of Islamic art.[79] Perhaps this display piqued Adomeit's curiosity about Islamic art and culture generally.[80]

As Orientalism spread, museum collections in the United States—including those of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and the Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution[81]—encompassed Islamic art with increasing frequency, and many of these acquisitions were made possible by individual collectors. Charles Lang Freer (1856–1919)—whose collection of Islamic and Asian art joins his extensive holdings of American art in a gallery bearing the collector's name, and who provided an endowment for the Smithsonian's continued collecting of Eastern art—may have been an inspiration to Adomeit. Among western collectors seeking "Oriental" books and manuscripts was British historian and Foreign Service officer William Edward David Allen (1901–1973), whose collection of more than 150 items, including eight Islamic manuscripts, was purchased by the Lilly Library in 1976.[82] Perhaps, too, Adomeit was inspired by the example of socialite Doris Duke (1912–1993), who in the 1930s built an Islamic-inspired home in

Honolulu that continues to house her collection of Islamic art.[83] As Adomeit sought additional works for her collection while traveling abroad, she seems to have adopted the "adventurer-collector" role that such earlier collectors as Freer and Allen had played.[84] In Istanbul, for example, Adomeit learned the phrase "miniature books" in Turkish and later remembered that,

> in spite of a population of over a million, Istanbul was like a small town as far as strangers were concerned. On a main street a man took my arm and motioned that I was to go with him, saying in Turkish the words for "little books." After a long walk he led me into a shop, spoke to the owner, bowed to me, and left. I asked the owner, who spoke English, how the man had known I wanted tiny books. He answered, "Everyone in Istanbul knows that the American lady who walks alone wants little books."[85]

Also influential on the growth of Adomeit's collection and scholarship were colleagues and friends who shared her specific collecting interests. Particularly relevant was Elisabeth Ball, who collected rare books and had a special interest in children's books. Ball gifted her collection to the Lilly Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library, and seems to have been inspirational in convincing Adomeit to select the Lilly as a permanent home for her own collection.[86]

Certainly Adomeit had a sense of her activities as part of a larger culture of collecting, in particular of miniature books. Keenly interested in the production and reception of miniature books around the world, she presented herself in lectures and writings as part of a global community of miniature book enthusiasts. Adomeit counted between four and five hundred collectors of miniature books in the United States, based on the Miniature Book Society's membership (she noted, however, that the most active collectors, those who attended the annual meetings, numbered only one hundred). Adomeit contextualized the relatively small number of active collectors in the United States by citing the ten thousand active in Hungary[87] and exclaiming that Japanese collectors were so numerous that "few Japanese books get into commercial channels."[88] Likewise, the market for miniatures was so demanding in Yugoslavia, Russia, and eastern Germany that texts from these geographic areas were nearly unobtainable in the United States.[89]

Adomeit also boasted of celebrity collectors of miniature books. She listed collectors among European royalty, such as Queen Mary of England, Queen Mother Margherita of Italy, and France's Empress Eugenia, as well as American president Franklin D. Roosevelt and such cultural figures as Jack Norworth and Walter de la Mare.[90] American entrepreneurs who collected miniature books were also of interest; this list included Indiana industrialist George Ball (the father of Adomeit's peer Elisabeth) and Stanley Marcus of the Neiman Marcus family.[91] Among public collections, Adomeit called those at the New York Public Library,

the Library of Congress, and the Grolier Club "fine" and admired the "interesting small collections" at Harvard and Yale universities as well as the American Antiquarian Society, although she maintained that "none of these compare with the best private collections."[92] That her collection was one of the largest in the world placed her in fine company.

THE GENDER OF COLLECTING

At first glance, Adomeit seems perhaps an unlikely candidate for amassing a superior collection of miniature books and establishing herself as an expert and scholar in the field. Unlike those of the wealthy men who dominate most histories of collecting, Adomeit's avocation seems to have been financed almost entirely through her professional work as a secretary and grade school teacher. Adomeit never married, and perhaps dedicated time and energy that otherwise would have been invested in a family to the world of miniature books. In fact, she seems to have believed that marriage had the potential to distract women from other pursuits. She once wrote to Karen Dawson—a college student involved in her family's bookstore and, as a hobbyist, in miniature book publishing—after having heard from a mutual acquaintance of Dawson's engagement. Adomeit wrote, "I am happy to hear it, but hope it won't keep you from various miniature book projects."[93]

Adomeit's own marital status seems to have been significant to her in some way. Responding to a 1981 review by book dealer Anne Bromer, Adomeit addressed scholarly concerns but used a significant amount of space in her letter reacting to the title "Ms.," which Bromer used, rather than the "Miss" that Adomeit preferred. She cautioned in no uncertain terms: "I was horrified that you called me Ms. all the way through. I have resigned from several organizations that insist on this form of address as I feel that it is very insulting. If space is so short that one more space is needed then I think there must be a better place to gain that needed space. . . . I beg you not to ever do that to me again—I am not the only person who feels that way so I would tread more cautiously if I were you."[94] Adomeit's insistence on the title "Miss," indicating an unmarried status, rather than the more neutral term "Ms.," suggests a certain pride in her identity as a single woman navigating the world according to her own desires and abilities.[95]

Many examinations of collecting take wealthy men as their subjects, and when, for example, Frederick Baekeland's study attributes to "the rich industrialist, especially if he is a self-made man with a limited background" the collecting motivations of "vanity and a desire for social advancement," "the pleasure of buying a work from under the nose of a rival," or even (though Baekeland gives these suggestions less credence) "emotionally empty lives at home, acquisitiveness, and the need for immortality,"[96] we must consider the extent to which such statements can be considered true for the seemingly middle-class, female Adomeit. Baekeland maintains that, "most adult collectors in the formal, public sense of the word are men,"[97] and differentiates between men's and women's collecting:

> many women privately amass personal possessions far in excess of any practical need, without any thought of public exhibition other than adornment: we rarely think of accumulations of dresses, shoes, perfumes china and the like as collections. They consist of relatively intimate and transient objects intended directly to enhance their owners' self-image . . . Men's collections, however, be they of stamps, cars, guns or art, tend to have clear-cut thematic emphases and standard, external reference points in public or private collections. Thus women's collections tend to be personal and ahistorical, men's impersonal and historical, just as, traditionally, women have tended to have a relatively greater emotional investment in people than in ideas and men to some extent the reverse.[98]

Baekeland perhaps would categorize Adomeit's miniature books as of the same milieu as adornments and bibelots. Although books have long been collected by men and may be seen to represent the Academy—a patriarchal institution, one could argue—the miniaturization of the tomes (stereotypically) feminizes them, aligning them, in a sense, with the dolls and dollhouses (miniaturized versions of domesticity) that have traditionally been popular among women who collect as young girls.[99] However, even leaving aside the fallacy of Baekeland's unsupported generalizations about gendered approaches to collecting (and life), one cannot fail to notice that Adomeit's collecting activities could be categorized as nearly opposite Baekeland's model of the woman collector, as her collection had both clear parameters and a history of public presentations.

Like Baekeland, Russell Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, in analyzing the societal functions of collecting, employ gendered stereotypes, differentiating between women's "achievement in the world of connection to other people" and "the powerful achievement of masculine control over nature."[100] Unquestionably, Adomeit appreciated the personal connections and friendships garnered through collecting,[101] but her activities also earned her a renown within the world of miniature books that stereotypically would have been reserved for male collectors. Indeed, Paul van der Grijp attributes to male collectors a business model, in which "men tend to collect valuables and signifiers of maleness and . . . are proud of their ability to purchase cheaply and sell expensively."[102] Considering the savvy that Adomeit demonstrated in her dealing and trading, her activities, were she a male collector, would probably be considered emblematic of this mode of activity. Just as arguments for miniature books to be gendered "male" or "female" could be made with relatively similar credence, Adomeit, a female collector, seems to have shared attributes generally associated with both male and female collectors. Her case study suggests that the male/female dichotomy used in several sociological and psychological studies of collecting is too simplistic to account for all collecting activity. Certainly Adomeit's collecting career encompassed aspects of both models, and her example is a useful addition to discussions of gender and collecting.

"EITHER YOU ARE A COLLECTOR OR YOU ARE NOT"

As she built her collection, Adomeit wrote and lectured with increasing frequency about the field and her own collection. Several times, she answered the question, "Why do you collect miniature books?"—perhaps an inquiry to which she was frequently subject. In a 1952 article for *Antiquarian Bookman,* Adomeit offered her standard answer in the opening lines: "Either you are a collector or you are not and it is usually the non-collector who says to me, 'Why do you collect miniature books?' He really means, 'Why do you collect?'"[103]

Adomeit's quip expresses a sentiment that is perhaps not unusual among collectors of Adomeit's generation or milieu. In preparing his (rather personal) 1974 examination of collecting, British archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume found the response, "Why does anyone collect anything?" a typical retort to the question, "Why collect?"[104] Perhaps, Hume suggests, collecting is a "fundamental human instinct," one that, to collectors, begs no explanation;[105] indeed, Adomeit wrote, "I am a born collector."[106] The suggestion that Adomeit might have agreed with Hume's analysis is strengthened by Hume's description of collecting as "an incurable habit."[107] To Adomeit, and likely to other avid collectors, the world was divided into two categories of people: those who collect and those who do not.

Among collectors, Hume has written of a competitive "sporting nature,"[108] and certainly Adomeit recalled particular finds with what seems a slightly boasting manner, sometimes having conquered a "rival" in the form of a book dealer. She recalled, for example, the acquisition of a rare American thumb Bible:

> The dealer brought out a number of interesting miniatures, but none of great rarity. I gathered those I wanted into a pile while he searched for others. Finally he came up with a few and told me the prices. I took one look at the leather binding of the last one he handed me and opened it as casually as I could and put it with the others and asked what price he could make on the lot. It totaled close to $60.00 but he rounded it off to $50.00.

The book she had tossed into the pile casually was a rare 1766 Thumb Bible, then worth $100–$150, and by the time of Adomeit's lecture fetching $1,000.[109] Success in Adomeit's "sport" required not only the ability to quickly gauge the value of proffered books but also the presence of mind to maintain a sense of nonchalance.

Perhaps the collector competes against himself or herself as much as against other collectors and dealers. In identifying various collecting strategies, Brenda Danet and Tamar Katriel identify the allure of completing a set, acquiring an entire series of an object.[110] Similarly, Russell Belk and Melanie Wallendorf posit that the completion of a collection can foster feelings of personal wholeness, and that collections considered to be well rounded provide the collector with a sense of the same quality in himself or herself.[111] Adomeit, of course, set for herself the goal of attaining a copy of every book whose size did not exceed 2½ inches.

Although that goal is seemingly achievable, the continued production of miniature books meant that her collection likely never could have become fully complete. Thus, the goal seems to have provided Adomeit with a measure by which to gauge her success as well as a motivation (should she have needed one) to continue collecting.[112]

Further, Hume's phrase "sporting nature" is telling not only because of the sense of spirited competition that "sporting" conveys but also because the word "nature" reveals a notion that the hobby of collecting is an innate aspect of a collector's personality. In keeping with the attitude that collectors are born, not made, Adomeit wrote that when seeking miniature books she followed her intuition; she claimed that the process encouraged her to believe in extrasensory perception (ESP).[113] Adomeit's mention of ESP encourages a reading of her collecting tendency as not only innate but otherworldly, almost inevitable. Adomeit's belief in the innate quality of her collecting habit is in keeping with the attitudes of the many contemporary collectors who liken collecting to an addiction and searching for additional items to obsession or compulsion.[114]

Also consistent with recent scholarly literature on the topic of collecting is the manner in which Adomeit's collection began. Adomeit's earliest acquisitions—small books happened upon as a pre-teen browsing antique shops—seem to have been more the result of chance encounters than a dedicated pursuit, a hobby that began so naturally that Adomeit's incipient collection had formed organically before she was aware that she was a collector. Susan M. Pearce, among others, has written of just this phenomenon: "the study of collectors makes clear that collections can creep up on people unawares until the moment of realization . . . a collection is not a collection until someone thinks of it in those terms."[115]

Adomeit may have believed that collecting was an innate aspect of her personality, but she also had practical reasons for selecting books as her primary collection: "Books seem to me to be the most satisfactory of all things to collect. They don't break easily (I used to collect wine goblets); they are easy to store (just try handling a mold collection sometime);[116] they are not so scarce as to discourage the collector (consider Russian icons); and yet you can limit yourself to a particular field of books and not be discouraged by the impossibility of ever having a really good and outstanding collection (postage stamps discouraged me years ago because I can never keep up with all the various issues.)."[117] Among books, Adomeit found miniature books ideal because they are easy to store, do not take up much space, and are not too fragile but "can be attractively housed and displayed in small cases at home where they can be enjoyed, but not mistreated."[118] Although miniature books were readily available, they were not too available, prompting what Adomeit called "the fun of searching for them."[119] Miniature books also held appeal for Adomeit because of their relative affordability.[120]

Despite all of the practical qualities that made the collecting of miniature books appealing, Adomeit's chief interest in them seems to have

come from their aesthetic qualities and their diversity of subject matter. As she stated, "[Miniature books] attract me because of the craftsmanship which has gone into their making and because of the great variety in subject matter and format."[121]

Of the multitude of miniature books in Adomeit's collection, the Islamic examples that she so admired are especially emblematic of these two qualities: particularly fine examples of skilled craftsmanship and representing an array of subjects—distant lands and times, as well as distinct religious traditions—that were new and exotic to Adomeit. The *sancak* Qur'ans that Adomeit deemed her favorite miniature books especially enriched her collection, with their unusual format a novelty among the more familiar western volumes and an intriguing subject for Adomeit to explore via research and writing. These exquisite works in the Lilly Library at Indiana University offer a fine testament to Ruth Adomeit, a seasoned collector and accomplished scholar, and to her deep and lasting impact on the field of miniature books.

NOTES

For her sage advice and tireless support, I thank Dr. Christiane J. Gruber. Additionally, I am appreciative of the staff of Indiana University's Lilly Library. For her contributions to my research for this article, I would also like to thank Christine Bentley, Ph.D. student in the Department of the History of Art at Indiana University Bloomington and Assistant Professor of Art History at the University of Indianapolis.

Many of Adomeit's general writings and lecture notes repeat anecdotes, stories, and examples, and sometimes are nearly identical. In most cases I cite only one or two examples.

1. For an extended discussion of Adomeit's miniature Islamic books, see the chapter by Heather Coffey in this volume.

2. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 9, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana (henceforth, "Lilly Library"). Such chapbooks would not meet the size standards that Adomeit later set for her collection; nevertheless, she maintained a small collection of "American juveniles" printed before 1840 (ibid.; and preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library).

3. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 9, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Adomeit remembered being "about ten years old" when she purchased this book (ibid.; and preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library).

4. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 9, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Unfortunately, Adomeit did not specify the year in which she acquired the Coolidge book.

5. For one recollection of this exchange, see Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

6. In a letter to the Lilly Library's William Cagle, Adomeit remarked that her collection was "at present . . . the second largest collection of miniature books in the world, so far as I know. The largest collection is that of Julian Edison of St. Louis. The largest collection in Europe is that of Irene Winterstein of Zürich, Switzerland. Our collections are similar, but having visited her last year I realized that mine is larger than hers and she is not adding to [hers] as much as I am to mine. We used to think that ours were about the same size." Adomeit to Cagle, 13 August 1991, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

7. Adomeit studied bats (from 1987) and gave an endowment to Bat Conservation International. She was also a donor to the Cleveland Museum of Natural History, the Nature Conservancy, and the Heifer International Foundation, in addition to Cleveland-area service and civic organizations. See Evron S. Collins, *Grande Dame* (Cincinnati: Miniature Book Society, 2003), unpaginated.

8. Adomeit's 1983 Christmas letter, Box 8, "Christmas letters from Adomeit," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

9. Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

10. Adomeit to her parents, May 1953, Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

11. Matthew Bernstein, introduction to *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film,* ed. Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 3.

12. Adomeit to her parents, 21 May 1953, Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

13. Adomeit to her parents, 13 August 1953, Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

14. Adomeit to her parents, 5 September 1953, Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Adomeit's writings sometimes reveal a sense of self-consciousness about the manner in which she encountered the larger world: "I wish I knew enough to dig for pre-historic Inca or Mayan culture—or even enough to do as others have done—marry an archeologist and be allowed to go along on those exciting

treasure hunts, and experience the thrills of finding relics of those lost civilizations. But I am neither wise enough, brave enough or rich enough to join that group I envy, in fact, I am what they all deplore in such certain terms, that most scorned type of traveler, I am a TOURIST." Untitled travel writing, Box 10, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

15. Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

16. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 9, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

17. Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Adomeit recalled this conversation as taking place between herself and "Mr. Goff"—likely Frederick R. Goff, then chief of rare books. Unfortunately, Adomeit did not provide a date for this exchange, describing it only as "some years ago." The Library of Congress still follows the standard that miniature books are measured as ten centimeters (ninety-nine millimeters) or smaller, a rule that the Lilly Library currently uses to catalogue Adomeit's miniature books.

18. This story appears, for example, in preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library; and preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. The "rule of thumb" anecdote is even mentioned in passing in one of Adomeit's letters to William Cagle: "I was interested that the Library of Congress uses 10 centimeters as their definition of miniature books. Be sure to ask me to tell you what they used to use!" Adomeit to Cagle, 27 February 1991, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

19. Telephone conversation between Stephen Cape and Christine Bentley, 30 January 2008. Adomeit frequently stated that she owned approximately five thousand "true" miniatures (those not over 2½ inches in height). See preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library; and preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

20. Concerning contemporary practice, the Miniature Book Society's web site states that in the United States, most collectors consider a book to be miniature if it is no more than three inches in height, width, or thickness. Outside of the United States, many collectors consider books up to four inches in height to be miniature. Web site of the Miniature Book Society (www.mbs.org), accessed 20 September 2008.

21. Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Concerning her folio collection (those volumes "over 2½ and up to 3 inches with a few between 3 and 4 [inches]"), Adomeit stated: "I will try to get a copy of every book ever printed that is not over 2½ inches (original page size), but I do not attempt to make the folio collection complete, I just acquire rarities or easily available items of interest or books with some particular charm." Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

22. Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Unfortunately, this exhibition was marred by the disappearance of several of Adomeit's books during installation. Newspaper clippings chronicling the event can be found in Box 14, f. 11, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

23. Cleveland Public Library, "The Bookmark," Box 14, f. 11, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

24. William R. Cagle, Lilly librarian, to Adomeit, 28 June 1990, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. According to Cagle's letter, Schiller had visited Adomeit and the two had discussed a possible donation to the Lilly.

25. A draft of Cagle's statement for the Lilly Library's annual report—a copy of which he included in a 5 October 1991 letter to Adomeit—mentions this connection. Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

26. Adomeit to Cagle, 10 February 1991, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. In another letter, Adomeit explained to Cagle that she had hoped to give her collection to Wellesley College, her alma mater, but had realized that the collection was too large and that the Wellesley library had little interest in rare books, including miniatures. Adomeit to Cagle, 7 August 1990, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

27. Cagle to Adomeit, 11 April 1991, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

28. Adomeit to Cagle, 10 February 1991, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

29. The Lilly was to receive its selection of juvenile books after the American Antiquarian Society and Wellesley College had made their selections. Adomeit to Cagle, 30 September 1991, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

30. In 2008, the Adomeit Collection contained 16,000 printed books 3½ inches or smaller and 172 miniature manuscripts. Telephone conversation between Sondra Taylor, former curator of manuscripts at the Lilly Library, and Christine Bentley, 24 March 2008.

31. In preparatory notes for lectures at garden clubs, Box 9, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library, Adomeit, describing her books related to gardens, stated, "I have many of them

here." Adomeit also wrote appreciatively of the ability to bring miniature books with her when visiting other collectors. See Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

32. Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., p. 8, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

33. Ibid. For a discussion of European girdle books, see Heather Coffey's chapter in this volume.

34. Adomeit recalled the following experience in connection with her purchase of *Fruits of Philosophy:* "I was visiting a friend whose husband is a doctor and that evening we had a party. Many of the guests were doctors so my little book was shown to them and the interesting thing was that they all agreed that the book was most unusual as the methods described were thought not to have been known until around 1890 and this book was printed in 1832." Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

35. The *Miniature Book Collector* was published by Adomeit's friend Achille J. St. Onge, who also published miniature books.

36. Despite the brevity of the journal's publication, an indication of its success is evident in Muir Dawson's decision to advertise a Dawson's Book Shop miniature book publication only in the *Miniature Book Collector:* "We won't send out any other notice. All miniature book collectors *must* subscribe to your journal." Muir Dawson to Adomeit, 29 March 1962. Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1939–1963," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. In 1965, Dawson's expressed interest in trying to revive the *Miniature Book Collector* (see Dawson's letter to Adomeit, 12 June 1965, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1964–1967," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library).

37. Preparatory notes for lecture "My Lilliputian Library," dated October 1974; May 10, 1978—Cleveland Miniature Society, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

38. Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Adomeit's telling of this story is also recalled in Caroline Y. Lindemann, *Many Littles Make a Much* (Cincinnati: Miniature Book Society, 2004), unpaginated. In this recollection, Adomeit makes the request directly to Glen Dawson.

39. The Miniature Book Society remains active; the group's web site is www.mbs.org.

40. The plaque belongs to the archive of Adomeit's papers housed in Indiana University's Lilly Library, Box 12. f. 26, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

41. Collins, *Grande Dame,* unpaginated. Collins's biography was not the only miniature book published in Adomeit's memory. In 1996, Graphic Design Press (Bloomington, Indiana) published a miniature book titled *Aphorisms & Sayings Collected Chiefly in Monroe & Owen Counties, Indiana,* the frontispiece of which reads, "In memory of Ruth E. Adomeit, 1910–1996."

42. Collins, *Grande Dame,* unpaginated.

43. Adomeit, "Christmas Tree Ornaments," Box 9, f. 1, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

44. Teagle had also printed the *Miniature Book Collector* and was a "former Clevelander." Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

45. Box 9, f. 4: "The Little Cookie Book Accounting," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. In an undated letter to Adomeit ca. January 1963, Teagle insisted that Adomeit accept some of the book's profits: "You once said you weren't going to accept any of the Cookie Book profits. This is NONSENSE, girl; you did the MBC as a labor of love and I am *not* going to capitalize on all the work you did on the Cookie Book. The press got paid for *printing* it, remember, you've got nothing so far but a sink-full of dirty cookie sheets, and this is the day you get yours!" Such correspondence is typical of the friendly relationship that Adomeit and Teagle seem to have enjoyed.

46. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 10, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

47. Adomeit's 1980 Christmas letter is one of several documents that mentions these trips. Box 8, "Christmas letters from Adomeit," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

48. In fact, in her introduction Adomeit insists that her work is not a bibliography but a "descriptive checklist for collectors." Adomeit, Introduction to *Three Centuries of Thumb Bibles: A Checklist* (New York: Garland, 1980), xxix. Reviewer Anne Bromer also noted the modesty of Adomeit preferring the term "checklist" to "bibliography." See Anne C. Bromer in *American Book Collector* 2/3 (July/August 1981), Box 10, f. 5, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

49. Glenn Dawson, review in *Bibliographical Society of America,* undated, Box 10, f. 5, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

50. "Book Nook," *Little Things* (October 1983), Box 10, f. 5, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

51. Anne C. Bromer in *American Book Collector* 2/3 (July/August 1981), Box 10, f. 5, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

52. Adomeit had called Dawson's Book Shop "the outstanding dealer in miniature books." Letter from Adomeit to Richard Newman, Executive Editor, Garland, 12 December 1980, Box 3, "Garland Publishing," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Correspondence between Adomeit and Dawson's Book Shop dates from 1939. See Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1939–1963," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

53. Adomeit to Glen Dawson, 14 May 1982, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1980–1983," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

54. In an undated manuscript, Adomeit noted that "Surprisingly, more copies exist today of this Thumb Bible than of any of the others in either the 18th or 19th centuries." Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 9, f. 9, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

55. Correspondence between Adomeit and editors at Garland between 1980 and 1982 indicates that the publisher was interested in a potential project of Adomeit's, on "miniature sets & series." Adomeit's responses indicate that illness prevented her from working on the project as she would have liked. Box 3, "Garland Publishing," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

56. Adomeit to Glen Dawson, 27 February 1991, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop 1989–1994," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

57. Adomeit's 1983 Christmas letter records helping a friend clean up an estate and that "I also delivered many carloads of useful materials from this estate to my church for the many Cambodian families we have sponsored." Box 8, "Christmas letters from Adomeit," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

58. Adomeit to her parents, 3 May 1953, Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

59. Adomeit to her parents, 9 June 1953, Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

60. Adomeit to her parents, 13 May [1953], Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

61. Adomeit to her parents, before 9 June [1953], Box 8, "Adomeit's correspondence with her parents," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

62. Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," 4, Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

63. Figure taken from Adomeit's catalog of her miniature book collection. Box 10, f. 15, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. The list marked "Arabic and Turkish and Persian and Indian" comprises seventy-two entries, although many Indian examples appear to have been cataloged in another list.

64. Adomeit, "Octagonal Korans," in *My Favorite Miniature Book: Nine Essays by Collectors of Miniature Books* (Newton, Iowa: Tamazunchale Press, 1984), 18, 21.

65. Adomeit, "Miniature Banner Korans," *Miniature Book Collector* 1/4 (March 1961). According to proof sheets for the *Index to the Miniature Book Collector* volumes 1 and 2 (1960–1962), Adomeit's article appeared on pages 10–13. Box 12, t. 16, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

66. Ibid.

67. Adomeit to Dawson's Book Shop, 3 November 1954, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1939–1963," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

68. Adomeit to Dawson's Book Shop, 29 November 1954, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1939–1963," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. At this time Adomeit estimated her collection to be between five hundred and six hundred books, of which approximately sixty were miniature Bibles.

69. Adomeit's first piece of advice to Dawson was basic, but critical: "One thing to know is that almost all of the tiny printed Korans are miniature facsimiles of large manuscript Korans and so the date and place, if given, refers to the original manuscript rather than to the tiny printed copy." Adomeit to Glen Dawson, 27 October 1985, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1984–1988," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

70. Adomeit to Glen Dawson, 27 October 1985, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1984–1988," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

71. For the historiography of Islamic studies in the west, particularly concerning art and architecture, see Stephen Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture: An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c.1850–c. 1950," in *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950,* ed. Stephen Vernoit (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 1–61.

72. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1979; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 204.

73. Said, *Orientalism,* 1, 118.

74. David J. Roxburgh, "Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880–1910," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 14.

75. For an overview of Islamic art as displayed at the World's Fairs, see Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture," 14–18. For exhibitions in the United States, see ibid., 16. Although Vernoit does not consider them as significant to Islamic art as those listed, international exhibitions were also held in Philadelphia in 1876 and Chicago in 1893.

76. See Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 72.

77. Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture," 21.

78. Ibid., 21–22.

79. Ibid.

80. Moreover, Adomeit's cousin Frances Adomeit seems to have been living in (or visiting for an extended period) the Middle East during Adomeit's 1953 visit; a closer examination of her activities might reveal an influence on Ruth Adomeit's interest in Islamic cultures.

81. Vernoit, "Islamic Art and Architecture," 25. Regarding the development of the Metropolitan Museum's Islamic Collection, see Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met."

82. Allen's collection at the Lilly Library includes a 9th-century Kufic Qur'an fragment (see Figure 1.6) and 18th-century Ottoman books printed in Constantinople. Information concerning Allen's collection at the Lilly Library was provided in a telephone conversation between Sondra Taylor, former curator of manuscripts at the Lilly Library, and Christine Bentley, 24 March 2008.

83. On Duke's home and collection of

Islamic art, see Sharon Littlefield, *Doris Duke's Shangri La* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts; Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, 2002).

84. Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met," 76. Jenkins-Madina differentiates between the "adventurer-collector," epitomized in her article by James F. Ballard, the "artist-collector" (e.g., silversmith Edward C. Moore), and the "great collectors of the time who relied upon the advice of one or more important dealers whom they trusted" (e.g., Henry O. and Louisine Havemeyer).

85. Adomeit, "Octagonal Korans," 19–20.

86. Adomeit to Cagle, 7 August 1990, Box 5, "Lilly Library," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Correspondence between Adomeit and Ball dates as early as 1961, with a thank-you letter from Ball to Adomeit, who had hosted the former during a visit (see Ball to Adomeit, 27 June 1961, Box 1, f. "Ball, Elisabeth," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library).

87. Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library," Box 9, f. 9, Adomeit mss II, Lilly Library, also accounts for Hungarian and Japanese collectors.

88. Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. In an earlier piece of writing, Adomeit had praised contemporary examples of Japanese miniature books and offered her assistance to readers in obtaining copies. Adomeit, "Musings of a Minibibliophile," Box 9, f. 8, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

89. Preparatory notes for lectures at garden clubs, Box 9, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

90. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library" lecture notes, Box 9, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

91. Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

92. Adomeit, "My Lilliputian Library" lecture notes, Box 9, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

93. Adomeit to Karen Dawson, 3 August 1967, Box 2, "Dawson's Book Shop, 1939–1963," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

94. Adomeit to Anne Bromer, 21 May 1981, Box 2, "Bromer Booksellers, Inc., 1976–1982," Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

95. Given Adomeit's objection to the title "Ms.," it is interesting to note that she seems to have found the Miniature Book Society's description of her as their "Grande Dame" insulting as well. A letter to Adomeit from Caroline Y. McGehee, then president of the Miniature Book Society's board of directors (who seems to have been trying to gather information on past award recipients), raises this issue: "I don't remember thinking the [*sic*] your inscription was insulting, but I do believe it was written by Msgr. Weber, as he was Chairman that year. Didn't he call you 'the grande dame of the miniature book world' or something like that? I think that is a compliment!" McGehee to Adomeit, 15 February 1990, Box 12, f. 24, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

96. Frederick Baekeland, "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections,* ed. Susan M. Pearce, Leicester Readers in Museum Studies (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 206–207. Baekeland's article first appeared in *Psychiatry* 44 (February 1981): 45–59.

97. Baekeland, "Psychological Aspects," 207.

98. Ibid. 207.

99. See Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, "Of Mice and Men: Gender Identity in Collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections,* ed. Pearce, 242, for historical studies of collection types for boys and girls and on the gender associations of various objects.

100. Belk and Wallendorf, "Of Mice and Men," 251.

101. The familiar, and sometimes casual, nature of much of Adomeit's correspondence concerning miniature books reveals that many of her correspondents and contacts became personal friends; Adomeit called friendship "one of the delights of collecting." Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

102. Paul van der Grijp, *Passion and Profit: Towards an Anthropology of Collecting,* Comparative Anthropological Studies in Society, Cosmology and Politics (Berlin: Lit, 2006), 79.

103. Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library. Handwritten at the top of this document's first page is the note that it is a copy of an article written for *Antiquarian Bookman* that appeared in January 1952.

104. Ivor Noël Hume, *All the Best Rubbish* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 16.

105. Ibid.

106. Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

107. Hume, *All the Best Rubbish,* 290.

108. Ibid., 17.

109. Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

110. Brenda Danet and Tamar Katriel, "No Two Alike: Play and Aesthetics in Collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections,* ed. Pearce, 230. Danet and Katriel's article first appeared in *Play and Culture* 2/3 (1989): 255–271.

111. Belk and Wallendorf, "Of Mice and Men," 240.

112. The election of an unattainable goal

also would have relieved Adomeit from the phenomenon that Russell Belk terms a "paradoxical fear of completing a collection"—and the resulting loss of identity as a collector. See Russell W. Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections,* ed. Pearce, 324. Belk's paper first appeared in Association for Consumer Research, *Advances in Consumer Research* 15 (1988): 548–553.

113. Preparatory notes for lecture dated 16 November 1981 to College Club and 16 March 1980 to Shaker Hist. Soc., Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

114. Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," 319.

115. Susan M. Pearce, "The Urge to Collect," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections,* ed. Pearce, 158. Pearce's article first appeared in S. Pearce, ed., *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 48–50. The tenet that "collections seldom begin purposefully" is elaborated in Belk, "Collectors and Collecting," 318. Indeed, Belk cites research concerning collections beginning after a gift or a "seemingly serendipitous discovery" of a particular item and contends that "many collections are 'discovered' by their creators long after the materials have been gathered" (ibid.).

116. On this point, Danet and Katriel argue that small objects also "facilitate the creation and perception of a small, coherent world" and that "a miniature world is a more perfect world; the blemishes visible to the naked eye in life-size objects are no longer visible." See Danet and Katriel, "No Two Alike," 232.

117. Adomeit, "Collecting the Smallest Books in the World," Box 9, f. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

118. Ibid., 2.

119. Ibid.

120. The relative affordability of miniature books is an aspect on which Adomeit elaborated in remembering the very beginnings of her collection, and her decision to purchase the group of miniature books suggested to her by Otto Ege: "This was in depression days when I was lucky to have a job and earned the great sum of $60 a month and needed it all, but 15 tiny books for $45 was most exciting. I decided that I must have the books even if it meant going without lunch for several months so I cabled for them." When Ege presented Adomeit with a catalog listing for a collection of forty or fifty miniature books, Adomeit had to give financial considerations further thought, but she "finally decided that even if it cost me 2 months salary I had to have them." Preparatory notes for lecture at Cleveland Public Library, 17 September 1989, Box 10, f. 6, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library.

121. Ibid.

FIG. 3.1. *Alem* of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520), Ottoman Turkey, early 16th century, 45 cm, gilt silver or gilt copper, Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/824, Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* fig. 34.

Between Amulet and Devotion: Islamic Miniature Books in the Lilly Library

3

HEATHER COFFEY

Scholarship on the book as a vehicle of Islamic culture has traditionally been preoccupied with the study of large-scale Qur'anic fragments, scientific treatises, luxury editions of epic narratives, and poetic compilations traceable to courtly ateliers.[1] This preference for the monumental has occluded an entire class of production on a more modest scale: miniature Islamic books, often a mere four to five centimeters in diameter. Despite their reduced size, these minute volumes often retain the elegance, complexity, and craftsmanship accorded to those of conventional dimensions.

The sparse yet dominant interpretation of such small, handwritten codices classifies them as *sancak* (banner) Qur'ans, an Ottoman Turkish tradition in which miniature manuscripts were encased in metal boxes or pouches of fabric, affixed to military standards, and carried into battle. Beyond this general rubric, these diminutive texts have not received in-depth attention: exhibition catalogues present terse entries that consistently fail to provide detailed discussions of the material evidence.[2] Thus far there has been no systematic study of these miniaturized texts or, when appropriate, of the cases created to contain them. Indeed, the prevalence of this interpretive paradigm has inhibited the exploration of alternate or complementary motivations for the micro-fabrication of religious texts within Islamic traditions and the various functions that the practice sustained.[3]

The Lilly Library's Ruth E. Adomeit collection provides an opportunity to examine twelve miniature Islamic books in greater detail (see Figure 1.13).[4] These manuscripts admittedly represent a minute portion of the total number of miniature books that Adomeit amassed over her many decades of collecting,[5] yet the variegation within this subsection of her collection—in particular, the chronological and geographical diversity of her samples—challenges the monolithic characterization of miniatures within scholarship addressing Islamic book arts. Although few of these texts contain colophons recording precise dates and places of production, inspection of Adomeit's personal records,[6] combined with a detailed analysis of the pieces themselves, reveals a rich array of manuscripts created from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century and within such diverse locales as India, Iran, Morocco, and sub-Saharan Africa. The twelve manuscripts range in size from a minute 3.3 × 3.2 centimeters to a slightly less miniscule 6.9 × 7.9 centimeters, and are constructed from 98 to 287 folios, averaging twelve lines of text per folio. Four volumes are preserved inside protective cases made of metal or leather. In addition to one miniature Qur'anic scroll, six manuscripts are

octagonal, two are square, two are rectangular, and one is circular. Two of the manuscripts feature wallet bindings while one small-scale African manuscript is composed of unbound folios. While some specimens appear to have a courtly provenance, others clearly speak to humbler origins. Such diversity evidently cannot be satisfied by the term "*sancak* Qur'an" and its attendant rubric, yet neither are "miniature Qur'an" nor "miniature book" fully adequate descriptors. These specimens do not necessarily contain all or parts of the Qur'an; some contain chapters extracted from the Qur'an while others transcribe the hadiths (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), selections of prayers, or some combination thereof. Nor are all texts complete, discrete literary works, as the term "book" suggests, although, in a material sense, they are books indeed—the retention of the codex format on a small scale remains the salient and unifying quality of the collection, and the undisputable motivation behind its initial assembly.

A more productive interpretive paradigm is one that recognizes the amuletic function of miniscule text.[7] Physical evidence on the containers of some Adomeit specimens suggests that these little books were worn close to the body—either on waistbands, contained on armbands, or suspended around the neck—or perhaps affixed to the surface of a weapon or other ceremonial object. Other codices convey amuletic motives through the nature and arrangement of the very texts that are recorded in the manuscripts—for instance, several volumes contain Qur'anic verses renowned for their apotropaic properties or include an extra-Qur'anic text in support of overtly magico-religious applications.

The present investigation will rely upon select examples from the Lilly Library to posit that it was precisely the amuletic capacity accorded to Qur'anic and other devotional texts that oftentimes prompted their miniaturization. The rendition of the text in diminutive form intensified this capacity, and fulfilled a desire for what I will call "textual intimacy." This I define as a pious urge to keep close to the text out of devotion to it, facilitated by a drastic reduction in scale, which offered the owner the twin advantages of portability and proximity. Suspension from or adhesion to the body of the owner ensured that a direct, physical intimacy was maintained between the owner and his or her miniature book. Yet even those codices not customarily fastened to the body demanded intimate interactions between the reader and the miniscule text: by virtue of their miniature size, these little books easily nestle within the palm of the hand and must be lifted close to the eyes while perused, if not held level to the chest or heart, effecting a similarly corporeal propinquity.

MINIATURIZATION AND THE MARTIAL CONTEXT

The present chapter does not wish to dispense with the *sancak* tradition but rather to warn against its application to newly discovered specimens as a predetermined explanation. That the *sancak* Qur'an remains a viable interpretation for certain objects is indicated by the numerous surviving standards within the Topkapı Palace collections, which affirm the Ottoman practice of carrying miniature books onto the battlefield. Upon

assuming power a new sultan customarily ordered the manufacture of elaborate flags embroidered with his titulature[8] to replace those flown on imperial standards by his predecessor, and it is possible that these patronal directives also instigated the production of additional *sancak* Qur'ans. In 1526, Süleyman the Magnificent formally increased the number of imperial standards from four to seven, in accordance with the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire through critical victories along various fronts.[9] Each of the seven imperial standards symbolized a distinct realm within the empire,[10] suggesting that, on one level, the suspension of *sancak* Qur'ans from imperial standards communicated the divine sanction of such territorial acquisition.

An Ottoman military standard (*alem*) is typically divided into three parts: a long pole or shaft (*sap*) to which is affixed the silk banner (*sancak*), terminating in an elaborate finial (*saifa*).[11] Diminutive volumes of the Qur'an are contained within metal protective cases or boxes (*muhafazas*), which are secured below the metal finial by a cord wound tightly around its circumference or a long metal chain. Typically the metal used for the case accords with that used for the finial and hilt. These containers may assume one of several geometrical shapes (including cylindrical, cubic, triangular, rectangular, hexagonal, or, most commonly, octagonal forms) and are generally riveted shut to protect the manuscript within.[12]

Several *muhafaza*s may be affixed to a single standard, as can be seen on a standard (Figure 3.1) dating from the reign of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–1520).[13] Here, the *saifa* is in the shape of a scalloped leaf, which has been filled with a series of Qur'anic verses written in repoussé using a very thin-tipped jewelers' pen.[14] All of the chosen verses assure the worshipper of a speedy victory through God's munificence. The verses include selections from *Surat al-Fath* ("The Victory," 48:1–3), *Surat al-Nasr* ("The Conquest," 110:1–3), and *Surat al-Saff* ("The Battle Array," 61:13).[15] The sultan's titles run from the front to the back, and select Qur'anic verses continue on the reverse side of the finial. Here one finds laudatory phrases from *Surat Al 'Imran* ("The Family of 'Imran," 3:1–2) and the Throne Verse (*ayat al-kursi*) from *Surat al-Baqara* ("The Cow," 2:255).[16] At least four miniature Qur'ans are encased in individual containers of varying sizes: two triangular cases of equal size and two square examples, one very small indeed.[17]

A later seventeenth-century Ottoman standard shows an evolution in the complexity and ornamentation of the protective case (Figure 3.2).[18] Its octagonal shape is consonant with the majority of published examples of miniature Qur'an cases. The delicate floral and vegetal designs that embellish the cover indicate that it may date slightly later than the finial itself. The sides of the octagonal case are similarly decorated with a verse from *Surat al-Saff* (61:13), reinforcing the notion of an operative vocabulary of verses considered beneficial in war, while the bottom of the case bears the proclamation of unity with God.[19] Here, the case is fixed to one face of the finial and also secured with a chain. On other surviving standards, similarly magnificent octagonal cases

FIG. 3.2. Ottoman *alem,* Ottoman Turkey, 17th century (silver Qur'an case possibly later), 44 cm, gilt silver or gilt copper, Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/1990, Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* fig. 32.

are also preserved—often tied to the shaft in the manner of those less ornamented examples discussed above.[20]

This practice of suspending encased miniature Qur'ans is captured at least once in pictorial form in a double-page illustration included in the *Eğri Fetihnamesi,* a "Book of Conquest" or military chronicle written by the Ottoman chronicler Talikizade (Figure 3.3). This work celebrates

FIG. 3.3. "The Procession of Sultan Mehmed III," Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, *Eğri Fetihnamesi* (The Book of Conquest of Eğri), Ottoman Turkey, early 17th century, 43.5 × 27 cm, H. 1609, folio 68v, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul. Photograph from Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* 1992, cover illustration.

the Ottoman conquest of the castle of Eğri in Hungary under Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603).[21] Although the manuscript is undated, it is likely a product of the early seventeenth century. Completed by the artist Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, the image depicts the victorious return of the sultan, who, in a return to tradition, accompanied the army on its campaign—something neither his father Murad III nor his grandfather Selim III had done. Seven standards are clearly visible behind the sultan's retinue, each bearing a telltale gilt case dangling from the base of its finial.

This rare painted evidence confirms the observations made by the sixteenth-century Turkish historian Celalzade Mustafa, who notes that "each of the seven sultan's flags had at the top a Koran" and that these small codices were termed *sancak* Qur'ans.[22] Andrew Taranowski, Polish envoy to the court of Sultan Selim II, is more verbose in his description, noting the presence of miniature Qur'ans upon standards representing the sultan as well as the entourage of the Kaffa *sancakbeyi*.[23] In a 1570 report to King Sigismund Augustus, Taranowski conveyed that, "these

flags are wound round the pole and never undone until the battle starts. Their shafts are surmounted by big golden hearts from which are suspended large sacks of brocade with a parchment book enclosing the Muhammadan creed. When fighting, every soldier has in front his Holy Scripture and is ready to die for it."[24] Within the context of a triumphal return or ceremonial display of the sort captured in the illustration to the *Eğri Fetihnamesi, sancak* Qur'ans would have functioned as metonymic substitutes for the sultan—he is the protector of the Qur'an, dispenser of its wisdom, and a warrior for its dissemination. Within the immediate arena of the battlefield, however, these codices would have been endowed with a declarative faculty, embodying the devotion of the troops and thereby issuing an explicit challenge to the enemy. Yet they also acted for the Ottoman troops as critical agents of corporate protection through the presence of the divine word. That a military standard functioned as a "mobile amulet"[25] also is demonstrated by the presence of a small projecting spherical ring, called *boncuk* or *moncuk,* at the base of the metal finial, near where *sancak* Qur'ans were customarily affixed (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2).[26] The Ottoman Turkish terms *boncuk* or *moncuk,* both meaning "bead," continue to be used today: one finds them most closely associated with the blue bead (*mavi boncuk*) and the "eye" bead (*nazar boncuğu*) that are thought to protect a person against the evil eye and other malign forces.[27]

The origins of this Ottoman practice are unknown, and to measure the extent of its dissemination is difficult. Certainly the Qur'an was a literal presence in the earliest battles of the Arab conquest. Some scholars have argued that the broad term for a Qur'an reciter, *qari'* (pl. *qurra'*), may have indicated a special contingent of the standing army in the early period, or else that *qurra'* were directly involved in military operations.[28] The early historian al-Tabari (d. 310/923) writes that Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas ordered the *qari'* whom the Caliph 'Umar had assigned to him to recite *Surat al-Anfal* ("The Spoils," 8:1–75), to motivate the troops, who themselves used to study the *sura*.[29] G. H. A. Juynboll has speculated that, during the earliest centuries of Islam, the phrase *hamalat al-qur'an* (bearers of the Qur'an) indicated "those people who carried high on spearheads, or wore on cords around their necks, fragments of the Revelation written down on materials such as animal bones or pieces of parchment."[30] One well-documented occurrence of the Qur'an as a material presence was during the confrontation at Siffin in 37/657 between the forces of 'Ali and Mu'awiya. The fighting was inconclusive, forcing Mu'awiya to order "a *mushaf,* or a number of *masahif* to be raised up on the points of spears"[31] in order to enter into arbitration. Here the Qur'an was used not as a stimulus on the battlefield but rather as an instigator of resolution.

PROTECTIVE CASES: FROM STANDARD TO SELF

Various specimens and their cases in the Lilly Library challenge the paradigm of the *sancak* Qur'an both geographically and functionally. The first is a round metal case measuring approximately eight centimeters

FIG. 3.4. Qur'an case, possibly Safavid Iran, 8.1 in diameter × 3.5 cm (case), 27 × 1 cm (chain), silver, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C12, obverse. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

in diameter and attached to a complex looped chain of extraordinary metalwork (Figure 3.4). One face of the container bears an oddly shaped architectural scene in repoussé while the back is decorated with the six-sided seal of Solomon, a common apotropaic motif. The metal sides of the case and the overhanging lip of its lid have both been perforated by three small circular holes, each measuring 0.3 centimeters wide. When the lid of the case rests upon the base, these holes align perfectly, suggesting that these openings were once used to rivet the case shut in order to protect its contents. The loop of the chain affixed to the lid of the container measures approximately 13.5 centimeters in length and is comparably shorter than those on other surviving *sancak* cases. Yet the chain's durability and thickness—a sturdy one centimeter of heavy, interlocking links—indicate concern for the object's fixture to or suspension from a secondary item, itself possibly mobile. Indeed, the material specifications of this container are not well suited to personal adornment: the chain is not long enough to encircle one's neck, and is too large to comfortably encircle a wrist or forearm. Theoretically the chain could have been affixed to the waist by a belt loop or tie, but both the size and weight of the container are rather cumbersome. A more practical conclusion is that this case was intended for suspension from a ceremonial object. For these reasons, a military standard is an elegant candidate.

FIG. 3.5. Beginning of *Surat al-Fatiha,* miniature Qur'an, Iran, 20 Jumada I, 958/26 May 1551, 6.3 × 5.7 cm, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C12, folio 1v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

The metal case houses an octagonal manuscript approximately six centimeters in diameter and produced with a degree of luxury indicative of a courtly provenance. Its 280 folios contain the full Qur'anic text, which terminates in a *du'a-yi khatim,* a prayer to be read upon its completion, and a *falnama* (Book of Divination).[32] These two terminal, extra-Qur'anic texts are written in crisp cursive (*naskh*) script so minute that each *alif* extends a mere two millimeters, offset by sumptuous bands of illumination displaying liberal amounts of gold and lapis lazuli. Elaborate full-page illuminated designs provide a lush armature for the first verses of *Surat al-Fatiha* ("The Opening," Qur'an 1:1–6, Figure 3.5). The colophon gracing the bottom of folio 277v securely dates the manuscript to 20 Jumada I, 958/May 26, 1551. The stamped and tooled leather binding, *naskh* script, illumination, and the presence of a *falnama* confirm that the manuscript is a product of Safavid Iran, which would place its manufacture within the reign of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576). This provenance coincides with the shah's documented interest in divination and his commissioning of at least one illustrated *falnama* sometime around 1550.[33] This attribution locates the phenomenon of the *sancak* Qur'an in Persian rather than Ottoman realms, extending the practice beyond the boundaries of the Sublime Porte. Thus, while the suspension of *sancak* Qur'ans was a predominantly Ottoman practice, it seems not to have been exclusively so.[34]

FIG. 3.6. Qur'an case, Iran, probably 19th century, 5.0 cm in diameter × 1.8 cm, painted metal, Allen mss. 13. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

An equally arresting specimen is not from Adomeit's collection, but from that of William Edward David Allen (1901–1973):[35] an octagonal metal box measuring five centimeters in diameter (Figure 3.6). The box, painted black, is liberally decorated with gold-painted inscriptions and invocations to God. The most prominent of these is the opening phrase of *Surat al-Fath* that appears on the lid, "Verily We have granted you a manifest victory" (Qur'an 48:1). Crumbling folios of an undated Qur'anic manuscript are preserved inside. The original binding of the codex does not survive, although clusters of folios remain sewn together. The quality of the rag paper and of the revival *naskh* script used to transcribe the Qur'anic text suggests that the specimen dates to the late eighteenth or nineteenth century.

That a miniature Qur'an is encased in an octagonal case is clearly related to the *sancak* tradition. Two small holes, each approximately 0.7 centimeters wide, have been punched partially through two parallel sides of the container. A visible groove along the inside edge of one opening suggests that projecting brackets may originally have been screwed into these openings, facilitating the case's fixture against the surface of an *alem* or other object. Yet the material of its manufacture—thick metal with considerable heft—requires that any projections display considerable strength and durability. No clear evidence remains of a mechanism for securing the Qur'an within its case to ready it for a

FIG. 3.7. Qajar Qur'an case, Iran, late 18th or 19th century, 4.7 × 8.2 (including brackets) × 1.3 cm, engraved silver, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C9. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

purpose other than that which demands a horizontal surface. The underside of the lid is ridged on one side, yet resists resting flatly against the bottom portion of the container. Given these singular details, it is difficult to ascertain whether this container was meant to be opened or was riveted shut, and if this was a public or private object, created for corporate or personal ownership and use.

Adhesion to a person or secondary object is the overriding *raison d'être* of a third specimen (Figure 3.7). This octagonal silver case features a convex hinged lid closed with a hook and eye clasp, and two hinged brackets or eyelets that extend from two of its parallel sides. An octagonal manuscript rests snugly inside the case, as evidently intended, although Adomeit was careful to note in her inventory that this manuscript was not original to her purchase of the case but was added later by her.[36] A panoply of Qur'anic verses enhances the exterior of the case: the center of the lid bears the Qur'anic phrase, "Help from God and a speedy victory" (*nasr min Allah wa fath qarib*) from *Surat al-Saff* ("The Battle Array," Qur'an 61:13), while its outer edge is inscribed with the

opening phrase of *Surat al-Falaq* ("The Daybreak," Qur'an 113:1), "I seek refuge in the Lord of Daybreak . . . ," the first of the final two chapters of the Qur'an, which together compose *al-muʿawwidhatan,* the so-called "*suras* of refuge" commonly recited as consecutive short prayers.[37] Below this, four of the octagon's eight sides are ornamented with invocations to God such as "O God!" and "O Merciful!"

The design of this box clearly reflects its original function: its two heart-shaped eyelets were clearly once part of a larger chain, now removed, or threaded with a cord that fixed the case flatly against the surface of a weapon or other object, if not around the circumference of an arm, ankle, wrist, waist, or other part of the body. It is not hard to imagine the case, bearing its earnest supplications to God, resting against the stretched fabric of a waistband (*kamarband*) common to Safavid, Mughal, and Qajar military and ceremonial costume, if not concealed discreetly within one. Indeed, miniature calligraphic script was regularly placed against the body through its inscription on talismanic shirts common throughout the pre-modern Turko-Persian world.[38] Typically such garments were made of cotton, linen, or silk and crowded with a plethora of prayers, Qur'anic verses, names of God, magical squares composed of numbers and letters, and onomantic numeric formulas, which were woven into (or painted or written upon) their entire surface with polychrome paints and inks by courtly artisans and calligraphers.[39] Such garments demonstrate that extensive use of miniature script ensured optimal benefit for the wearer through the inclusion of a large quantity of content, attesting to the perceived value of diminutive writing. Warfare seems not to have been the sole venue in which these inscribed shirts were deployed—many specimens bear Qur'anic verses useful in various trials (including disease, enemies, childbirth, and travel) in addition to or instead of those pertinent to battle and victory—yet military protection was a key motivation for their manufacture. For example, a letter penned sometime in the 1530s by Hürrem Sultan to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) was dispatched to his military camp accompanied by a shirt "which had been brought to Istanbul from Mecca by a holy man" who had been guided by the Prophet (appearing to him in a vision) to decorate the garment with efficacious names for use in war.[40] Through these graphic additions, Hürrem Sultan assured her husband that the shirt could "turn aside bullets."[41]

An eighteenth-century talismanic shirt of Persian origin bearing multiple Qur'anic verses speaks to its apotropaic use in war (Figure 3.8). The promise of divine intercession in battle contained in the thirteenth verse of *Surat al-Saff* ("The Battle Array," Qur'an 61:13) is prominently inscribed across each shoulder, supplemented by two vertical inscriptions containing the first and third verses of *Surat al-Fath* ("Victory," Qur'an 48) which offer further assurances of victory. The bottom calligraphic panel contains striking verses from *Surat al-Buruj* ("The Constellations," Qur'an 85:21–22) that read, "Surely this is a glorious Qur'an,

FIG. 3.8. Qajar talismanic shirt, Iran, 18th-century, 70.5 × 80 cm, linen, Near East Collections, the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. *Photograph courtesy of Levon Avdoyan.*

it is a well-guarded tablet." Aside from these large-scale inscriptions, the surface of the fabric is completely saturated with miniature Qur'anic text. Amidst this inundation of sacred text, the inscription is self-referential, and seems to affirm the protective efficacy of the garment.

Whether worn directly against the skin[42] or as an outer layer, talismanic shirts therefore facilitated the dispersal of sacred text over the body, with the intent to bestow invulnerability upon it. A seventeenth-century Safavid chain mail shirt features the names of God, Muhammad, and the *ahl al-kisa* (the people of the cloak) stamped onto each of its interlocking steel rings, intimating that protection may have been amplified exponentially through the multiple layers required by military costume.[43] Thus the appendage of a small Qur'an case (such as Adomeit C9) to the self is merely a logical—and codicological—extension of this

proclivity to enrobe the body in protective garb. Several surviving talismanic shirts are themselves deeply creased, indicating that they were continually folded and tucked inside amuletic containers.[44]

The overall design of Adomeit C9 is absolutely typical of a class of amuletic silver Qur'an cases from Iran, predominantly dating to the Qajar period (1785–1925), to which this specimen very likely belongs. Usually octagonal, though sometimes round, these cases generally measure five to six centimeters in diameter and one centimeter deep, and are heavily inscribed on the metal lid and sides with Qur'anic verses and invocations or other religious or devotional texts deemed beneficial to their wearers and owners.[45] While there are numerous Arabic and Persian terms for an amulet within Islam,[46] the most common is *bazuband,* a Persian word that designates an amulet often affixed to the upper arm with a thong or tie.[47] Wearing the texts in this manner was not, however, the works' exclusive application. For instance, a number of similarly miniature amuletic Qur'an boxes are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and the earliest of these, dated to 1162/1743 by an inscription on its side, includes a metal loop or grommet along its upper edge, indicating that it was originally hung around the neck.[48] Indeed, the seventeenth-century jeweler and traveler Jean Chardin recorded the widespread use in Persia of amulets worn on the body, in little bags of silk or brocade hung around the neck, at the waist, or affixed to the upper arm.[49] His wonder at the pervasiveness of this tendency is evident:

> Others carry different kinds of superstitious papers in little boxes or small cases like those for toothpicks made of gold or silver in order to keep them better and also so as not to be forced to take them off day or night even in taking a bath. I have seen others carrying a complete Qor'an. Amulets with prayers written on paper or stone were attached to many objects and parts of the body.[50]

Thus Adomeit C9 is representative of a class of cases worn on the body that customarily contain full or partial miniature Qur'ans, in effect extending a relational vector between miniature texts affixed to military standards and those affixed to the self. As such this Adomeit example is demonstrative of the widespread use of miniature Qur'ans and Qur'anic phrases for individual rather than corporate protection both within a military context (as evidenced by the martial inscriptions it supports) and far removed from the battlefield. The pervasiveness of this practice attests to a popular desire for textual intimacy and a wish to clothe the self symbolically in the divine text, drawing blessing or *baraka* of the codex inward.

The critical nexus of this functional continuum is the amuletic capacity sustained by Qur'anic or devotional text in miniature form. The personal use of miniature Qur'ans within the Ottoman milieu is hinted at through the survival of an octagonal Qur'an in a gold metal case in the Islamic Arts Museum in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The lid of the case

bears a provocative handwritten note: "The Coran taken from a Turk on the field of battle after his death. Given to K. George the 4th by Monsieur de Narishkian."[51] The note not only provides a terminus ante quem for the manuscript's production (British King George IV ruled from 1820 to 1830), it suggests that an Ottoman soldier intentionally brought the object to the battlefield as an individual apotropaic device.[52]

Upon a visit to Ottoman Egypt between 1825 and 1828, Edward Lane commented that a "respectable Turk in military dress" commonly wore a leather or velvet case intended for a *hijab* (written charm) or miniature copy of the Qur'an.[53] At times the case was empty—a detail that, we can speculate, was perhaps an economical nod to convention. Lane further reports that "it was the custom of Turks of the middle and higher classes, as well as of many other Muslims, to wear a small *mushaf* in an embroidered leather or velvet case hung upon the right side by a silk string which passed over the left shoulder."[54] The intrepid traveler Richard Burton (1821–1890) records that this custom was widespread among pilgrims undertaking the *hajj* to Mecca, particularly among those from Ottoman Turkey. Burton, however, employs specific terminology, noting that pilgrims often wore "a 'Hamail' to denote their holy errand. This is a pocket Qur'an in a gold embroidered crimson velvet or red morocco case, held by silk cords placed over the left shoulder. The Qur'an was supposed to hang on the right side of the body and was never placed below the waist."[55] The term *hama'il* very likely derives from the Arabic root "h-m-l" meaning "to carry." Among his surreptitious notations concerning pilgrimage culture, Burton therefore recorded the plural of a word that may be roughly translated as "things that are carried," "carriables," or "suspendables." The entry of the term into common parlance captures the degree to which these miniature volumes came to be identified through the physical intimacy with the divine text they supported. Still later in the nineteenth century, the scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who lived in the holy city from 1884 to 1885, noted that, "when a Meccan stripped to his shirt, and this happens often enough on account of the heat, one sees through the transparent stuff, hanging by a string down from his shoulder on his naked back a row of many coloured little bags."[56] Although the author calls these items *'azima*s or *hijab*s—that is, written charms—one or more of them may well have contained a *mushaf.*

In dialectical relationship with individual practice, the official presence of miniaturized Qur'anic manuscripts throughout the *hajj* was sanctioned by the ceremonial procession to Mecca of the *mahmal,* a wooden-framed palanquin accompanied by a massive cortege of pilgrims and troops to ensure its safe passage. The camel-borne structure resembled a four-sided tent with a pyramidal top and was covered with richly embroidered brocade. Several *mahmals* containing various precious objects as gifts were sent, but the *mahmal-i şerif* (the so-called "noble litter") refers to that palanquin that transported the *kiswa,* the

embroidered drape of the Kaʿba, along with additional door and window hangings and bands. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277) was the first to send presents to the holy city of Mecca in 664/1266; various Muslim sovereigns quickly adopted the practice, which became associated with the Ottomans through their territorial expansion into Egypt and Syria in 1517.[57] Thereafter the Ottoman sultan annually sponsored three *mahmals* to Mecca from Damascus, Cairo, and Yemen.[58] The Yemeni *mahmal* was discontinued in the seventeenth century,[59] promoting Damascus and Cairo as key assembly points for vast numbers of pilgrims from across the Muslim world. Would-be pilgrims from throughout Syria, Anatolia, and Persia converged on Damascus, while pilgrims from across north and sub-Saharan Africa gathered in Cairo.[60]

In his description of the arrival of the Egyptian *mahmal* in Cairo upon the completion of its expedition, Edward Lane specifically records that the palanquin was adorned with two *mushafs* tied just below its apex, "one on a small scroll, and the other in the form of the book, also small, each enclosed in a case of gilt silver, attached externally at the top."[61] These two miniature Qur'ans performed numerous functions. On one level, they undoubtedly acted as talismans to protect the litter from various thieves and marauders as it made its long and perilous journey back to Cairo from Mecca after various pilgrimage rites. Within this context of return, their appendage might also convey that the *mahmal* was a sacralized object in a post-*hajj* state. The completion of the pilgrimage requires both a geographic and symbolic passage that clearly effects a transformation: the individual may signal this metamorphosis through a change in clothing, the assumption of a new name, or the use of the title *hajji*.[62] Theoretically, this practice can apply to objects as well as to people, and the fixture of these little books to the apex of the *mahmal* is one method of providing a visible sign of metamorphosis. Yet it is highly unlikely that these texts did not accompany the palanquin for the entirety of its voyage. If indeed appended for the duration, the presence of these Qur'ans perhaps served to consecrate the structure, imparting an additional veil of protective holiness and dedicating it to its religious purpose.

The procession of the *mahmal* must also be recognized as an elaborate emblem of sovereignty. Consequently, these diminutive *masahif* represented through synecdoche the political authority and territorial possessions of the Ottoman sultan.[63] A distinctive group of five standard finials made of silver and stamped with the imperial emblems (*tuğras*) of both Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–1640) and Sultan İbrahim (r. 1640–1648) underscores this connection.[64] One of these finials is slightly taller than the others, and rather than displaying the flat, two-sided heads of regular military standards, all are characterized by bulbous, three-dimensional forms indicative of a different purpose. That this group of finials surmounted the poles that were used to erect the baldachin integral to the *mahmal* is very likely.[65] This is the first method through

FIG. 3.9. Termination of a scroll with a Qajar seal impression, miniature Qur'anic scroll, Iran, ca. late 18th–early 20th century, 1,358 × 6.8 cm, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C5. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

which these two miniature Qur'ans intersect with the *sancak* tradition. The second is through the office of the individual who led the entire procession, the *amir al-hajj*.[66] The *amir al-hajj* was in part a military commander in charge of the troops escorting the convoy, who were charged with protecting the caravan. He may therefore have carried his own imperial standard, which in all likelihood bore its own *sancak* Qur'an.[67]

That the Egyptian *mahmal* bore a miniature rotulus in addition to a diminutive codex reflects the prevalence of scroll charms within popular Islamic practices. The earliest *sancak* Qur'ans likely adhered to the scroll format, only later assuming other geometrical shapes.[68] Historically, scrolls of parchment or paper bearing Qur'anic verses, prayers, or other talismanic inscriptions and markings were also folded or rolled into metal tubes or lozenges and suspended around the neck for personal protection.[69] These could be handwritten but were also commonly printed from engraved blocks (*tarsh*) onto long, thin strips of paper or parchment.[70] Although most surviving examples date to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, textual evidence attests to the early development of the practice. Already in the eighth century, for instance, al-Layth (d. 175/791), an Egyptian student of Malik b. Anas, is recorded as saying, "there is no harm in hanging something from the Qur'an above the bed of a woman in childbirth or a sick person, if it is enclosed in leather or placed in a tube."[71]

This traditional, talismanic use of the scroll format informs our understanding of a third item in the Adomeit collection. This specimen condenses the entirety of the Qur'an written in minute *naskh* calligraphy in black ink onto a rotulus measuring 1,358 × 6.8 centimeters and constructed from glazed paper (Figure 3.9). The scroll terminates in a colophon stating that it was copied by one Muhammad b. Muslim. Regrettably the year is not specified, and the accompanying seal is illegible; however, the configuration of the seal and the loops of the calligraphy are typically Qajar.

The Qajar period (1785–1925) is characterized by the encroachment of modern technologies upon calligraphic practices and the written word, namely the advent of printed books through the adoption of typography and lithography within the Islamic world. Tabriz, for example, housed at least two typographic printing presses by 1825, and the first lithographic press in Persia arrived in Tabriz in 1835.[72] By no means did printing techniques completely supplant manuscript production—indeed, initial forays into lithography in particular retained many conventions of existing manuscripts, such as the inclusion of variant wordings in the margins of the text.[73] While some resistance to printing the Qur'anic text always existed, it is intriguing that Adomeit C5 displays both an antiquarian script—that is, revival *naskh* calligraphy—and, through its rotulus shape, an archaizing form. In both script and shape the Adomeit scroll therefore sustains an age-old tradition at a moment of technological experimentation.

While red recitation markers appear throughout the various *suras,* supportive of close personal use, access to any Qur'anic verse is hindered by the scroll's inherent elongation, which demands that it be painstakingly unrolled to access any distinct portion of text. Significantly, the scroll's calligraphy is neither faded nor worn, suggesting that, in this instance, readability was of secondary importance to its scroll shape. The initial thirty-two centimeters of this miniature scroll are reinforced with linen and an additional paper backing, painted red. Therefore, when the entire scroll is tightly wound, this reinforced portion forms a protective outer layer around the object, which originally may have been housed in an additional tubular container and perhaps suspended from the body or slipped into the pocket of the owner, akin to an almanac or calendar scroll.

AMULETIC BOOKS

Some of Adomeit's miniature codices themselves provide physical evidence of being affixed to the body. A small circular Qur'an, likely of Indian origin, features a one-inch loop of green thread around the spine that enables its fixture to an object or person (Adomeit C6). So too does a nineteenth-century sub-Saharan book of Sufi litanies (Adomeit C11).[74] The latter manuscript is housed in a leather pouch with straps on either side, characteristic of its use as a portable prayer manual worn around the neck or waist (see Figures 8.1 and 8.2). Third, a modest square codex—a complete Qur'an save for the last and shortest chapters (Qur'an 108–114)—may have been modified to support such a function. The relative simplicity and minuteness of the third book is captured in this image of its opening folios (Figure 3.10). Illumination is confined to a thin circular frame surrounding the written surface on some, but not all, folios, and to the gold paint used for the chapter headings. The spine of the book is gouged fairly deeply in its center, suggesting that it once housed a hook or other mechanism so that the manuscript could dangle around a neck or perhaps on a wall. Indeed, the brown leather binding is scuffed as only a well-used book can be.

This desire to bind textual amulets to the body and to keep Qur'anic or other devotional texts close to the self is a materialization of a potent hadith (saying) attributed to Muhammad: "The possessor of the Qur'an is like a tied up camel. If one is fastened tight to it, then one can hold it fast but if one loosens it, then it will go."[75] Here the physical intimacy of the fastening motif emphasizes the necessity of regular recitation as a mental and spiritual practice; the "fastening" of the self represents the extensive study and ritual use of the Qur'an, honing the mind and spirit, which would otherwise rebel and lose all of the individual's carefully collected knowledge of the divine. The literal fixture of miniature Qur'ans or other devotional texts to the body functions as a concretization of this deep commitment, continually reinforced through the declarative capacity of close proximity. The physical intimacy of the object worn near or against the owner's body symbolizes the intimacy between self and God available through the vehicle that is text. Trust in

FIG. 3.10. Opening folios, miniature Qur'an, Iran(?), 19th or early 20th century, 4.4 × 4.4 cm, Adomeit miniature Islamic mss. C10, folios 1v–2r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the efficacious nature of the miniature text, either toward a specific cure or outcome or for general benefit, is merely an extension of this belief in divine power as made manifest in graphic form.

Yet even those codices lacking overt physical evidence of adhesion or suspension fulfilled functions that fall within the purview of the amuletic. Proof of this phenomenon is the presence of auspicious contents, activated when the codex is held close in the hand during recitation. For example, the inclusion of a divination manual (*falnama*) at the end of the Safavid Qur'an discussed earlier is no small detail. Its presence represents both a protective impulse and magico-religious interests as much as an adherence to current fashion. This rarely acknowledged practice attempts to foretell future events and to seek guidance (*istikhara*) from God according to the verses and letters of the Qur'an.[76] In the Lilly manuscript, the *falnama* consists of a divination grid attributed to Jaʿfar al-Sadiq (d. 148/765) and comprises the final folios of the codex (279r–280r). The divination grid is preceded by instructions to the reader that outline a short regimen of prayers and *suras* to be recited prior to seeking guidance from the Qur'an. The reader is then prompted to peruse seven lines of text and to identify the first letter of this seventh line, which may then be compared to the grid in order to reveal the

FIG. 3.11. Instructions for divination and inception of the *falnama* grid, miniature Qur'an, Iran, 20 Jumada I, 958/26 May 1551, 6.3 × 5.7 cm, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C12, folio 279r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

seeker's fortune (Figure 3.11). Conversely, the reader may verify whether the seventh line begins with an auspicious verse of mercy (*ayat-i rahmat*) as a sign of affirmation regarding a potential course of action.[77]

The ensuing predictions cover a variety of situations. The reader is assured that "when a person opens the Book and he encounters *alif,* this will indeed be a sign of good fortune." The letter *ba* indicates "that by doing good deeds, you will find comfort in life, and you will receive rewards from a Mighty Lord"; the letter *ta* instructs that "repentance guides a man to the right path. Giving alms will protect a man from evil spirits." An alliterative flourish permeates the outcome of the letter *sad,* which focuses on *sabr* (patience), and advises the reader "that to obtain one's wishes one should exercise patience. If you practice patience, your wishes will be granted." Through the practice of *fal,* the reader thus seeks guidance from the Qur'an through two complementary dimensions: as a text, interacting closely with its graphic content, but also as an object that, by virtue of its miniaturization, is inherently prophylactic.

The manuscript that Ruth Adomeit secreted into the silver Qajar amulet case (Figure 3.7) contains a surprising and unprecedented textual form (Figure 3.12). The written surface of each of its folios displays the same striking format: words written in red and black ink are schematically arranged, with no immediately apparent syntactical relation, within and around a five-petaled flower.

FIG. 3.12. Folios containing "exploded" verses, miniature Qur'an, provenance and date unknown, 4.0 cm in diameter, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C9, folios 5v–6r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

The codex is furthermore divided into sections through the repetition of illuminated details at three intervals: folios 1r, 60v–61r, and 97v–98r all bear identical blue frames, highlighted with gold-painted leaves, while other folios are bare of any such decoration.[78] Folio 1r contains the second half of *Surat al-Fatiha* and the phrase "Guide us to the straight path. . . ." Given the absence of in-leafs in this manuscript, presumably the first portion of the *sura* was originally written on a folio affixed to the doublure. Significantly, folios 97v–98r can be identified as the final chapter of the Qur'an, *Surat al-Nas* ("Mankind," Qur'an 114:1–6), known for its protective potency (Figure 3.13). The words composing the *sura* are present on these two folios; however, they have been scattered across them, requiring the reader to alternate between one folio and the other in order to reconstruct the *sura*'s six constituent verses. This identification of Qur'anic content suggests that the illuminations in the manuscript are functional divisions and that all or some folios in this small volume contain select Qur'anic verses, possibly three distinct *suras,* chosen for their apotropaic properties. The fact that some form of instruction or initiation is required to "read" the esoteric composition repeated on each folio strongly suggests a magico-religious function. The visual rhythm of the words and the centrifugal quality of the design is well suited to cantillation or another manner of focused recitation.

Other diminutive volumes in Adomeit's collection contain less mystifying (yet no less mystical) content. The thirty-sixth *sura* of the Qur'an, known simply by the two letters *Ya Sin* (y-s), provides an auspicious

FIG. 3.13. Opening phrases of *Surat al-Nas,* miniature Qur'an, provenance and date unknown, 4.0 cm in diameter, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C9, folios 97v–98r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

opening for a small rectangular Persian manuscript (Adomeit C1). Although they have been copied according to their proper order within the Qur'anic text, only certain chapters were selected for inclusion in this little book—namely *suras* that include the name of the mysterious letters (*al-huruf al-muqatta'at*) in their title or that are initiated by them, or else one of the mysterious letters appears in their opening sentences. The mysterious letters, also called the "disjointed letters" or "openings" (*fawatih*), refer to sequences of one to five letters of the Arabic alphabet that open a *sura* but carry no literal meaning.[79] *Ya Sin* is one example: it commences simply with the verse "Ya (y) Sin (s). By the Qur'an full of wisdom . . ." (Qur'an 36:1–2). While there is no consensus regarding their interpretation, many scholars conclude that these letters represent the inimitable nature of Qur'anic revelation, which renders the divine accessible to human perception "by means of the very sounds (represented by letters) of ordinary human speech."[80] It is because of this esoteric dimension that these *suras* sustain magical connotations and are attributed amuletic faculties. This protective agency is reinforced by the appearance of the *shahada* on folio 79v and of the Throne Verse (*ayat al-kursi,* Qur'an 2:255) near the end of the manuscript, extracted from its normal position within *surat al-Baqara* no doubt due to its beneficial and apotropaic qualities.[81]

Another miniature text, housed in an octagonal nineteenth-century green velvet case (Figure 3.14), ends on folio 229r with *Surat al-Nas*—a fact unto itself not out of the ordinary.[82] Yet in this particular specimen

FIG. 3.14. Green velvet case and miniature Qur'an, possibly Iran or Ottoman Turkey, 19th century, 4.8 × 4.7 × 3 cm (case), 3.3 × 3.2 cm (codex), Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C3. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 3.15. (*opposite*) Opening illuminated folios containing *Surat al-Fatiha* and the beginning of *Surat al-Baqara,* miniature Qur'an, Iran, 1274/1895, 4.6 × 4.0 cm, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C8, folios 1v–2r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the verse is written on a folio conspicuously pasted directly to the doublure. This detail allows easy access to its contents, which are worn from repeated handling. Clearly this final *sura* was a prized element of the codex, and served as the focus of regular recitation and meditation in response to its protective capacity.

Of course, the amuletic contents detected in the above examples do not signify that the commissioning or purchasing of these little volumes was devoid of other motivating factors, such as aesthetic appreciation or wonder at marvelous craftsmanship at reduced scale. On the contrary, one octagonal nineteenth-century Persian Qur'an (Figure 3.15) is clearly a luxury object, likely commissioned to be an esteemed collectible. Its brown leather wallet binding is generously decorated with a gold-painted frame and geometric designs. Every folio of this minute manuscript is gold-flecked and smoothly polished to a high sheen. Its opening folios manifest a fantastically intricate double-page illumination. *Surat al-Fatiha* and the initial words of *Surat al-Baqara* emerge from a lustrous surface of gold paint accented with blue and pink pigments. Certainly the calligrapher took pride in the extraordinarily high quality of his writing, signing his work on folio 287r with the phrase, "Written by the lowly, the Shaykh ʿUmar Dazi, 1274."[83]

This deliberate adherence to the codex form and consequent emphasis upon traditional book arts—such as binding, tooling, stamping, and gilded illumination—differentiates these miniature texts from conventional amulets, distinguishing them as amuletic books rather than bibliophilic amulets. After all, a binding could be considered little more than a generic repository for a series of folded pieces of paper or parchment. Yet even the most modest of Adomeit's specimens participate in the esteem of the book. Returning to Adomeit C3, the gilt paint that envelops the edges of all of the constituent folios signals the preciousness of the collective entity despite its extreme miniaturization (Figure 3.16).

THE LIMITS OF MINIATURIZATION

One final question prompted by these small-scale manuscripts is whether such little codices were used as one would expect a book to be used. In other words, were they read by their owners? By definition an amulet is ascribed inherent power, yet the amuletic use of text, through its graphic nature—its *readability*—supports a greater degree of intimacy between an object and its owner (or, as the case may be, wearer), who, if fully or partially literate, would be very likely to fix his or her eyes closely on the text, move his or her fingers over letters, and recite the words contained on any one folio.[84] Of course, literacy is not required for benefit to be accrued, and, theoretically, neither is legibility, although the latter may have been assured by the impropriety inherent in the distortion of the Qur'anic text. Even if miniaturization were to compromise the legibility of a divine text, a reduction in scale serves to further concentrate or distill its power. The attempt to read a text written in a smaller, "covert" scale, almost hidden or obscured from the eye, reenacts the process of revelation, of which the divine truth contained within the text is both product and proof.[85]

While the legibility of any text is at serious risk upon its miniaturization, none of Adomeit's specimens display script that may be deemed completely illegible. Legibility is compromised only in one specimen (Adomeit C6) due to the crepe-like translucency of the paper, which is not substantial enough to inhibit the words on the alternate side of a folio being visible when perusing the other. In other specimens, accessibility is limited to those with an intimate knowledge of the Qur'an due

FIG. 3.16. General view, miniature Qur'an, probably Iran, 19th century, 3.3 × 3.2 cm, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C3 (see Figure 3.14). The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

to the lack of *sura* headings to guide the worshipper through the text. Despite their reduced scale, many specimens display red recitation and diacritical marks above and below the letters, and/or marginal notations in different hands and inks than those of the calligrapher, thus attesting to the readers' close interaction with and annotation of the texts.

It must be recalled, however, that the worshipper's experience of the Qur'an is primarily oral, auditory, and improvisatory. As a devotional text, the Qur'an is always recited aloud, and depending on the style of recitation, its cantillation may mimic the cadence of normal speech or comprise highly musical textual-melodic phrases.[86] The noun *al-Qur'an* is derived from the verb *qara'a,* meaning "to read" or "to recite," signaling both oral recitation and reading from a written text.[87] That the recurring imperative "*Qul*!" ("Say!") introduces more than three hundred Qur'anic passages is a striking reminder of the oral/aural character of this sacred text.[88] With the exception of the earliest specimens, written manuscripts of the Qur'an are littered with marginal and interlinear markings indicative of mandatory and permissible stops, places of required prostration, and other necessary information for correct recitation. Indeed,

> . . . there is an ever present, orally heard, and memorized Qur'an in addition to the written version of the Sacred Text, an auditory reality which touches the deepest chords in the souls of the faithful, even if they are unable to read the Arabic text.[89]

Because of this emphasis upon memorization of the Qur'an within religious education—in both Arabic-speaking and non-Arabic-speaking regions of the Muslim world—a mental text will always precede and surpass the written text; the latter technically acting only as an aide-mémoire to what is already known within the heart. On a theological level, any Qur'anic manuscript (*mushaf*) is simply a material manifestation of an earthly exemplar derived from an ultimate celestial scripture (the so-called *al-Kitab* or *Umm al-Kitab*). Because a written holy text's relationship with this prototype invests it with perceived sacrosanct power, even the sheer physical presence of a Qur'an may be said to bestow blessing, or *baraka*.[90]

CONCLUSION

The present chapter does not aim to insist that all diminutive Islamic texts are exclusively amuletic. To do so would merely substitute one monolithic interpretation for another. Yet it is critical to emphasize that all small manuscripts have the *potential* to be amuletic, and that this potential is intrinsically linked to devotion, which renders the numinous accessible through close use. Such small volumes thus exist on a continuum between amulet and devotion, supporting both faculties, which themselves need not be mutually exclusive. Salient parallels exist between these volumes and small portable prayer books in Medieval Europe, which were similarly intimate objects. When not being used, Books of Hours could be secreted up a sleeve or protected in pouches suspended from a belt, or else stowed in small boxes (*cuir bouilli* or *cuir ciselé*) carried on the shoulder or dangled around the neck.[91] Like miniature Qur'ans, Books of Hours could sustain protective properties, by themselves or amplified through the "interlarding of [disposable] amuletic texts."[92] Yet the intimacy sustained by diminutive Qur'anic codices versus Christian prayer books is not wholly commensurate. Although oftentimes buttressed by luxurious illumination and painted detail, the Qur'an is customarily devoid of figural and narrative imagery. In contrast, partial or full-page illustrations commonly appear within Books of Hours (at least in those enjoyed by elite Christian audiences) in addition to text; therefore, rather than supporting a purely textual intimacy, perhaps Books of Hours sustain what may be better termed a "devotional intimacy."[93]

In conclusion, it has become clear that the study of miniature books involves fairly monumental complexities. The deployment of miniature Qur'anic manuscripts in warfare cannot be considered a solely Ottoman-Turkish phenomenon. Not only are these miniature manuscripts more widespread throughout the Islamic world than has been previously proposed, but when diminutive books participated in the theater of war, they were fastened not only to the shaft of standards held aloft by the

troops but also intimately on the bodies of the soldiers themselves,[94] including within a Persian context.

The diminutive size of these little volumes sustains a markedly corporeal dimension. Their miniature scale not only facilitated their adhesion to and suspension from the body but also demanded they be kept close to the body when used. This keeping of the text physically proximate, or interacting intimately with the text—that is, the maintenance of a sort of "textual intimacy"—should itself be recognized as an externalization of the desire for spiritual intimacy with the divine and the pious urge to interiorize, to embody, or to concretize the tenets of the sacred text. The differentiating factor of the amuletic capacity of these little books, as compared to amulets of a more conventional form (made of stone, wood, or leather), is the primacy of the codex form and the overt retention of legibility even in its miniature manifestation.

APPENDIX 3.1

All manuscripts' dimensions are supplied with measurements recording length by width (and by thickness, as needed). Abbreviations include "Union cat. no." (Union List of Arabic Manuscripts) and "Adomeit Inventory no." (Adomeit Personal Inventory Sheets). For a more detailed description of each manuscript, also see the Islamic book arts Web module at: www.artmuseum.iu.edu.

Title: Selected Qur'anic Chapters

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C1
- Location and date: Iran, late 19th or early 20th century
- Shape: rectangular
- Paper: poor quality beige rag
- Binding: regular binding; spine is reinforced with brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 3.1 × 5.2 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 3.0 × 3.8 cm
- No. of folios: 98
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 4
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Colophon: (f. 94v): "Muhammad Husayn, son of Muhammad Riza" and (f. 96v): "20th of _____." (illegible)
- Union cat. no.: 15
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 72

Title: Collection of Hadiths

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C2
- Location and date: North Africa, late 18th to early 20th century
- Shape: square
- Paper: highly polished beige rag
- Binding: wallet binding made of reddish-brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 5.8 × 5.7 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 3.5 × 3.3 cm
- No. of folios: 108
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 10
- Script: *maghribi*
- Color of ink: black, select letters in purple, pink, light blue
- Union cat. no.: no obvious concordance
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 54

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C3
- Location and date: Iran, 19th century
- Shape: octagonal
- Container: 4.8 × 4.7 × 3.0 cm
- Paper: polished beige rag, minimal glazing
- Binding: regular
- Dimensions of folios: 3.3 × 3.2 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 2.4 × 2.4 cm
- No. of folios: ~229
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 17
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: 14
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 16

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C4
- Location and date: Iran, 19th century
- Shape: elongated octagon
- Paper: highly polished beige rag
- Binding: regular binding made of brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 6.0 × 5.1 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 4.2 × 3.6 cm
- No. of folios: 170
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 17
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: 8
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 56

Title: Miniature Qur'anic Scroll

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C5
- Location and date: Iran, late 18th to early 20th century
- Shape: scroll
- Paper: glazed beige rag
- Dimensions of scroll: 1,358 × 6.8 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 6.1 cm wide
- Average no. of lines of text per inch: 4
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black

- Colophon: "Written by the servant, the lowly, the most law-abiding Muhammad b. Muslim."
- Union cat. no.: 13
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 71

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C6
- Location and date: Indian subcontinent, possibly Kashmir, late 17th to late 19th century
- Shape: circular
- Paper: very thin beige rag, slight gloss
- Binding: regular
- Dimensions of folios: 4.1 cm in diameter
- Dimensions of written surface: 3.2 cm in diameter
- No. of folios: 248
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 16
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: 16
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 67

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C7
- Location and date: probably Iran, 19th century
- Shape: octagonal
- Paper: beige rag, worn from handling
- Binding: regular binding made of brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 4.0 × 3.8 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 2.6 × 2.6 cm
- No. of folios: ~200, unbound
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 13
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: 12
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 17

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C8
- Location and date: Ottoman Turkey or Qajar Iran, 1857–1858
- Shape: elongated octagon
- Paper: highly polished and gold-flecked beige rag
- Binding: wallet binding (tongue broken off) made of brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 4.6 × 4.0 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 2.6 × 2.5 cm
- No. of folios: 287
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 15
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Colophon: (f. 287r) "Written by the lowly, the Sheikh Omar D_____, 1274." (illegible).
- Union cat. no.: 7
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 18

Title: Select Qur'anic Chapters

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C9
- Location and date: Iran, container dates to the late 18th or 19th century; provenance and date of the manuscript are unknown
- Shape: octagonal
- Container: 4.7 × 8.2 (including brackets) × 1.3 cm
- Paper: highly polished and smooth beige rag
- Binding: regular binding made of brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 4.0 cm in diameter
- Dimensions of written surface: 2.7 × 2.6 cm
- No. of folios: 113
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 7 "levels" of text; unconventional layout
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: 9
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 62

Title: Miniature Qur'an (nearly complete)

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C10
- Location and date: Iran, 19th or early 20th century
- Shape: square
- Paper: polished beige rag with visible chain lines
- Binding: regular binding made of scuffed brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 4.4 × 4.4 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 3.3 × 3.2 cm
- No. of folios: 187
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 19
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: no obvious concordance
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 13

Title: Al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat*

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C11
- Location and date: sub-Saharan Africa, probably northern Nigeria, 19th or 20th century
- Shape: rectangular
- Container: 10 × 9.5 × 4 cm
- Paper: beige rag
- Dimensions of folios: 6.9 × 7.9 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 6.1 × 6.3 cm
- No. of folios: 27 folios; 60 bifolia, unbound
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 7
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: brown, black, and red
- Union cat. no.: no obvious concordance
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 19

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Adomeit Miniature Islamic mss. C12
- Location and date: Safavid Iran, 26 May 1551
- Shape: octagonal
- Container: 8.1 in diameter × 3.5 cm (case); 27 × 1 cm (chain)
- Paper: highly polished beige rag
- Binding: regular binding made of brown leather
- Dimensions of folios: 6.3 × 5.7 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 3.8 × 3.8 cm
- No. of folios: 280
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 12
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Colophon: (f. 277v) "On Tuesday, the 20th of the month of Jumada I, of the year 958."
- Union cat. no.: 11
- Adomeit Inventory no.: 15

Title: Miniature Qur'an

- Acc. no.: Lilly Library, Allen mss. 13
- Location and date: probably Iran, 19th century
- Shape: octagonal
- Container: 5.0 cm in diameter × 1.8 cm
- Paper: smooth beige rag
- Dimensions of folios: 4.4 × 4.4 cm
- Dimensions of written surface: 3.6 × 3.6 cm
- No. of folios: ~250, unbound
- Average no. of lines of text per folio: 16
- Script: *naskh*
- Color of ink: black
- Union cat. no.: 29

APPENDIX 3.2

This appendix provides an English translation and Persian transcription of the "Book of Divination" (*falnama*) included at the end of the Safavid miniature Qur'an dated 20 Jumada I, 958 (26 May 1551) in the Lilly Library (Adomeit mss. C12, folios 278v–280r). Italics are used in both the English translation and the Persian transcription to indicate words, expressions, and the petitionary prayer (*du'a*) written in Arabic. The Persian transcription and translation into English were both done by Sheida Raihi.

English Translation

In the Name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate

Imam Ja'far Sadiq, prayers and peace be upon him, says that whoever desires to know the future of his affairs through divination by the Qur'an should first perform ablutions. He should hold the full text of the Qur'an and three times utter the salutation: "*Prayers and peace of God be upon Muhammad and his family.*" After this, he should read one time *Surat al-Fatiha* (Qur'an 1) and three times *Surat al-Ikhlas* (Qur'an 112). He also should recite the following prayer (*du'a*) while having pure and sincere thoughts and thinking of God. As he opens the Book, the prayer is:

> *O Lord, I have trusted in You and have made divination by Your Book, so show me what is concealed in Your hidden mysteries and (what is) in Your hidden world. With Him are the keys to the things that are beyond the reach of a created being's perception: no one knows them but He and He knows all that is on land and sea; and not a leaf falls without His knowing; and neither is there a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor anything living or dead that is not recorded in (His) clear decree.*[95]

And when the Qur'an is open, the reader should count seven pages further and look on the right side of the page. He should count seven lines down and examine the beginning of the seventh line to see what the first letter of the line is, because this letter describes his state [affairs] and possessions. According to another tradition, after he opens the Book he should count seven lines down and see if the beginning of the seventh line starts with a verse of mercy *(ayat-i rahmat)*.[96] If so, then he can proceed [with his requested action] but, if not, then he should renounce [carrying it out].

Alif: When a person opens the Book and he encounters *alif,* this will indeed be a sign of good fortune.

Ba means that by doing good deeds, you will find comfort in life, and you will receive rewards from a Mighty Lord.

Ta means that repentance guides a man to the right path. Giving alms will protect a man from evil spirits.

Sa: If *sa* appears in your fortune, you will earn a good name in religious and state affairs.

Jim: Hard work in one's affairs will produce unexpected fortune.

Ha means that you will be stronger when you are surrounded by relatives, and thus you will be free from grief and sorrow.

Kha: Men are always afflicted by fear and danger; he who is always mindful of God need not worry.

Dal: When you obtain your wish, you will gain power, splendor, and glory.

Zal: Don't let sorrow and worry consume you; rejoice for the enemy will be destroyed.

Ra: [If *ra*] appears in your fortune, this is a sign of grandeur; you will have a long life and good fortune as well.

Za means that you will face difficulties in your affairs, but [God] in the end will rescue you from troubles.

Sin: You will have happiness in both places [in this world and in the next], and God will grant you anything that your heart desires.

Shin: If you are afraid of the enemy, you should always stay clear from him.

Sad means that to obtain one's wishes one should exercise patience. If you practice patience, your wishes will be granted.

Zad: You will face misery in the days ahead; don't worry, you will overcome it.

Ta: O you, man of good deeds, if you come upon *ta* in the Book, this means that you will abstain from evil-doing for the sake of the Creator.

Za means that one will eventually overcome

all of one's suffering and pain, for he who searches will finally find that which he desires.

ʿAyn: Beware that if you see *ʿayn* in your fortune, you will have a clear understanding of your affairs.

Ghayn: One should sacrifice one thing for the other; if you do so, everything will be fine.

Fa: O wise man, if *fa* appears in your fortune, this means that [good] deeds will accumulate and you will prosper.

Qaf: If *qaf* appears, then your word will be accepted; rest assured that you will be safe from fear and harm.

Kaf means that there is fear that you might suddenly face animosity. Be aware.

Lam: O noble man, if *lam* appears in your fortune, you will be free from sadness and worry.

Mim means that if you are accused of wrongdoing, your enemy will eventually pay for his evil-doing.

Nun means that he who suffers in his endeavors will eventually reap rewards for his hardships.

Vav means that you will have no need of mankind; the Creator will assist you in both worlds.

Ha: [If *ha*] appears in your fortune, your enemies will be destroyed and you will be free from bad-mouthing and gossip.

La: For whoever encounters the letter *la* in his fortune, his affairs will run into problems.

Ya means that eventually your affairs will be successful, and like the sun you will be delivered from harm and destruction.

May all who read these versified words rejoice. Peace.

Persian Transcription

بِسمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمنِ الرَّحیم

امام جعفر صادق علیه الصّلوة و آله السّلام گوید که هر که خواهد که بطریق فال گرفتن از قرآن عاقبة کار خود بداند باید که طهارة کند و مصحفی ازاوّل تا آخر درست در کنار گیرد و سه نوبة صلوات بر رسول صلی الله علیه وَ آله وَ سلّم بفرستد وَ بعد از آن سورهٔ فاتحه یکنوبة و سورهٔ اخلاص سه مرتبه بخواند و دیگر این دها بخواند و نیّتی که دارد بتضرّع و ابتهال و توجّه تمام در دل بگذراندو مصحف باز گشاید وَ دعا اینست *اَللّهُمَّ انّی تَوَکَّلْتُ عَلَیْکَ وَ تَفَأَّلْتُ بِکِتابِکَ فَاَرِنی ما هُو الْمَکتوم فی سِرِّکَ الْمَکّنونُ فی غَیْبِکَ وَ عِنْدَهُ مَفاتِحُ الْغَیْب لا یَعْلَمُها اِلّا هُوَ وَ یَعْلَمُ مَا فِی الْبَرِّوَ الْبَحْرِ وَ ما تَسْقُطُ مِنْ وَرَقَةٍ اِلّا یَعْلَمُها وَ لا حَبَّةٍ فی ظُلُماتِ الاَرضِ وَ لا رَطْبٍ وَ لا یَابِسٍ اِلا فی کِتابٍ مُبینٍ* وَ چون مصحف باز گشاده باشد هفت ورق باز کند وَ از صفحهٔ دست راست هفت سطر بشمارد و اوّل سطر هفتم احتیاط کند که چه حرفست که آن حال وَ اوضاع وَ اموال وی باشد و بروایتی دیگر چون مصحف باز گشاید هفت سطر بشمارد وَ نگاه کند که اوّل سطر هفتم آیهٔ رحمتست آن کار بکند و الّا ترک کند.

چون **الف** آید بفال اندر کتاب	ابتدای کار باشد خیر و صَواب
ب به نیکویی بیابی راحتی	منفعت یابی ز صاحب دولتی
ت به توبه باز گردی از خطَا	ار دهی صدقه شود دفع بَلا
ث اگر آید بفال اندر کلام	گردی اندر دین و دنیا نیک نام
ج جدّ و جهد کن در کار خویش	کاندرآید ناگهان دولت به پیش
ح ز خویشان دولتی یابی قوی	از غم و اندوه دل ایمن شوی
خ نباشی خالی از خوف و خطر	با خدا باش آن کن تو حذر
د دولت باشدت با عزّ و ناز	دست بر مقصود خود کردی دراز
ذ دشمن خوار گردد شاد باش	وز غم و اندووه دل آزاد باش
ر بفال اندر نشان مهتری	هم ز عمر و هم ز دولت بر خوری

ز زکار خویش درمانی بجان
عاقبت از آن ترا بخشد امان

س سعادت باشدت در هر دو جای
هر چه خواهی هم بیابی از خدای

ش اگر از دشمن آید ترس و بیم
باید از دشمن حذر کردن مقیم

ص صبری کرده باید بر مراد
چونکه کردی صبر کارت بر گشاد

ض روزی چند غم خواری شوی
بیشک اندر عهدهٔ کاری شوی

ط اگر آید بفالت خوب کار
در ره خالق شوی پرهیزکار

ظ برون آیی زغم و ز رنج و درد
هم بیابد آنچه طالب گشت مرد

ع اگر آید بفال ای هوشیار
آشکارا گرددت احوال کار

غ باید داد چیزی خواسته
چونکه دادی کار شد آراسته

ف اگر آید بفال ای هوشیار
جمع گردد کار و گردی کامکار

ق اگر آید شوی مقبول قول
بیشکی ایمن شوی از بیم و هول

ک بیم آن بود کت ناگهان
در خصومت اوفتی هشدار هان

ل اگر آید بفال ای مرد خاص
از غم و اندوه دل یابی خَلاص

م اگر کاری ملامت یابد او
یا ز دشمن خود غرامت یابد او

ن در کاری که رنجی بردهٔ
نفع یابی زانکه بس آزردهٔ

و از خلقان بگردی بی نیاز
سازدت کار دو عالم کارساز

ه هلاک دشمنان آید بفال
رسته از گفت وگوی و قیل و قال

لا آید بفال هر یکی
کار وی شوریده گردد اندکی

ی بغایت کار تو گردد کمال
وارهی چون مهر از نقص و زوال

چونکه منظوم این ما فی الکلام
شاد بادا هر که خواند و السلام

NOTES

I am sincerely grateful to Christiane J. Gruber for introducing me to this material and for her helpful guidance throughout my research. I am also grateful to the staff of the Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts at Indiana University for their enthusiastic support of this project.

1. Dispersed fragments of a "mega" Qur'an have garnered substantial scholarly attention. Although the manuscript is often attributed to Baysunghur b. Shahrukh, a reference in Qazi Ahmad's 16th-century treatise, the *Gulistan-i Hunar* (Rosegarden of Art), suggests that the manuscript was instead made for his predecessor Timur (r. 1370–1405). Ahmad recounts that "the calligrapher 'Umar Aqta' had tried to astonish Timur by writing a Qur'an so small that it could fit under a signet ring, but, when the Lord of Time was unmoved, 'Umar went away and wrote a Qur'an so large that it had to be brought to Timur on a cart." See Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir-Munshi, circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606,* trans. V. Minorsky (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, 1959), 64, cited in "The 'Baysunghur' Qur'an: A History and Reconstruction," in David James, *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15th and the 16th Centuries,* ed. Julian Raby, NDKCIA, vol. 3 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1991), 18–23 and nos. 2 and 3. Also see Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 265–268; and Thomas W. Lenz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 36, nos. 6A–C.

2. Some examples include Esin Atil, *The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; New York: Abrams, 1987), no. 17, 58, and no. 21, 63–64; J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (Secaucus, N.J.: Wellfleet Press, 1988), no. 27, 84; Nabil F. Safwat, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to the 20th Centuries,* The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 6 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1996), no. 25, 48–49; Crofton Black and Nabil Saidi, *Islamic Manuscripts* (London: Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, 2000), no. 19, 50–51; and James, *After Timur,* no. 17, 70.

3. Sheila Blair is one of the few to break with scholarly prejudice in her assertion that a small number of *sancak* Qur'ans were made as presentation pieces to the Ottoman court. See her discussion of a miniature Qur'an transcribed by Halul Muhammad Zahir in 978/1570–1571 and its accompanying jewel-studded jade case in Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 482–483.

4. Together these twelve specimens compose the Adomeit Miniature Islamic Manuscripts (hereafter simply "Adomeit"). For a summary of the codicological details of these miniature manuscripts, see Appendix 3.1. Further information on these specimens may also be accessed through an online web module at www.artmuseum.iu.edu.

5. Ruth E. Adomeit's bequest of her collection to the Lilly Library resulted in the transfer of approximately thirty thousand rare books and other items, of which approximately five thousand are miniaturized versions of all manner of texts, from philosophical treatises to biblical verses for children. For further information on Ruth E. Adomeit and her collecting practices, see the chapter in this volume by Janet Rauscher. This chapter will focus solely on the miniature Islamic manuscripts within her collection. The Adomeit collection also includes approximately thirty to fifty uncatalogued examples of printed miniature Qur'ans. The majority of these date to the late 19th or 20th century, and deserve future study. Due to limited space, this chapter will only address the miniature Islamic manuscripts and not the miniature Islamic printed books in the Adomeit collection.

6. The library archives also house her personal papers, including inventories of her collection drafted according to a self-made numbering system, along with her extensive correspondence with curators, scholars, and other bibliophiles. See Ruth E. Adomeit, Personal Inventory Sheets, Box 10, f. 15, Adomeit mss. II. Manuscripts Department, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

7. The terms "amulet" and "talisman" are used interchangeably in common parlance, yet for the purpose of this chapter preference is given to the former, in accordance with the distinctions made by Emilie Savage-Smith. She distinguishes amulets as objects: "usually made of long-lasting materials and . . . apparently meant to function continuously over a long period" whereas "[t]he term talisman has generally been employed . . . for the more ephemeral forms of amulet, such as those written on paper or parchment, while the adjective 'talismanic' has been used broadly to describe any object on which there is a magical design." See Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* ed. Julian Raby, NDKCIA, vol. 12 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1997), vol. 1, 133. While these miniature codices are naturally composed of paper, the structure of the codex format bestows a relative permanence or durability upon the object, so that it is less subject to the wear and tear faced by small scraps of paper containing charms.

8. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1945), 243. My sincere thanks to Emre Gonlugur for his translation of a chapter of this text.

9. Specifically through pivotal victories in Safavid Iran (1514), Mamluk Egypt (1517), Rhodes (1522), and Hungary (1526). Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71/3 (Sept. 1989): 412.

10. Talikizade noted, "The Ottoman dynasty has seven standards (*sancak*) which symbolize their rule over the seven climes (*yedi iklim*)." See Christine Woodhead, ed., *Ta'liki-zade's Şehname-i hümayun: A History of the Ottoman Campaign into Hungary 1593–94* (Berlin: K. Schwarz Verlag, 1983), 120. Cited in Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power," 412, n. 44. As Necipoğlu notes, these seven climes included the kingdoms of Byzantium, Trebizond, and Asia, represented by three crowns in various works by Giovanni Bellini completed for Mehmed II, and the four newly acquired realms mentioned above.

11. There is some fluidity to the terminology of these standards. In Ottoman Turkish the term *sancak* most often refers specifically to the emblematic fabric fastened to a pole, while the term *alem* denotes its supporting apparatus—that is, both the pole and the metal finial affixed to its apex. In modern Turkish the term *sancak* may be used to denote the entirety of the standard (its pole, the banner or standard affixed near its point, and the uppermost finial), not simply the fabric of the standard itself. The term *alem* often refers solely to the ornamented metal finial attached to the tip of the pole. I am thankful to Hakkı Erdem Çıpa for his clarification of these fine distinctions. For the present chapter, I have

adopted the usage of Hülya Tezcan and Turgay Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri* (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1991), 70. I am also grateful to Yasemin Gencer for her translation of portions of the Tezcans' catalogue.

12. Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* 71. Currently there is no satisfactory explanation of the predominance of the octagonal shape among surviving specimens. A speculative link may be made with the preeminent octagonal shape of the Dome of the Rock completed by the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 691.

13. Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/824, 16th century. Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* no. 55, 88–89, and fig. 34.

14. Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* 89.

15. *Surat al-Fath* (48:1–3) reads: "We have granted you a manifest victory: That God may forgive thee your faults of the past and those to follow; fulfill His favor to you; and guide you on the straight way." *Surat al-Nasr* (110:1–3) reads: "When God's help and victory come, and you see men embrace His faith in multitudes, give glory to your Lord and seek His pardon. He is ever disposed to mercy." *Surat al-Saff* (61:13) reads: "And He will bestow upon you other blessings which you desire: help from God and a speedy victory. Proclaim the good tidings to the faithful."

16. *Surat al ʿImran* (3:1–2) reads: "*Alif, lam, mim.* God, there is no god but Him, the Living, the Eternal One." *Ayat al-kursi* (2:255) reads: "God, there is no god but Him, the Living, the Eternal One. Neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him. His is what the heavens and the earth contain. Who can intercede with Him except by His permission? He knows what is before and behind men. They can grasp only that part of His knowledge which He wills. His throne is as vast as the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of both does not weary Him. He is the Exalted, the Immense One."

17. Tezcan and Tezcan note the existence of a possible pair or double for this finial (Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/1020, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* 89). This *saifa* is void of inscriptions and titles but is attributed to Selim's reign due to the similarity in style of its script. It bears one Qur'an container tied to the hilt.

18. Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/1990, 17th century. See Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* cat. no. 49, 85–86, fig. 32.

19. Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* 86.

20. For example, Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/1968, dated to 981/1573 and reused by subsequent sultans. The original case is octagonal and was tied to the hilt. The miniature Qur'an contained within dates to 991/1583.

21. *Eğri Fetihnamesi,* Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1609, folios 68v–69r. I am grateful to Emine Fetvacı for information about this manuscript. A detail of this illustration (from folio 68v) also accompanies Turgay Tezcan's article, "A Special Group of Ottoman-Turkish Standards from the 17th Century," in *Art turc: 10ème Congrès international d'art turc, Genève, 17–23 septembre 1995,* ed. François Déroche et al. (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), fig. 1, 670.

22. Quoted in Zdzisław Żygulski, Jr., *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 32.

23. While the term *sancak* may refer to a military banner or standard, the word also refers to a geo-political subdivision of the Ottoman Empire, specifically an administrative district under the rule of a military governor. The *sancakbeyi* was therefore the governor of the Crimean port city of Kaffa (historically also called Caffa and Kefe), which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475.

24. Quoted in Żygulski, *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire,* 26 and 32.

25. Jane Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 116.

26. Tezcan, "A Special Group of Ottoman-Turkish Standards from the 17th Century," 668.

27. Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions,* 116.

28. Juynboll argues that the *qurra'* composed separate military detachments; Martin Hinds asserts that the *qurra'* were "attached to [military] formations," while Norman Calder interprets the term *qurra'* as referring to "temporary or seasonal troops." See G. H. A. Juynboll, "The Qur'an Reciter on the Battlefield and Concomitant Issues," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 125 (1975); 11–27; Martin Hinds, "Kufan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2/4 (1971): 363; and Norman Calder, "The *Qurra* and the Arab Lexicographical Tradition," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 36/2 (1991): 305. Cited in Asma Afsaruddin, "The Excellences of the Qur'an: Textual Sacrality and the Organization of Early Islamic Society," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/1 (January–March 2002): 15.

29. Juynboll, "The Qur'an Reciter," 17.

30. Ibid. While the vast majority of surviving miniature Qur'ans date from the 14th century onward, the Detroit Institute of Arts houses a unique miniature parchment folio dating to the 9th or early 10th century. The folio (DIA 25.72.A) bears fourteen lines of Qur'anic text written in Kufic script and measures 3.8 × 6.8 cm.

31. Martin Hinds, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17/1 (1972): 94. Within the history of the written Qur'anic text, the term *mushaf* (pl. *masahif*) means the collected *suhuf* (portions of

text written on loose material such as sheets or fragments of papyri, leaves, etc.) bound together in a fixed order. At a general level, the term is used to indicate a bound and complete version of the Qur'an, that is, a codex. Hinds observes that while most reports describe *masahif* raised on or attached to spears or spearheads, others are silent about the exact mode of display. This raises the possibility "that the display of *al-mushaf,* i.e. a complete version of the Qur'an, provoked a further display of *masahif* which may have been pieces of parchment inscribed with words from the Qur'an and used as amulets." Hinds further notes that precedents for the strategic display of the Qur'anic text to cease hostilities may be found in descriptions of the Battle of the Camel (see ibid., 95–96).

32. For a complete transcription into modern Persian of this *falnama* and its translation into English, see Appendix 3.2. I thank Sheida Riahi, a master's student specializing in Islamic art in the Department of the History of Art, Indiana University Bloomington, for allowing me to reproduce her transcription and translation here.

33. See Antony Welch, "The Falnameh (Book of Divination) of Shah Tahmasp," in *Treasures of Islam,* ed. Toby Falk (London: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), 94–99.

34. Another *alem* is attributed to the Akkoyunlu Sultan Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–1478), purportedly taken by Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) at the battle of Otlukbeli on August 11, 1473. See Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. no. 1/3 (Tezcan and Tezcan, *Türk Sançak Alemleri,* no. 54, 87–88).

35. The Allen manuscript collection consists of fifty-three heterogeneous specimens dating from the 9th to the 20th century. For information on William Edward Allen, see the chapter in this volume by Janet Rauscher.

36. Adomeit's personal inventory sheets make this clear. See Adomeit Box 10, f. 15. On the sixth page of her inventory, under the entry for ASI 62, she has written "*Koran,* octagonal, 1½" × 1½" (mss. in metal case, but not original—bot case later." Her description of the manuscript within, along with her idiomatic use of the term "bot," leaves no doubt that this is ASI 62. She describes it thus: "Each page has flower design—five petals and writing in petal is black, center & [word illegible] of octagon (border) writing is red."

37. For a summary of Qur'anic verses widely used as talismans, see Tewfik Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 2004), 131. On page 131, Canaan also recounts a story attributed to Muhammad that reinforces the efficacy of the two final *suras:* "The prophet used these two verses while he was suffering severely from the results of the bewitchment caused by the Jew Lubaid and his daughter. These tied eleven knots in a cord and hid it in a well. God sent the archangel Gabriel with these two *suras* and instructed him to teach Mohammad how to use them and where to find the cord. The prophet recited over the 11 knots the 11 verses of the two chapters [the *basmalah* of *sura* 114 is not counted within this story as a verse]. At the end of each recital one knot was untied by an unseen power. As soon as all the knots were loosened the prophet was freed from his serious illness." The *suras* of refuge are also described as being widely used in protective magic in Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 59.

38. For talismanic shirts, see Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler* (Istanbul: Euromat, 2006).

39. See Atil, *The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent,* nos. 122 and 123, 196–198; David Roxburgh, *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years: 600–1600* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), no. 257, 300–301 and 442, and no. 322, 344–345 and 458–459; and Emilie-Savage Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 117–123.

40. Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 117.

41. Ibid.

42. Esin Atil presents this as a certainty (*The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent,* 196); Savage-Smith is less certain, noting that some shirts "are quite full and could have been worn over other items of clothing" (*Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 117).

43. See entry no. 316 in David Alexander and Howard Ricketts, "Arms and Armour," in *Treasures of Islam,* ed. Toby Falk (London: Sotheby's/Philip Wilson Publishers, 1985), 306–307.

44. Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 117, and 118, n. 13.

45. Christopher Gandy, "Inscribed Silver Amulet Boxes," in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum,* ed. James Allan (Oxford: published by Oxford University Press for the Board of Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, c. 1995), part I, 155; also see Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 144.

46. These include *tilsam, hijab, hamila, hirz, maska, ta'widh,* and *tumar.* Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 132.

47. Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 132; and Gandy, "Inscribed Silver Amulet Boxes," 155. Interestingly, an 18th- or 19th-century Persian scroll amulet box in the Rare Book Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Islamic mss. 220), contains a paper rotulus inscribed with various prayers, one of which is specifically identified as "the prayer of the armband" (*du'a-yi bazuband*). I wish to thank Christiane Gruber and Gottfried Hagen for bringing this *bazuband* to my attention.

48. Ashmolean Museum, acc. no. EA 1963.67. See Gandy, "Inscribed Silver Amulet Boxes," 156 and 163, no. 2. Further evidence of

the suspension of these cases is provided by a similar specimen illustrated in a recent catalogue of miniature books; here a cord has been tied to the metal hinges on either side of the case. See Anne C. Bromer and Julian I. Edison, *Miniature Books: 4000 Years of Tiny Treasures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with the Grolier Club, 2007), 86.

49. Chardin writes extensively on the use of amulets: "Je n'ai pas vu d'homme en Perse, qui ne portât sur lui des amulettes; et il y en a qui en sont tous chargés; ils les portent aux bras et pendus au col; ils en mettent aussi au col des animaux, et en pendent aux cages des oiseaux; enfin, comme la superstition est sans bornes, ils en attachent par-tout, et pour toutes sortes de sujets. Ces amulettes sont des inscriptions sur du papier ou du parchemin, ou sur des pierres, comme des onix, des agathes, des cornalines, et plus communément sur le jadde, qui est une pierre tendre assez ressemblante au jaspe verd, que les anciens médecins mettoient parmi les remèdes simples, comme salutaire contre diverses infirmités; ces inscriptions sont faites avec de grandes circonspections, par égard aux astres, au jour, au lieu, à l'ouvrier, et avec d'autres observations sembables, et ils portent ces papiers pliés et enfermés dans de petits sacs grands comme le bout du pouce. Ces inscriptions sont, ou des passages de l'Alcoran, ou des sentences de saints ou prophètes." See Jean Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient,* ed. Louis Mathieu Langlès (Paris: Le Normant, 1811), vol. 4, 439.

50. Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse,* vol. 2, 276–279. Quoted in Ronald W. Ferrier, trans. and ed., *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Empire* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 106.

51. See Lucien de Guise, *Al-Quran: The Sacred Art of Revelation from the Collection of the Museum of Islamic Arts Museum in Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: IAMM Editions, 2006), 162–163.

52. Further support of the proclivity of Ottoman soldiers to carry miniature manuscripts upon their persons into battle is provided by Florian Sobieroj, "Repertory of Suras and Prayers in a Collection of Ottoman Manuscripts," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 365–386. This article investigates a collection of approximately twenty Qur'ans housed in East German collections (e.g., Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena; Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek Weimar) acquired as spoils of war in battles waged against the Turks in the Balkans, mainly throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of these are pocket-sized manuscripts, and while some contain the complete Qur'anic text, often appended with apotropaic prayers, the majority contain a collection of extracted *suras,* each of which is regularly followed by exegetical text in Turkish. Those manuscripts containing selected *suras*—which range in size from collations of six to twenty-nine *suras*—seem to partake of a standard repertoire, discussed on pages 371–373. Arranged according to frequency, this repertoire includes *suras* 36, 67, 78, 102–114, 48, 55, 97, 6, 1, and 56.

53. Stephen Vernoit, *Occidentalism: Islamic Art in the 19th Century,* ed. Julian Raby, NDKCIA, vol. 23 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1997), 46.

54. Ibid.

55. Sir Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah & Meccah* (London: Tylston and Edwards, 1893), vol. 1, 239. Quoted in Vernoit, *Occidentalism,* 33.

56. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning: The Moslims of the East-Indian Archipelago,* trans. J. H. Monahan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), 97. Quoted in Vernoit, *Occidentalism,* 47.

57. Fr. Buhl, "Mahmal," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. 6, 44–46.

58. Ibid. Small-scale Qur'ans were included among the panoply of valuable objects sent in the annual imperial caravans. The official dispatch of such Qur'ans to Mecca attests to the customary use of small-scale or miniature Qur'ans by pilgrims processing along the *hajj* route. See the discussion of two 16th-century Qur'an cases in Emine Bilirgen, "Precious Objects in the Imperial Treasury Related with Sacred Places," in *Imperial Surre,* ed. Nevzat Bayhan (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co. Publications, 2008), 74–75, no. 2/2129, and 144–151, no. 2/2136.

59. Buhl, "Mahmal," 44–46

60. Francis E. Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 164.

61. Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians: The Definitive 1860 Edition* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 440, preceded by an illustration of the Egyptian *mahmal* on 439.

62. William R. Roff, "Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the *Hajj,*" in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies,* ed. Richard Martin (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 85. Roff (see page 86) explores the ways in which the predominant theoretical models of pilgrimage (specifically those provided by Van Gennep and Turner) are relatively insufficient to articulate the specifics of this transformation: ". . . the Hajj does, at least ideally (the *hajj mabrur*), involve transition. From what to what?"

63. Peters, *The Hajj,* 166.

64. Topkapı Palace Museum, Env. nos. 1/2991, 1/2994, 1/2995, 1/2992, and 1/2993. Illustrated in Tezcan, "A Special Group

of Ottoman-Turkish Standards from the 17th Century," fig. 6, 674, and discussed on 668–669.

65. Tezcan, "A Special Group of Ottoman-Turkish Standards from the 17th Century," 669.

66. Peters, *The Hajj,* 167.

67. According to Carsten Niebuhr, the Qasimi Imams of 18th-century Yemen regularly engaged in a ceremonial procession after Friday prayers, inspired by the imperial ceremonies of the Ottoman sultan. Niebuhr claims the standards were very likely decorated with *sancak* Qur'ans: "It is well known that the Turkish Sultan goes every Friday to the mosque. The Imam observes the same pious custom with the same exactness, and goes and comes upon the occasion in a very pompous manner. We saw him only returning from the mosque, when his train is said to be swelled by all those who have performed their devotions at other mosques . . . The Imam, upon the occasion we saw him, came out of the principal mosque, and passed out by one gate of the city, that he might come in by another, with some hundreds of soldiers, marching in procession before him . . . On each side of the Imam was borne a standard, having upon it a small silver box filled with amulets, whose efficacy was imagined to render him invincible." See Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East, Performed by M. Niebuhr, Now a Captain in the Engineers of the Service of the King of Denmark,* trans. Robert Heron (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1969), vol. 1, 380–381. Cited in part in Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions,* 114.

68. An exhibition plaque accompanying a miniature Qur'an written by the calligrapher Karim b. Ibrahim Shirazi in 1045/1635 preserved within the Sakıp Sabancı Museum in Istanbul confirms this intuition. The manuscript is written in minute cursive script and measures 3.5 × 2.2 × 1.5 centimeters. Its 198 folios each bear twenty-two lines of script. No accession number was provided by the plaque, which I viewed on March 15, 2007. For an example of a probable *sancak* Qur'an in scroll form, see Topkapı Palace Museum, E. H. 485, reproduced as nos. 290 and 291 on page 321 and discussed on pages 450–451 in Roxburgh, *Turks,* 2005. Its octagonal cylindrical silver gilt case measures 15 × 5 centimeters and is faceted to facilitate its suspension below the finial of a military standard by its silk cord. The Qur'an within measures 9 × 1,105 centimeters and is dated to ca. 1500–1550. The complex design of the scroll shares salient features with extant talismanic shirts, suggesting that the artist(s) responsible practiced both arts.

69. Dozens of these objects are preserved in modern collections. See, for example, the group of these lozenges discussed by Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* vol. 1, 142–143.

70. For a comprehensive examination of block printing throughout the medieval Islamic world (specifically ca. 900–1430), including the illustration of fifty-five extant Arabic block-printed amulets, see Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Schaefer includes an undated block-printed paper amulet preserved in the Lilly Library, Bloomington (Atiyah Gift—MS. 9). See ibid., 177–180 and pl. 41.

71. R. Marston Speight, "Muslim Attitudes towards Christians in the Maghrib during the Fatimid Period, 297/909–358/969," in *Christian-Muslim Encounters,* ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Zaidan Haddad (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 183. Indeed, Savage-Smith notes that the earliest dated specimen is a partially gilded silver cylinder from Nishapur, bearing a Kufic inscription of *Surat al-Ikhlas* ("The Purity of Faith," Qur'an 112), while there are numerous published examples of silver cylindrical specimens from Iran attributed to the 11th to the 13th centuries. See Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* 142.

72. Ulrich Marzolph, *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 13. For a rare example of a printed Mughal miniature Qur'an that retains the octagonal format, see Lucien de Guise, *Al-Quran,* cat. no. 39, 198. The colophon states that the copyist was Muhammad Jawad b. Mulla Muhammad Musa Kashmiri and that it was produced in Hyderabad in 1293/1875.

73. Mushin Mahdi, "From Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1955), 4.

74. For a close examination of this manuscript, see the chapter by Kitty Johnson in this volume.

75. Abu Zakariya Yahya b. Sharaf al-Din al-Nawawi, *al-Tibyan fi adab hamalat al-Qur'an* [selections] in *Textual Sources for the Study of Islam,* ed. and trans. Andrew Rippin and Jan Knappert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 105.

76. For a discussion of divination by the Qur'an, see Christiane Gruber, "Divination," in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia,* ed. Joseph W. Meri (New York: Routledge, 2006), vol. 2, 210; and Sergei Tourkin, "The Use of the Qur'an for Divination in Iran," in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 387–394.

77. Although the rising popularity of *fal* is very often associated with Safavid Persia, it is worth noting that Edward Lane describes a very similar popular practice in 19th-century Ottoman Egypt, worth quoting in full here: "Some persons have recourse to the Qur'an for an answer to their doubts. This they call making an 'istikhárah,' or application for the

favour of heaven, or for direction in the right course. Repeating, three times, the opening chapter, the 112th chapter, and the verse above quoted, they let the book fall open, or open it at random, and, from the seventh line of the right-hand page, draw their answer. The words often will not convey a direct answer; but are taken as affirmative or negative according as their general tenor is good or bad; promising a blessing, or denouncing a threat, etc. Instead of reading the seventh line of this page, some count the number of the letters 'khá' and 'sheen' which occur in the whole page and if the 'khás' predominate, the inference is favourable: 'khá' represents 'kheyr,' or 'good,' 'sheen,' 'sharr,' or 'evil.'" See Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* 260–261.

78. Notably, folios 98v–101v are all blank. The text resumes on folio 102r and continues uninterrupted to folio 113v, the final folio in the volume. The presence of blank folios suggests that the manuscript is either unfinished or that they were added when the manuscript was rebound due to fragility or overuse. That there has been some sort of interference to the manuscript is indicated by the fact that the binding is very loose throughout the first portion of the codex but very tight throughout the later folios.

79. Muhammad Asad, "Al-Muqatta'at," in *The Message of the Qur'an: The Full Account of the Revealed Arabic Text Accompanied by Parallel Transliteration,* trans. Muhammad Asad (Bitton, England: Book Foundation, 2003), 1133. Asad himself refers to *al-muqatta'at* as "mysterious letter-symbols."

80. Asad, "Al-Muqatta'at," 1134.

81. A colophon on folio 94v bears the signature "Muhammad Husayn, son of Muhammad Riza," although the full date is not legible. The calligraphy, quality of the paper, and thin cardboard reinforcing the binding suggest the item dates to the late 19th or early 20th century.

82. The curved metal hook that secures the velvet container closed is identical to that on the silver Qajar amulet case (Adomeit C9). This detail, combined with the crisp *naskh* calligraphy and quality of the paper reinforcing the binding, suggests a 19th-century Persian provenance.

83. The last name is barely legible. "Duzi" or "Durri" are also possibilities. The manuscript may be of Qajar provenance; however, the argument could be made that the use of rosy washes and detailing in the frontispiece indicates an Ottoman workshop.

84. An example of a series of miniature hexagonal folios evidently used interactively is preserved in a unique specimen housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. See ms. arabe 5940 in Annie Berthier and Anne Zali, *Livres de Parole: Torah, Bible, Coran* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005), 184. Several contiguous hexagonal folios bearing extracts from the Qur'an and prayers in Arabic and Turkish have been inserted into the cover of a small codex dated to 1744 and likely of Ottoman origin. This arrangement would have allowed the owner to unfold and refold the folios before and after prayer.

85. Nabil F. Safwat attributes a revelatory capacity to talismanic scrolls written in the Mamluk and Ilkhanid periods. These were written using a conflation of scripts, one of which was *ghubar* ("dust-like"), so called because its minute letters resemble particles of dust on the page. Perhaps developed from *riqa'* and/or *naskh, ghubar* was reportedly used to allow messages to be sent by pigeon post (that is, tied to a bird's wing or leg), which required the compression of written information onto very small pieces of paper. Scrolls bearing *suras* believed to have particularly protective powers were often written in an enlarged script. The enlarged letters were themselves subsequently filled with the entire text of the Qur'an written in *ghubar.* The ensuing contrast between monumental and minute scales was highly charged, for it was through the recitation of the larger inscription that one "transmitted the power of the 'hidden' text in *ghubar*" (Safwat, *The Art of the Pen,* 184). For a further discussion of *ghubar,* see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 259; and Safwat, *Golden Pages: Qur'ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for Azimuth Editions, 2000), 20. A thirty-volume Qur'an written entirely in *ghubar* survives in Tehran. Although undated, it has been attributed to the 13th or 14th century (see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 260). For a discussion of another thirty-volume Qur'an, this one written in diminutive *naskh* and firmly dated to 1352–1353, see David James, *Master Scribes: Qur'ans of the 10th to the 14th Centuries,* ed. Julian Raby, NDKCIA, vol. 2 (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992) no. 28, 120–121.

86. For more on this subject, see Louis Ibsen al-Faruqi, "The Cantillation of the Qur'an," *Asian Music* 19/1 (Autumn–Winter 1987): 2–25. See also Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985).

87. William A. Graham, "Qur'an as Spoken Word: An Islamic Contribution to the Understanding of Scripture," in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies,* ed. Richard C. Martin (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 33.

88. Graham, "Qur'an as Spoken Word," 32.

89. Seyyid Hossein Nasr, "Oral Transmission and the Book in Islamic Education," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 57.

90. Seyyid Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 51.

91. Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual*

Amulets in the Middle Ages (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 269. The term "girdle book" itself constitutes a distinct class of book production commonly used for small-scale devotional manuscripts or other volumes needing easy transport. Girdle books feature a conventional leather binding superimposed with a second, elongated pouch-like cover distinguished by a knot that allowed the book to be suspended from or tucked into a belt. See the discussion of a 15th-century breviary in Johnathan Alexander et al., *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Public Library; London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005), no. 5 (Spencer 39), 35–39. For an overview of surviving specimens, see Ursula Bruckner, "Beutelbuch-originale," *Studien zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* 9 (1995): 1–23.

92. Skemer, *Binding Words,* 270.

93. This term appears, for example, in the title of chapter 2 in Eamon Duffy's *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). Duffy's use of the term encompasses both the nature of Books of Hours as "intensely personal object[s]" capable of being personalized (through the inclusion of coats of arms, the owner's name in written prayers, etc.) and as venues for the "formal exchange of intimacy," either through the addition to their folios of signatures, personalized messages, oaths, debts, and records of deaths, births, and marriages or through receipt of the book itself as a gift or bequest that cemented familial or social ties. See Duffy, *Marking the Hours,* chapters 2 and 53.

94. More recent evidence of this desire for books on the battlefield survives from the First World War, when Muslims fighting in the British army were issued small metal lockets, each measuring approximately an inch tall, containing a tiny printed Qur'an and inset magnifier. To see an image of one of these Qur'ans, printed by David Bryce, see Bromer and Edison, *Miniature Books,* 87.

95. The expression "[His] clear decree" or "the book that makes clear" (*kitab mubin*) is a reference to the Qur'an proper (see, e.g., Qur'an 6:59, 11:6, and 27:75).

96. The positive verses of mercy and forgiveness (as opposed to the negative verses of torment and killing) are those *ayas* in the Qur'an that herald a positive state of affairs.

FIG. 4.1. Double-page opening with illuminated headpiece, Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 170–171, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

A Pious Cure-All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library

4

CHRISTIANE GRUBER

The Lilly Library houses a pocket-size manual of prayers that was most likely produced in Istanbul during the second half of the nineteenth century (Misc. Uncat. II. C.4). Comprising a total of 119 folios[1] dyed in a pink color, the work bears the Arabic title *Surat al-Inʿam* (The Cattle) in a gold cartouche immediately below the illuminated headpiece that adorns its opening page (Figure 4.1). Although the text's title refers to a specific chapter in the Qur'an (Qur'an 6), here it is used in a more general sense to describe verses extracted from various *suras,*[2] as well as a number of supplicatory prayers (*duʿas*) written both in Arabic and in Ottoman Turkish. These Qur'anic verses and bilingual prayers are in turn buttressed by several interpretative texts—sometimes identified as a *şerh,* or "explanation"—composed in Ottoman Turkish; these explicative texts describe the virtues of the verses and prayers, recount their abilities to bring succor in times of difficulty, or specify that the person who recites them will reap a number of rewards from God. Many of the prayers take the form of a litany, thus bearing the written imprint of oral Sufi practices of praising and remembering (*dhikr*) God and the Prophet Muhammad. These textual elements reveal that the Lilly manuscript is best described as a prayer book or prayer miscellany.[3]

The Qur'anic verses and prayers in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in this manuscript are enhanced by a series of thirty-seven beautifully executed paintings and seal designs, which run between pages 187 and 223.[4] Each painting bears the descriptive title "representation" or "painting" (*resim*) and depicts a variety of subjects, such as the two holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina (Figure 4.2), as well as objects, sites, and relics associated with the Prophet Muhammad, including his date tree and his lineage shaped as a rose (Figure 4.3).[5] The manuscript also includes a number of non-representational graphic designs, which are identified in captions as seals. These include the Seal of Muhammad's Prophecy and the Seal of Solomon; furthermore, each one of four additional seals is identified specifically as a "seal of healing" (*mühr-i şifa*). As suggested by the titles of the "seals of healing," many of the graphic elements in the manuscript may have been considered to carry the potential to bless and even cure their viewers.

The manuscript's inscribed prayers and invocations—written in Arabic and sometimes in Ottoman Turkish—maintain the miscellany's bilingual idiom through even the non-textual aspects of its contents. This kind of diglossic illustrated prayer manual, which blends Qur'anic verses and supererogatory prayers with a wide variety of paintings and

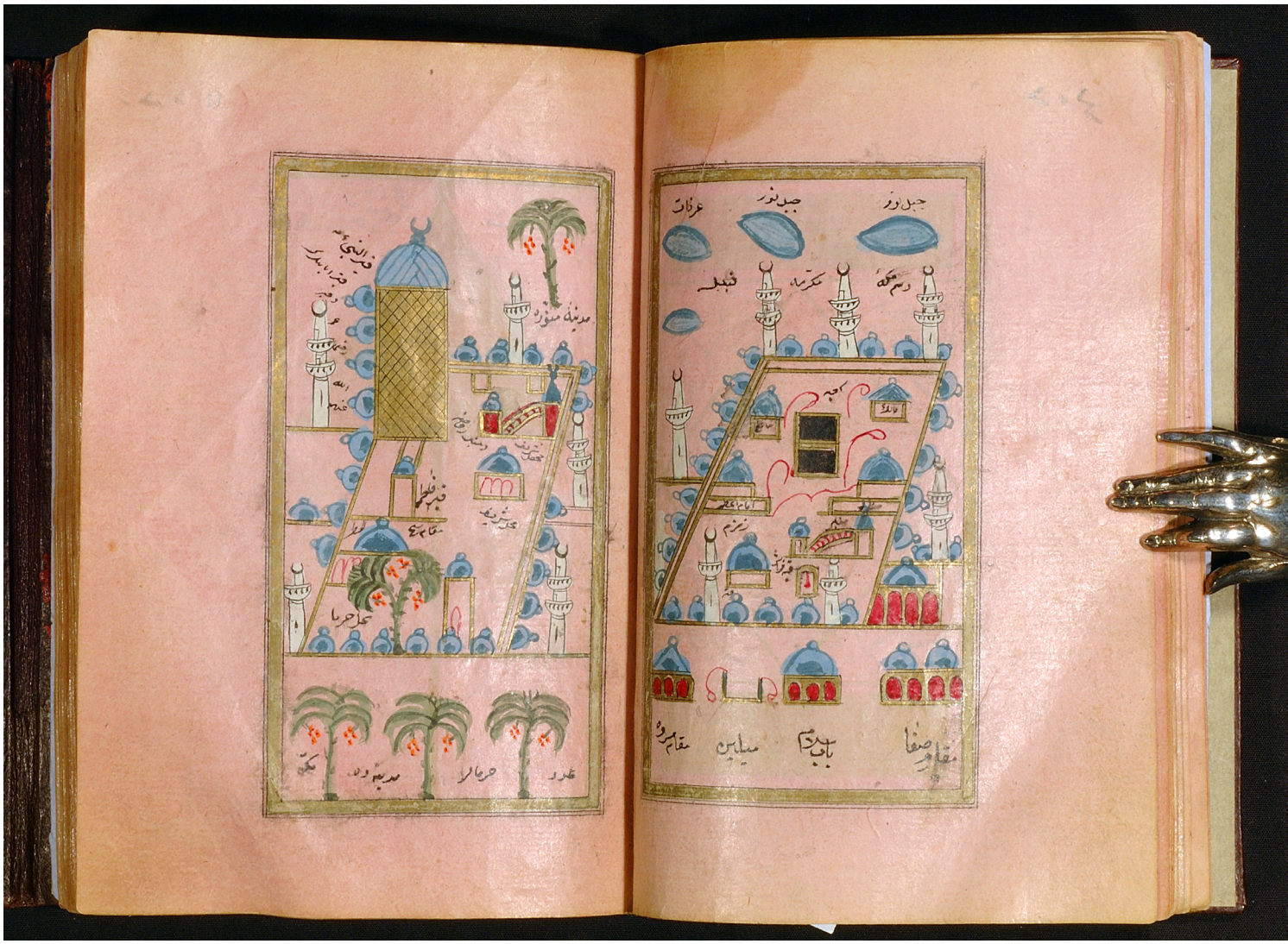


FIG. 4.2. Mecca and Medina, Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 204–205, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

seal designs, belongs to a larger corpus of illustrated devotional texts produced primarily (though not exclusively) in Ottoman Istanbul from ca. 1750 to 1875.[6] This period of about one hundred years stands out for a number of reasons: it witnessed attempts at political reform and religious revivification in the Ottoman Empire after a period of perceived decline.[7] At the same time, members of the Ottoman elite—including sultans, their family members, high functionaries, dignitaries, and other patrons—embraced *shariʿa*-based Sunni orthodoxy, a trend that spread in Istanbul during the nineteenth century thanks in part to the Naqshbandi Sufi order.[8]

Ottoman Turkish manuscripts containing parts of the Qur'an and extra-Qur'anic prayers did not, of course, arise abruptly, nor did they suddenly disappear at the end of the nineteenth century. Rather, late Ottoman manuscripts like the Lilly illustrated devotional manual were heirs to an older tradition of composing prayer books. The most famous among these is the prayer book composed during the sixteenth century by Ebu Suʿud Efendi (d. 982/1574), Ottoman chief jurist and

FIG. 4.3. The Prophet's date tree (right) and his lineage shaped as a rose (left), Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 212–213, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

famous Qur'an commentator active during the rule of Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566).[9] Like the Lilly manual, his devotional work includes prayers in Arabic with Ottoman Turkish explanations, helping the Turkish reader to memorize and to better understand the Arabic prayers contained within.

Similarly, the production of bilingual prayer books did not cease at the close of the nineteenth century. A number of twentieth-century printed miniature books including various Qur'anic verses must have fulfilled similar educational and pietistic functions,[10] as do bilingual prayer books published in Turkey in more recent years.[11] Thus, although Ottoman manuals produced ca. 1750–1875 belong to a long-standing tradition of producing prayer books over the course of five centuries, what distinguishes the Lilly manuscript (and others like it) is its inclusion of various paintings and seal designs.

Alongside religious revivalism and other cultural and political factors, the addition of such pictorial motifs in prayer books at this particular time reflects the culmination of a number of internal

Ottoman-Islamic trends rather than a brief burst of production that responded principally to external pressures, such as European imperialism and the growth of Wahhabism. These internal trends include the absorption of Islamic works into Ottoman Turkish literature[12] and the steady accumulation of relics associated with the Prophet Muhammad, both of which contributed to the Ottoman construction of (its own understanding of) Islamic "orthodoxy."

Although these private illustrated prayer manuals can be viewed partially in light of the greater struggle for religious supremacy in the modern Middle East, as has been suggested previously by Alexandra Bain,[13] this chapter instead argues that they are indicative of an internal trend toward a particular kind of Ottoman-Islamic orthodoxy that was expressed over the course of several centuries through the nexus of textual and visual production. Rather than acting as an overt manifestation of public religious identity, Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals like the Lilly manuscript bear witness to a kind of personal devotion, deployed in the private domain through pocket-size manuscripts that are both conservative in their textual contents and adaptionist in their choice of supporting pictorial representations and graphic signs.

Moreover, the Lilly prayer manual suggests that at least some of these small-scale Ottoman illustrated manuscripts functioned as vade mecums, useful not only for engaging in individual prayer but also as meditational devices in which both text and image are strategically employed so as to provide their owners with maximum protection, comfort, and healing. Qur'anic verses, supererogatory prayers, paintings of relics, and amuletic designs coalesce into a protective and palliative amalgam, creating a highly portable manuscript that was fashioned, through the combination of text and image, as a versatile cure-all.

CONSTRUCTING A MODERN ISLAMIC "ORTHODOXY"

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed attempts at political reform, social renovation, and religious revival throughout the Islamic world. The deployment of the rather malleable concept of renewal (*tajdid*), which encompassed these many efforts, was not a new one; rather, it emerged at various times, and many rulers were heralded as renewers (*mujaddid*) of the Islamic faith. For example, the Timurid ruler Shahrukh (r. 1401–1447) fashioned himself as a renewer of Sunni Islam in his attempt to revive the prophetic tradition (*ihya' al-sunna*) in Persian lands,[14] and the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) himself was praised as a "renewer of religion" (*müceddid-i din*) who wished to abide by and to strengthen the Prophet's Sunna in Ottoman realms.[15] The notion of *tajdid* was cyclical in character and could be evoked to promote any number of efforts and programs whose principal aim consisted in the improvement of cultural, social, and political circumstances. *Tajdid* thus formed the conceptual momentum to achieve a hoped-for "rise" at various times of perceived "decline."

From 1800 onward, however, the concept of *tajdid* was not only dictated from above, via royal decree, or solely sought at the individual

level, but instead led to the establishment of various political movements seeking religious renewal, political reform, and social reconstruction in the wake of both internal anxieties and external threats, which included most especially European military and cultural expansion into the Middle East and Africa.[16] In the modern context, *tajdid* could be a discursive tool for expounding a return to religious roots while also promoting political reform in order to stave off the destructive potential of colonial or centrifugal forces.

Attempts to revive and adapt the fundaments of the Islamic faith in the modern period took on many forms, as Islam's main tenets have continuously been perceived, interpreted, and constructed in manifold ways. In Ottoman lands, the reformist call responded to both external and internal threats. Perhaps most important among these were Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Ottoman Egypt and the 1802 Wahhabi attack on Mecca during the reign of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807), as well as the Greek Revolution of 1821 during Sultan Mahmud II's tenure. Facing the encroachment of European powers and breakaway acts committed by minority subjects, Ottoman rulers, dignitaries, and religious scholars at times called for the reestablishment and reactivation of Sunni orthodoxy as a vital prerequisite for socio-political unity—and thus survival.

Centuries in the making, Ottoman Islam in the modern period positioned itself as the quintessential form of Sunni orthodoxy. During the nineteenth century in particular, the Ottoman-Islamic religious synthesis was best represented by the Nasqshbandi Sufi order, which abided strictly to the *shariʿa* and embraced mysticism as a vehicle—rather than a hindrance—to proper religiosity. As one of the most popular "neo-Sufi" movements among the royal household and other officials during the late Ottoman period,[17] the Naqshbandiyya stressed a more moderate and "conservative" kind of mysticism and a close adherence to a strict devotional regimen that was legally permissible rather than overly ecstatic.[18] Thus, the Naqshbandi order professed itself to be fully in accordance with the Prophet's Sunna and with the *shariʿa* (*masnun va mashruʿ*),[19] and therefore came to represent the modern Sunni-*shariʿa*-Sufi revivalist synthesis that was embraced by some members of the Ottoman elite in Istanbul.[20]

The Naqshbandiyya arrived in Istanbul during the late eighteenth century and quickly eclipsed other orders as the most popular Sufi *tariqa,* in no small part thanks to its overt emphasis on and promotion of Sunni orthodoxy. By the nineteenth century, the Naqshbandiyya had an estimated fifty-four lodges (*tekkes*) functioning in the capital city.[21] One of the most active among these was the Selimiyye lodge in the Asian quarter of Üsküdar, built by Sultan Selim III in 1805. In the late eighteenth century, Selim III and other individuals belonging to the upper echelons of government were active members and/or supporters of the Naqshbandi orders.[22] Selim III's successor, Sultan Mahmud II, openly received Naqshbandis in his restricted entourage,[23] and he carefully crafted an image of piety both by reinstating Qur'anic discussions

(*huzur dersi*) in the Royal Palace and by expanding the Selimiyye *tekke* in Üsküdar in 1835.[24] Like Sultan Mahmud II, both princes and future sultans Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) and Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) memorized the Qur'an and received religious training in their youth. Many high-level functionaries under these four sultans also were connected to Naqshbandis and/or other orders. Some of them—including Selim III and Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, the wife of Mahmud II and mother of Abdülaziz—owned illustrated prayer books similar to the Lilly manual.[25]

Although many orders proved popular, the apex of the Naqshbandiyya's popularity in the Ottoman Empire coincides with the rules of the four aforementioned Ottoman sultans, that is, the period of ca. 1790–1875. Likewise, the period overlaps with strong reformist tendencies in the empire, which sought to position Ottoman conservatism against the ever-expanding growth of Wahhabism and pan-Islamism.[26] Wahhabism, a movement in the Arabian Peninsula founded by the theologian Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhab (1703–1792), espoused and promulgated a strict form of revivalist Islam, labeling a number of devotional practices as "innovations" (*bidʿa*) that constituted either disbelief (*kufr*) or polytheism (*shirk*). In a number of his treatises, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab elaborates upon the topic, specifying that *kufr* includes making supplications to living or dead people (including the Prophet Muhammad), seeking their intercession, and praying at their tombs, while *shirk* includes the belief in and practice of magic, astrology, divination, and, by extension, the use of amulets and talismans.[27] For these reasons, his followers, joined by Saʿudi military forces, sacked a number of shrines and tombs in the Hijaz area, including Mecca and Medina, so as to do away with what they interpreted as the unacceptable devotional practices of seeking intercession from a deceased individual or worshipping at his burial place.

On the other hand, Ottoman Islam during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was overtly spiritual: it reaffirmed the believer's commitment to the Qur'an as a source of knowledge, to the person of the Prophet Muhammad for guidance and intercession, and to ritual practice as a focus of meditation on the unity of God. It also provided a direct challenge to the fervently anti-Sufi Wahhabi movement, which promoted a rather severe, despiritualized, and demysticized form of Islam.[28] Although the debate and battling over the construction of a normative "orthodoxy" in Ottoman lands and in Arabia at this time revolved around the "correct" interpretation of scripture and therefore acceptable ritual practice, it also reflected a vying for cultural and religious supremacy at a time when the important political players of the Middle East were forced to reconfigure and to redefine their respective polities. These various modern constructions of Islam—or Islams[29]—were in competition with one another, and, as a consequence, so were the multiple definitions of what exactly constituted "orthodox" Islam.

Illustrated prayer books like the Lilly manual belong to this historical and religious period of competition surrounding the delineation and

activation of (a perceived) "orthodox" Islamic theology and practice in the modern age. Within the Ottoman tradition, these kinds of small manuscripts therefore bear material witness to a revival and strengthening of personal piety, achieved by the collating of Qur'anic verses with supplicatory prayers and meditational visual devices. Rather than shying away from spiritual devotion and the painterly arts, Ottoman patrons may have deemed these two practices as powerful vehicles for the expression of "normative" piety in line with both Sunna and *shariʿa*.

Although to a certain extent the Ottoman-Wahhabi conflict may have accelerated Ottoman Islam's contrastive definition of itself, internal factors such as the gradual Ottoman Turkish translation of Arabic devotional poems like al-Busiri's *Burda* (Mantle Poem),[30] the accumulation of sacred objects and relics associated with the Prophet, and the appeal of conservative mysticism must have provided stronger internal impetuses for the creation of illustrated prayer manuals, which functioned within the restricted realm of private devotion rather than the public domain of political posturing.

PRAYER AND ITS PROTECTIVE PROPERTIES

Many surviving Ottoman prayer manuals were not illustrated and thus reveal that they were popular among various levels of society. They combine prayers and litanies that follow the days of the week, correspond to specific Islamic festivals, or are directed toward the commemoration of various saints.[31] In such prayer books, verses are frequently extracted from the Qur'an and recited in their entirety, or inserted into devotional prayers in Arabic or other Islamic languages. Replete with Qur'anic verses or Qur'anic echoes, these devotional texts thus serve to reinforce the sacral dimension of individual worship.

The Lilly prayer manual epitomizes this dual strategy, with free-standing Qur'anic verses and Qur'anic expressions and/or Arabic-language pious invocations woven almost seamlessly into the manuscript's Turkish-language devotional texts. As will become clear, the Qur'anic verses and devotions selected for inclusion address certain choice themes, all of which revolve around the concept that only God is capable of providing assistance, guidance, protection, and healing in times of difficulty and illness. The Lilly prayer manual's texts, whether Qur'anic or extra-Qur'anic, Arabic or Ottoman Turkish, repeatedly stress the notion of *shifa*'—a term that can be defined broadly as a medicine, remedy, or cure—and therefore underscore that a text can provide protection or facilitate healing to its carrier or owner.

The first nine pages of the Lilly prayer manual contain Qur'anic verses almost exclusively. These run from pages 170 to 179 and include, in order of appearance, all seven verses of *al-Fatiha* (The Opening, Qur'an 1); the first five verses of *al-Baqara* (The Cow, Qur'an 2:1–5); the last three verses of *al-Baqara* (The Cow, Qur'an 2:284–286); verse 51 of *al-Tawba* (The Repentance, Qur'an 9); verse 107 of *Yunus* (Jonah, Qur'an 10); verse 6 of *Hud* (The Prophet Hud, Qur'an 11); verse 60 of *al-ʿAnkabut* (The Spider, Qur'an 29); verse 56 of *Hud* (The Prophet Hud, Qur'an 11); verse

2 of *al-Fatir* (The Originator, Qur'an 35); and verse 38 of *al-Zumar* (The Companions, Qur'an 39).[32] Only a few brief lines of text composed in Ottoman Turkish interrupt this introductory selection of verses: this text, which appears after Qur'an 2:284–6, records a hadith of the Prophet reported by Ka'b al-Akhbar, in which Muhammad states that the "seven verses" (presumably of *Surat al-Fatiha*) provide protection to the believer even if the skies were to fall to the ground.[33] This text not only reveals the Ottoman trend of translating hadith materials into Turkish but also stresses that some chapters from the Holy Book, especially *al-Fatiha,* are capable of safeguarding the believer from even the most cataclysmic of events.

According to Islamic tradition, certain *suras* and *ayas* are regarded as more potent than others because they have special qualities and merits (*fada'il*) or carry beneficial occult properties (*khawass*).[34] Such properties usually are related to the texts' contents: for example, Qur'anic chapters and verses with martial overtones are considered to provide protection in warfare and thus are inscribed in full or in part on amulets, on cases for miniature books, and on talismanic shirts carried or worn by a soldier in battle (see Figures 3.6–3.8).[35] It is widely believed that verses from the Qur'an provide protection from harm, keep the enemy at bay, and neutralize the evil eye and other maleficent forces. However, the battleground was not the sole arena in which the Qur'an could be of spiritual and theurgical assistance.

The Holy Book provides support in day-to-day affairs, as well, and a number of texts elaborate upon the benefits derived from the quotidian use (or simply the physical presence) of the Qur'an. One extant text composed in Persian entitled *Khawass-i Ayat* (The Special Properties of Verses), written in 1234/1818–1819 by a certain 'Abdullah b. Muhammad b. Husayn, provides detailed descriptions about all *suras*' special qualities, including their efficacy in curing various illnesses and their use in protection against the enemy, thereby helping us to explore the Qur'an's various applications in the nineteenth century.[36] Similarly, many manuals on prophetic medicine—such as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Tibb al-Nabi* (Medicine of the Prophet)—elaborate upon the benefits of various *suras* and *ayas* in the Qur'an.[37] Alongside hadiths and other works, these two kinds of texts—the former of which dates to the nineteenth century and chronicles the Qur'an's special properties, and the latter of which, known to have been in circulation in Ottoman lands from at least the sixteenth century onward,[38] expounds tradition-based "medical" therapy—provide a comparative framework for understanding the meanings and uses of the Lilly manual's Qur'anic verses.

The Lilly prayer book begins with a complete transcription of *al-Fatiha,* the Qur'an's opening chapter, which is often nicknamed in the hadith "The Protectoress" (*al-Waqiyya*), "The *Sura* of Healing" (*Surat al-Shifa'*), and "The Curing" (*al-Shafiyya*).[39]

In his *Khawass-i Ayat* of 1234/1818–1819, the Persian author ʿAbdullah b. Muhammad b. Husayn records the Prophet Muhammad as having stated that *al-Fatiha* can cure all illnesses,[40] and in his treatise on prophetic medicine, Ibn al-Qayyim also declares that *al-Fatiha* is "of such value [that it] should be used in healing from illnesses."[41] In the Lilly manuscript, the protective value of *al-Fatiha* is further solidified by the hadith transmitted by Kaʿb al-Akhbar as well as the selection of Qur'anic verses that follow.

Next appear the first five and last three verses of *al-Baqara* (Qur'an 2:1–5 and 284–286), themselves belonging to a *sura* that, as the *Khawass-i Ayat* emphasizes, is believed to make all pains disappear.[42] *Al-Baqara*'s first five verses inform the believer that the Holy Book provides guidance and prosperity to those who believe in God and the unseen, who have faith in the Hereafter, and who perform prayer. Its last three verses praise God's omnipotence and His holding men accountable for their actions; they also confirm Muhammad's prophetic status. The inclusion of the first and last verses of *al-Baqara* appears to have been intended to encompass the entirety of this *sura,* which, at 286 verses, is the longest chapter in the Qur'an and therefore too onerous to transcribe within the confines of a pocket-size prayer manual. Thus, the incipit and the close of this Qur'anic chapter were meant to symbolize the entire *sura* synecdochically, incorporating some of its most powerful verses, including the famously apotropaic *ayat al-kursi* (the Throne Verse, Qur'an 2:255).[43]

All following Qur'anic extracts in the Lilly prayer manual are single verses drawn from a variety of *suras,* and these verses are all related to one another through their combined emphasis on humankind's obligation to trust in God. In other words, the verses make a reiterated case that cures must be sought only in and through God rather than through other supernatural powers or magical devices. Qur'an 9:51 orders the believer to proclaim that "Never can anything befall us except what God has prescribed for us. He is our Lord, and in God let the believers place their trust." Qur'an 10:107 states that only God can dispense grace and that "if God should touch you with misfortune, none can remove it but He; and if He intends good for you, none can remove His bounty." Both 11:6 and 29:60 extol God as providing sustenance for all living creatures, while Qur'an 11:56 lauds the believer who has trust and puts his confidence (*tawakkul*) in God, because God is the only straight path (*al-sirat al-mustaqim*). Qur'an 35:2 and Qur'an 39:38 state that only God can grant and withhold kindness from humankind, and that He can inflict ill or give grace and cure. Thus God, and no other entity, must be invoked for mercy. Finally, Qur'an 39:38 commands the believer to say, "God is Enough for me. In Him trust those who put their trust."

These verses all revolve around belief in God's unity (*tawhid*) and His ability to provide guidance (*huda*); they also proclaim that humankind must put complete trust (*tawakkul*) in the Lord to determine a

future course of action and to seek remedy in times of struggle or sickness. Moreover, the verses frequently include synonyms or derivatives of the verb "to cure" (*shafa*) and, like other verses in the Qur'an, can be described as curative and therefore "verses of healing."[44] Perhaps this theme should not come as a surprise, as the Qur'an itself is understood as the best of remedies. In its own text, the Qur'an is described in two instances (Qur'an 10:57 and 41:44) as a cure (*shifa'*) and a guide (*huda*), while Qur'an 17:82 states, "We send down the Qur'an that which is a medicine (*shifa'*) and a mercy (*rahma*) to believers." Reiterating the Qur'an's proclamation about its own self-efficacy in his *Tibb al-Nabi,* Ibn al-Qayyim declares confidently that the Qur'an indeed provides a "complete healing and effective protection."[45]

As a result, the Qur'anic verses included in the Lilly prayer manual could be used to propitiate, to prevent, and to alleviate a supplicant from various pains, illnesses, and misfortunes. Not a haphazard patchwork of *suras* and *ayas,* the Qur'anic extracts are, in this particular case, selected and collated into the miscellany because of their coherent themes, which focus principally on God as the quintessential (and only) Protector and the Qur'an as the ultimate antidote. Furthermore, that the Lilly prayer manual does not contain a single verse that mentions war or conquest strongly suggests that it did not have a military application (as in the case of other Ottoman prayer miscellanies). Rather, its curative verses indicate that it was consulted by a private patron as a form of spiritual treatment and an acceptable—one could even say "orthodox"—form of divine medicine used for a variety of potentially preventative and curative measures.

Besides the Qur'anic verses, the Lilly prayer manual also includes a prayer to the Most Beautiful Names of God (*al-asma' al-husna*), entitled "This is the Prayer of the Noble Name."[46] This *du'a* includes invocations to God and His many names and epithets, which are laid out in a grid pattern. God's Beautiful Names are mentioned in four verses in the Qur'an,[47] and their exoteric and esoteric meanings have formed the subject of philosophical inquiry by Muslim writers, most famous among these the celebrated scholar al-Ghazali (d. 1111).[48] The Beautiful Names also appear in Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals, and one example specifies that the prayer of God's Beautiful Names can rescue its owner in a situation of emergency.[49] More than a simple listing of divine appellations, God's Beautiful Names can form a vocative litany that the user can activate when seeking divine succor.

In the Lilly prayer manual, the prayer to God's Beautiful Names is followed by a list of the Prophet Muhammad's many names (*asma' al-nabi*), also inscribed in a checkerboard and terminating with a mirror-image of Muhammad's name painted in gold on a blue-green grassy ground (Figure 4.4).[50] The Prophet's names include variations on the Prophet's first name Muhammad and its root letters *h-m-d* (to praise), the mystery letters of the Qur'an (*Ta-Ha* and *Ya-Sin*), his position as Prophet (*rasul* or *nabi*), his name in apposition to God's own name (e.g.,

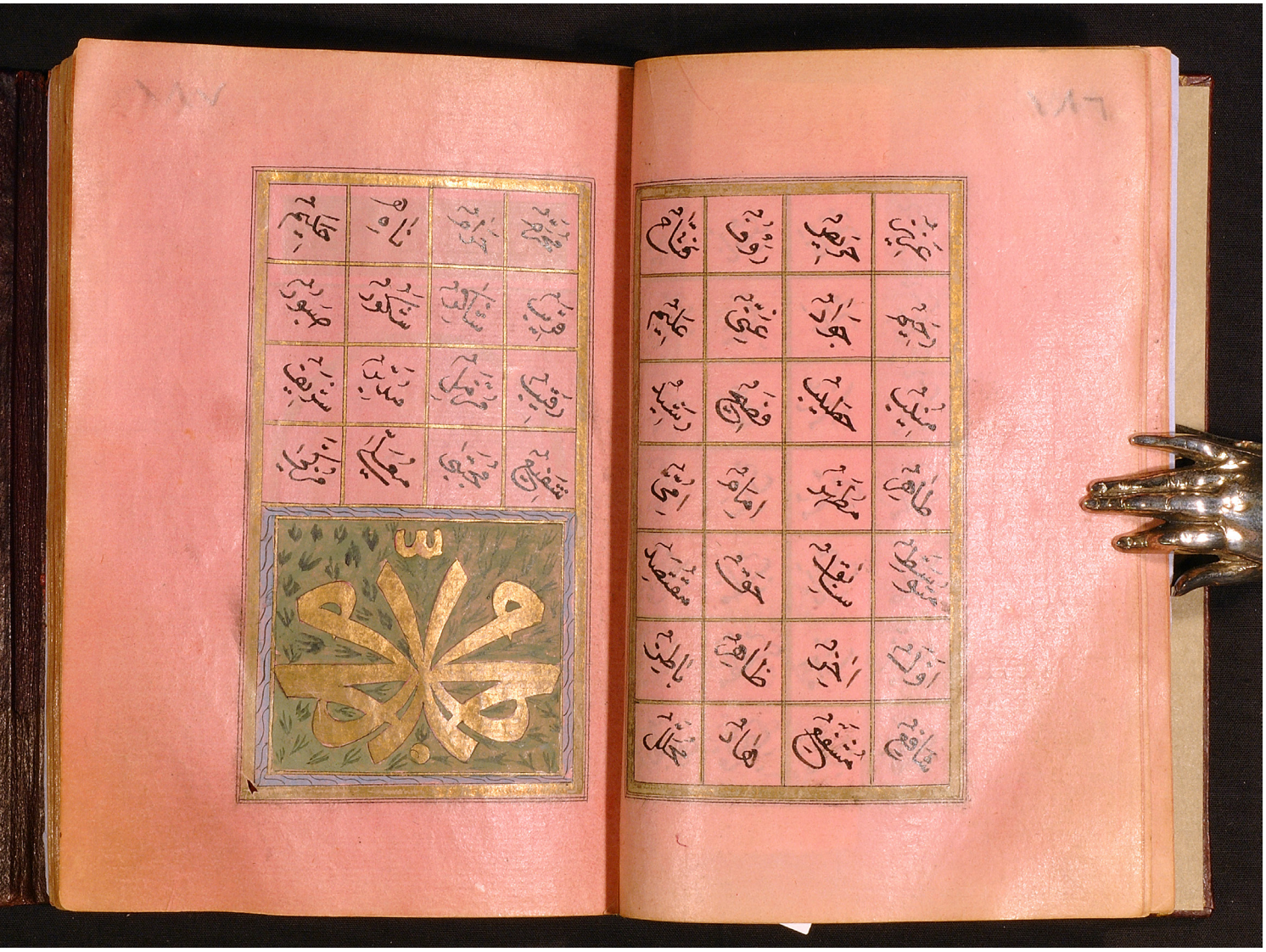


FIG. 4.4. The Prophet Muhammad's names (*asma' al-nabi*) inscribed in a checkerboard and his name painted in gold as a mirror-image on a grassy ground, Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 186–187, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the "Beloved of God," *Habib Allah,* or the "One Who Speaks to God," *Kalim Allah*), and a great variety of epithets and attributes praising his many qualities and virtues.[51] Recalling God's Beautiful Names, Muhammad's many names form an elaborate ontological system by which the faithful can conceive of Muhammad's total being, and mystics belonging to various Sufi orders intone these many names as part of sustained *dhikr* procedures intended to commemorate God and His Prophet.

Like every single Beautiful Name of God, each one of the *asma' al-nabi* is inscribed in a single cell belonging to a larger grid, or *jadwal,* that recalls a magic square (*wafq*).[52] *Jadwal*s function as powerful graphic ciphers and often appear on talismanic bowls and shirts, where they are inscribed with magical numbers or letters.[53] Grids are considered models of the universe, since they appear all-encompassing, as well as powerful graphic stand-ins for life in endless flux.[54] In the Lilly prayer manual and other Ottoman materials like *hilyes* (verbal descriptions of the Prophet), they also can function as textual evocations of God. In one Ottoman *hilye* made in Istanbul in 1130/1718 and shaped like a

FIG. 4.5. Ottoman *hilye* (verbal description of the Prophet Muhammad) mounted on wooden boards forming a triptych, with lateral panels including God's Beautiful Names (*al-asma' al-husna*) and the Prophet's many names (*asma' al-nabi*) inscribed in grids, Istanbul, 1130/1718, 10.9 (w) × 21.9 (h) cm, 1-88-154.13. African and Middle Eastern Division, the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

triptych, for example, they are inscribed on lateral panels that protect and literally "enclose" a calligraphic evocation of Muhammad's physical and moral characteristics (Figure 4.5).[55] In the Lilly prayer manual both the grid, which evokes a totality of being, and the mirror-image calligram of Muhammad's name, which suggests the circle of his face and his facial features, attest to the pictorial techniques and the graphic evocations of both God and the Prophet Muhammad in late Ottoman-Islamic artistic traditions.[56]

The Qur'anic verses, many names of God and the Prophet, and the manual's paintings and seal designs precede the many *du'a*s in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, which run from pages 224 to 408 and therefore constitute the largest section of the manuscript. In Islamic practices, *du'a*s function as supererogatory prayers that are not part of communal,

ritual prayer (*salah*), but nonetheless form a part of devotional worship (*ʿibada*) that links a supplicant with God in a very direct manner. Indeed, the personal prayer is so central to the expression of individual devotion in Islam that even the Prophet is recorded as having stated that "*duʿa* is the marrow of worship."[57] It can be said, therefore, that in terms of symbolic importance, the individual's devotion to God is on par with, if not superior to, communal prayer because the former practice is self-motivated and unmediated.

A *duʿa* is usually understood as a personal praise of God and a confidential colloquy (*munajat*) in which the petitioner, with purity of heart and intent, makes a humble request of the Lord. The guarantee of divine reply is offered forthrightly in the Qur'an, in which God himself decrees: "Pray, and I will answer" (Qur'an 40:62). Devotional prayers afford a devotee the possibility to endeavor to be heard, and the more they are repeated, the better and more thorough the praise of God and the greater the promise of His reply. Accordingly, *duʿa*s are characterized by a repetition of prayer formulas seeking to praise and petition God in a cantillated format resembling a chanted litany.[58] Although arduous and rather formulaic, this repetition is believed to allow the supplicant to be heard by God. Through the meditative rhythm brought about by an oral intonation (uttered silently or a viva voce), the recital of *duʿas* also expedites the utterer's entrance into an exulted state of spirituality. As al-Ghazali fittingly states regarding the merits of repeating prayers to God: "Truly when a man loves a thing, he repeatedly mentions it, and when he repeatedly mentions a thing, even if that may be burdensome, he loves it."[59]

The lengthy repetition of *duʿas* as included in the Lilly miscellany extends and pays homage to the long-standing tradition of praising and petitioning God. The prayers come together to form a pietistic product that is internal to Islamic devotion rather than a momentary, aberrant, or partisan invention. The manuscript's prayers include, for example, an Arabic-language "Large Prayer of Greetings," accompanied by an Ottoman Turkish explanatory preface that informs the utterer that he will receive rewards for invoking God and the Prophet[60]; three Arabic and Ottoman Turkish "Prayers of Forgiveness"[61] that ask God for His mercy; two vocative prayers addressed to God directly[62]; a prayer on the primordial light of God[63]; a "Prayer of Covenant,"[64] which promises the intercession of God on the Day of Judgment; and a closing prayer that once again invokes God and the Prophet Muhammad and provides a fitting "seal" to the Lilly prayer book.[65] Although the exact wording of these *duʿas* varies to a certain degree, their inclusion in Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals seems rather standard.[66]

The Lilly prayer manual also includes some specific *duʿas* that are rather unusual and thus of particular interest, as they can provide some contextual evidence for the manuscript's production and its subsequent use. Two of these are entitled "The Prayer of the Cup."[67] The first prayer consists in an explanatory prose text in Ottoman Turkish that includes

a saying on the Prophet's ascension (*miʿraj*) as transmitted by Anas b. Malik. The saying describes Muhammad's success in selecting a cup of milk when angels offered him three cups (filled with water, wine, and milk) and his ability to ignore the voices of other religions, tempting him toward apostasy, on his way from Mecca to Jerusalem.[68] This text ends with the moral that Muhammad's prayer (*duʿa*) to God helped save him from the tempting voices and thus led him onto the straight path. The second "Prayer of the [Noble] Cup" is in Arabic and, rather than explaining the merits of the Prophet's ascension, it provides a litany of prayers in Arabic directed to God and Muhammad.

Both "prayers" revolve around the cup or goblet, a characteristic motif of ascension narratives. These goblet prayers hint that the Lilly prayer manual may have been produced for a patron specifically for use on and/or as a memento of the yearly commemoration of the Prophet's ascension on 27 Rajab, a festival known as the "Night of the Ascension" (Arabic, *laylat al-miʿraj,* or Turkish, *miʿraç gecesi* or *miʿraç kandili*). Along with other religious holidays observed in Ottoman Turkey (and still celebrated in Islamic lands today),[69] the "Night of the Ascension" celebrates Muhammad's investiture of prophecy, the confirmation of his miraculous deeds, and, perhaps most germane for our manuscript, the divinely ordained decree of the five daily prayers. While the Ottoman explanatory text explains the salvific power of prayer, the Arabic goblet-*duʿa* in the Lilly prayer manual provides a litany of praises that may have been uttered by the manuscript's owner specifically on the night of the religious commemoration of the Prophet's ascension.

Although the Lilly devotional miscellany may have been prepared for the occasion or produced in commemoration of the ascension, it appears to have been consulted on a more regular basis. For instance, one bilingual Arabic-Ottoman Turkish prayer near the end of the manuscript, entitled "The Prayer of His [God's] Name, 'O Loving One,'" offers praises to God as the ultimate Protector, Forgiver, and Knower of the unseen. This prayer's title also tenders a hopeful directive (written in Ottoman Turkish) to its reciter: "May One Read this Prayer Once in the Evening and Once in the Morning Everyday."[70] This unmistakable instruction—combined with other Qur'anic "verses of healing" and non-Qur'anic supererogatory prayers, some of which are clearly connected to the Prophet's ascension—suggests that the Lilly prayer manual was made for and/or to memorialize this specific religious festival and that it also could have been used on a daily basis as a protective and palliative tool.

REMEMBERING AND HEALING: THE PROPHET'S VESTIGIA

From the sixteenth century onward, the Prophet formed the center of Ottoman-Islamic piety through textual and visual production. By means of written texts, Muhammad could be remembered as the conveyor of the Qur'an, and thus an embodiment of the vessel of God's divine logos. Similarly, his oral sayings (hadiths) could be interpreted as his "oral remnants" put to text, perpetually extant and diachronically

FIG. 4.6. The first two (of four) pages containing the verbal description of the Prophet Muhammad (*hilye*), Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 190–191, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

reminding the Islamic community of the rules governing communal conduct.[71] Besides these text-based "relics," other ways of remembering the Prophet emerged in Ottoman lands as well during the early modern period. These included the proliferation of verbal descriptions of the Prophet (*hilyes*), as well as the amassing of his clothes and other vestigia (*asar*). Religious texts, calligraphic products, and relics all functioned as powerful synecdochal remains, representations, and connectors to a prophetic past that could revivify the spiritual well-being of a modern community of believers—in other words, they could catalyze a revival of the "orthodox" tradition.

Appearing as a series of six circles inscribed in rectangular panels in the Lilly manuscript (Figure 4.6), the *hilye* consists of a verbal description of the Prophet traced back to his cousin and son-in-law ʿAli, in which ʿAli informs us that Muhammad was not tall or short, was of medium height, his hair was not short or curly, he had firm flesh, a round face, rosy skin, large black eyes, long lashes, strong bones, broad shoulders, and large feet. He also notes that Muhammad leaned forward when walking, that the seal of prophecy was placed between his shoulders,

and that he was generous-hearted, gentle in nature, and that everyone liked him.[72] This verbal description emerged from a number of textual sources concerned with describing Muhammad's physical features and moral characteristics (*shama'il*) written in Arabic by authors over the course of many centuries.[73] Such texts entered Ottoman literary production over the course of the sixteenth century and eventually led, in 1578–1579, the Ottoman author Mehmed Hakani (d. 1606–1607) to write his famous poem *Hilye-i Şerif* (The Noble Description), also known as *Hilye-i Hakani*.[74] The principal goal of Hakani's poem consists in demonstrating that the prophetic description of Muhammad's physiognomy can protect its wearer and thus carries miraculous and prophylactic qualities.[75] From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, a number of *hilye* texts similar to or possibly inspired by Hakani's example, some written in verse form, were penned as well. These late Ottoman texts attest to the appeal of this particular textual genre concerned with praising and describing Muhammad's prophetic attributes.[76]

Perhaps inspired by Hakani's *Hilye-i Şerif,* the famous seventeenth-century Ottoman calligrapher Hafiz Osman (d. 1698) created the first calligraphic *hilye.* Inscribed on a panel, it consisted of several parts, including a top or head register (*başmakam*), a central section or omphalos (*göbek*), a crescent (*hilal*), a lower register or skirt (*etek*), and side panels or sleeves (*koltuk*).[77] As the Turkish terms for these particular structural sections indicate, the *hilye*'s form was conceived in a corporealizing manner so as to recall semantically the Prophet's presence via a graphic construct. At the same time, Ottoman *hilyes* can be thought to function as Sunni visualizations of the hadith, symbolically placing the Prophet Muhammad between the realm of the sacred and that of humankind.[78]

The visionary and curative potential of the *hilye* was not just expressed through its structural vocabulary; it was confirmed by the Prophet Muhammad, who is recorded in the hadith as having commented on the *hilye*'s prominence on numerous occasions. In one instance, the Prophet declared:

> My community who could not be honored by me will show their love by looking at the written holy *hilyes* after me. The ones who see and read my *hilye,* the illiterates who rub it on their faces and eyes and bless my soul with their prayers will feel as if they have seen me. Anyone from my community, men or women, who would thus bear my *hilye* shall be saved from the fires of hell. . . . The ones who carry it cordially will attain all their desires. They will be protected and guarded by the Creator. [The *hilye*] will be a remedy for all kinds of hardship. If a sick person looks at it, he will be cured.[79]

Such statements confirm that the *hilye* was intended to represent the protective presence of the Prophet well after his death. The *hilye* was thought to be capable of protecting a dwelling, a newborn, and a traveler; curing the ill; helping the unfortunate; and saving an individual from hellfire. Moreover, it can bring about beneficial qualities especially

through an individual's direct tactile contact with it via rubbing and kissing. Indeed, as will be demonstrated, the *hilye* was not the only item in the Lilly manuscript that could have been rubbed in some manner by an owner who sought to garner blessing and protection.

In Ottoman-Islamic traditions, other items that were venerated and touched because of their power to offer protection, cure, and blessing (*baraka*) also included the Prophet Muhammad's relics, most especially his mantle (*hırka*), his footprint (*kadem*), and his sandal (*naʿl*). By the nineteenth century, when the Lilly prayer manual was produced, these and many other Christian and Islamic relics were preserved in a special room, today called the Pavilion of Relics and Sacred Trusts, in the Ottoman Royal Palace.[80] This pavilion housed Christian relics that had come into Ottoman possession after Mehmed II's (r. 1451–1481) conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Mehmed II showed deep respect for the Christian relics, which included Christ's stone of nativity and an arm bone and part of the skull of St. John the Baptist.[81]

To these Christian relics were added Islamic ones: after Selim I's (r. 1512–1520) conquest of Cairo in 1517, the Prophet's relics were sent to Istanbul from Cairo and Mecca, and from that time forward other prophetic vestigia scattered in Islamic lands came into Ottoman possession and were transferred to the capital city. The influx and purchase of Islamic relics appear to have quickened particularly during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, in 1783 an imperial edict ordered the transferal of a footprint of the Prophet from Hawran (in Syria) to Istanbul.[82] During the nineteenth century, at which time Wahhabi power expanded in the Arabian Peninsula and resulted in the plundering and destruction of relics (as in the sack of Mecca in 1803), the Ottomans became increasingly concerned with acquiring and preserving these sacred objects associated with the Prophet Muhammad.

For the Ottomans, the Prophet's relics were not objects to be feared or worshipped, nor were they dangerous "innovations" that could lead to disbelief and polytheism, as Wahhabi doctrine claimed. Rather, as Mouradgea D'Ohsson (1740–1807), secretary to the Swedish ambassador to Istanbul, is keen to point out in his *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (published in Paris in 1788), the relics were kept in a special "chapel" in the Royal Palace, which sultans frequently visited to perform one of their daily prayers (*namaz*).[83] Here, the relics were honored, not worshipped, because they served as links to God and the Prophet, intercessory mechanisms with the divine rather than workers of miracles.[84] D'Ohsson's contemporary account serves as confirmation that such relics were understood in Ottoman quarters as acceptable and blessed links to a prophetic past since they could bolster—rather than diminish, displace, or abrogate—true and absolute devotion to God and the Prophet.

European chronicles and Ottoman Books of Ceremonies inform us that Ottoman sultans, ministers, and other high officials at the court

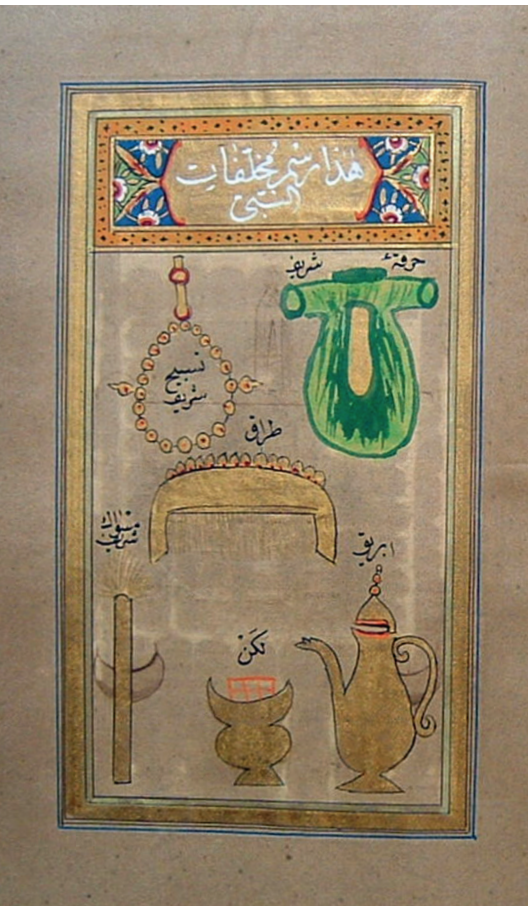


FIG. 4.7. The Relics of the Prophet Muhammad, Ottoman illustrated prayer miscellany, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 12 (w) × 19.8 (h) cm, folio 75r, M.R. 275. Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul.

were in the habit of visiting the relics on Fridays, holidays, before embarking on military campaigns, during state ceremonies (such as accessions to the throne), and at the annual cleaning of the relics room.[85] Both the Prophet's seal and his mantle also were cleaned annually, and one cannot help but wonder whether late Ottoman illustrated prayer books that include depictions of Muhammad's relics—such as his mantle, comb, toothpick, rosary, water pitcher, and ablutions flask—might not have been produced for a patron in the sultan's entourage, for the commemoration of or use in such ceremonies (Figure 4.7).[86] In such a case, illustrated devotional miscellanies could have served either as religious mementos or "reliquary" guidebooks for prayers performed in the Pavilion of Relics.

From a ceremonial point of view, the Prophet's mantle (*hırka*), his footprint (*kadem*), and his standard (*sancak*) were the most important items within the royal repository. For example, D'Ohsson informs us that Muhammad's *hırka* was taken out and unfolded on the fifteenth day of Ramadan every year, at which time the sultan and his officers took turns kissing it. After each individual's kiss, a functionary wiped off the saliva with a handkerchief made of muslin and presented it to each person as a blessed souvenir of the ceremonial washing of the mantle. The part of the robe that was kissed was then washed with water, and drops of this "sacred" water were added to the glasses of water that officials at the court drank to break fast during the remaining fifteen days of Ramadan.[87] Similarly, Ottoman Books of Ceremonies also record the ceremony of the washing of the holy mantle, specifying that the saved water was also kept in some vessels in the palace and, because this "relic water" was believed to have curative powers, it was used as a potion to heal the sick.[88] Finally, official chronicles of the nineteenth century describe various rulers (including Selim III in 1810) praying at the Prophet's *hırka* to secure the welfare of their subjects.[89] The mantle's healing potential, as transmitted through the conduits of water and saliva, as well as through the "religious theatrics of sovereignty,"[90] endowed the relic with a perceived talismanic and thaumaturgic force.

The Prophet's footprints and sandals likewise performed similar functions (Figure 4.8). Although footprints of the Prophet are not preserved in Mecca today, the Ottoman historian Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682) records in his *Sehayatname* (Book of Travel) that during the seventeenth century there was a footprint of the Prophet in Mecca (although it has since disappeared and textual sources remain rather mute on the subject; it may have been the impression left behind when the Prophet lifted the Black Stone into place in the Ka'ba). This footprint was typically filled with rosewater, and pilgrims to Mecca would collect the water and rub it on their faces.[91] After the footprint in Mecca, surely the most famous footprint was the one left behind on the Temple Mount when the Prophet ascended from Jerusalem into the heavens on the night of his ascension. The Jerusalem footprint was a highly venerated

FIG. 4.8. The Prophet Muhammad's footprint (right) and sandal (left), Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 214–215, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

physical trace of the Prophet, and in 1609 the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617), who is recorded as having a particular fondness for Muhammad's footprints, ordered the fabrication of a new grille to enclose and protect it.[92]

Besides Muhammad's footprints left in situ, other prophetic impresa on various stones, including on porphyry and marble, found their way to Istanbul and were housed in the Pavilion of Relics. One print of Muhammad's right foot was brought from Tripoli and presented to Sultan Abdülmecid by an army commander named Ahmed Bey. In Istanbul, the footprint's broken heel section was bound with silver wires, and in 1877 Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1906) ordered a new gold cover to be made for it (Figure 4.9).[93] These prints on stones must have been understood as bearing special properties, not only because they retained the physical impression of the Prophet but also because in Islamic traditions stones are believed to carry special beneficial properties.[94] Indeed, in Ottoman Turkey stones were frequently rubbed by a petitioner seeking the granting of a wish or miracle.[95] Like other prints and prophetic relics

FIG. 4.9. A footprint of the Prophet Muhammad on porphyry and encased in gold (cover added in 1877), acc. no. 21/195. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul.

held in the Royal Palace, Muhammad's lapidary imprints were probably touched, rubbed, and kissed in order to stimulate the release of their therapeutic qualities. Perhaps the owner of the Lilly prayer manual also could activate the various blessings provided by "image of the noble footprint" by the simple action of thumbing through the manuscript.

Like his footprints, the Prophet's sandals were protective motifs deployed in a variety of contexts and objects, including Ottoman talismanic shirts and nightcaps.[96] They also appear in Ottoman tile revetments, including tiles located in the Ashrafiyya and Darwishiyya madrasas in Damascus. Damascus was a center of worship and learning in the Islamic world that also housed a leather sandal of the Prophet: in 1872 the city's prized relic was ordered sent to Istanbul for placement in the Pavilion of Relics.[97] Further objects linked to the Prophet Muhammad were sent to Istanbul during the nineteenth century, where they were received with ceremonial pomp and pious declarations.[98] Without a doubt, the steady influx of prophetic relics attests to the Ottoman rulers' keen interest in acquiring and preserving prophetic relics during the century that, perhaps not coincidentally, witnessed an unprecedented flourishing in the illustrated prayer book genre.

This was not the first instance of a sandal of the Prophet arriving in the Ottoman capital, however. Writing in the second half of the eighteenth century and basing his work on an Ottoman dynastic chronicle, D'Ohsson informs us that the Ottoman ruler Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421) acquired from an old man a pair of sandals said to have belonged to the Prophet Muhammad. The ruler showed reverence to the sandals by kissing them and rubbing them against his eyes. He also purchased them, later stating to officers at his court that, although he knew that the sandals were fake relics, he acquired them nonetheless in order to put a halt to the old man's sham and thus to remove them from causing further confusion in the public domain.[99] What is particularly intriguing about this anecdote is the sultan's assessment or assumption that the sandals were counterfeit and that, despite such knowledge, he felt the need to kiss and rub them publicly—an action that revealed to those in his presence his deep piety and reverence to the Prophet's relics.

Returning to the issue of the 1872 transferal of the Damascene sandal to Istanbul, it appears that this particular sandal caused quite a stir among the Ottoman elite. In the very same year as its arrival in the capital city, a 235-couplet-long poem on the Prophet's sandal (*Naʿl-i Resul Manzumesi*) was composed,[100] most likely in its honor. Other poems followed, as did its representation on tiles and talismanic shirts.

Its relocation, however, seems to have been prompted by a growing fascination with the Prophet's sandal initiated by Abdülmecid, under whom no fewer than three copies of the Arabic-language text entitled *Rawdat al-Safa fi Wasf Niʿal al-Mustafa* (The Garden of Purity in Describing the Pure One's Sandal) were produced sometime between 1839 and 1861, each one bearing a series of images (*mithals*) of the sandal

(Figure 4.10).[101] This unstudied text is highly illuminating for a number reasons. First, it compiles many hadiths and descriptions of the Prophet's sandals in its first and second chapters,[102] and the third chapter is devoted to the sandals' special properties (*khawass*), virtues (*fawa'id*), and benefits (*manafi'*). The Prophet's sandals, including those held in the Ashrafiyya madrasa, are mentioned and referred to as blessed items (*tabarrukat*) that provide protection from evil and healing from illness. Moreover, the author of the *Rawdat al-Safa* states without compunction that the sandal's use is legally acceptable (*mashru'*)—a proclamation in tune with the revivalist *shari'a*-Sunni spirit prevalent among various classes of Ottoman society at the time.

FIG. 4.10. Two representations (*mithals*) of the Prophet Muhammad's sandal, *Rawdat al-Safa fi Wasf Ni'al al-Mustafa* (The Garden of Purity in Describing the Pure One's Sandal), Istanbul, ca. 1839–1861, E. H. 1189, folios 17v–18r. Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul.

The *Rawdat al-Safa* appears to have been composed for a number of reasons. Its Arabic language and its collation of hadiths suggest a certain amount of conservatism as well as a reliance on sources that formed the core of the Prophet's Sunna. The text's legitimization of the sandals as blessed items that are also protective and curative thus emerges from legally acceptable texts, and therefore can be seen in direct contradiction to Wahhabi assertions that honoring the Prophet's relics is nothing but *shirk* and *kufr*. The *Rawdat al-Safa's* heralding of Muhammad's sandals as prized items, alongside its specific mention of the sandal in the Ashrafiyya madrasa, may in fact have lead to the 1872 transferal of the sandal relic from Damascus to Istanbul. If so, then the text functions as a kind of "manifesto" that endorses the legality of accumulating and paying tribute to the Prophet's relics, while also making a strong case for taking immediate action to preserve prophetic items scattered in Islamic lands that were still not under the watchful protection of the Ottoman rulers.

Based on contextual evidence and textual sources, it becomes clear that the Prophet's vestigia were at the heart of late Ottoman-Islamic religious traditions. Items associated with Muhammad, such as his mantle, footprints, and sandals, were believed to act as protective and healing devices, especially if they came into direct tactile contact with an individual. Embedded into prayer practices, whether in daily or festival devotions, or in pictured form, as in the Lilly prayer manual, the items also could act as expedient and efficacious devices to meditate upon Muhammad and the impresa and vestigia he left behind. These traces were intended to commemorate his prophetic status while simultaneously reactivating their presence and power.

AUTHORITATIVE AND CURATIVE: THE SEAL DESIGNS

Alongside representations of the Prophet's relics, the Lilly prayer manual is embellished by a series of graphic designs, each one identified specifically as a seal (*mühür*). Seals are powerful items because of two distinct factors: first, because they are used to impress an imperial mark, and second, because they can function as amulets. In the Lilly prayer manual, the amulet functions as an authoritative symbol as well as a sign that can protect an individual from harm, trouble, and illness.[103] It therefore

FIG. 4.11. Muhammad's Seal of Prophecy (right) and the Seal of Solomon (left), Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 196–197, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

acts as a device that supports the eminent status of an individual, who in turn makes the seal operational according to his own wishes.

As a mark of power and rulership, the seal equals the regal attributes of the crown and the throne,[104] while as a mark of authority and authenticity, it seals documents shut so that they cannot be altered.[105] As amulets, on the other hand, siglia carry curative and protective powers. The seal's shielding potential is hinted at by the shapes of the Lilly manuscript's seal impressions, which are arranged as ring-shaped or circular cartouches. These forms recall signet rings or bullae (bubble seals), but their qualities are made overtly religious through the inclusion of highly legible Qur'anic verses and prayers.[106] Not cryptographic and thus magical in nature, the Lilly prayer manual's seals are meant to be viewed *and* read—even recited. As a result, the manuscript's sphragistic impressions come together to form a cabinet of two-dimensional seals, themselves endowing this manuscript with its (manifestly declared) curative power and religious character.

In his famous seventeenth-century *Seyahatname,* Evliya Çelebi relates that at his time there were many engravers active in Istanbul who

FIG. 4.12. The Seal of the Glorious Name of God (right) and the Seal of the Greatest Name of God (left), Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 198–199, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

produced stone and silver seals and talismans. These Ottoman amulet-makers placed Qur'anic verses within various figures and magic squares inscribed in amulets and talismans. They also made specific amulets, such as the Seal of Prophecy and the Seal of the Glorious Name of God, both of which are included in the Lilly prayer manual (Figures 4.11 and 4.12).[107] In their design and structure, these seals seem to have been transferred from non-paper media—such as glass, bone, metal, and clay—to the codex, where they are compressed to the flat plane of the paper's surface.

Textual sources inform us that the Seal of Muhammad's Prophecy consisted in a mole or a fleshy and/or hairy protuberance located on his back between his shoulder blades. Some authors even specify that it looked like a cupping glass, a pigeon's egg, or the mark left behind by a leech.[108] How the mark appeared between Muhammad's shoulders is subject to various interpretations: some narratives claim that it was a scar-like fastening that closed shut his chest after it had been split open and his heart purified,[109] while others narrate that it was the imprint left by God's cold hand that was pressed on Muhammad's body when the

two entered into intimate dialogue on the night of the Prophet's ascension.[110] Whether acquired in his youth or during his *miʿraj,* the Seal of Prophecy was a concrete and recognizable mark of divinely granted prophecy and purity on Muhammad's body.

The Seal of Prophecy in the Lilly manual is circular and thus may recall a mole. It is also inscribed with the proclamation of faith (*shahada*) and the identification of Muhammad as the "Seal of prophets." In the silver omphalos appears the promise written in Arabic: "[Do] as you wish because you are successful." Although the manuscript's text does not provide directions for using this seal, other Ottoman devotional miscellanies tell us that it should to be touched in order for its protective qualities to emerge. For example, one prayer book dated 1808 includes the Seal of Prophecy, inscribed with a promise to its owner: "Go wherever you wish, for verily you are well protected."[111] Another, dated 1877, tells its reader that "whoever rubs the seal on his face morning and night will be absolved from eighty years of sins; and whoever looks at the Seal at the beginning of the month will be safe from all misfortune."[112] The pressing and rubbing of the seal on the viewer's eye activates the emblem's healing and protective powers.

Additionally, the Seal of Solomon attests to Solomon's utmost rank among humans and his authority over supernatural forces, a form of licit magic known as the "praiseworthy method" (*al-tariqa al-mahmuda*).[113] Solomon could control humans, *jinns,* and the winds thanks to the abilities given to him by God. A sign of this divine gift—that is, the seven signs of God—was engraved in a star-shaped hexagon into his signet ring.[114] Essentially a six-pointed star, the Seal of Solomon actually is intended to represent the Seal of the Glorious Name of God,[115] and in the Lilly manuscript it is inscribed with two Qur'anic verses (Qur'an 27:30–31) that ask the petitioner to surrender himself to God.[116] Besides its importance as a mark of authority, the Seal of Solomon also was believed to carry protective properties. According to Evliya Çelebi, it was sometimes designed or drawn on the walls of Ottoman fortresses, acting as a defensive bonus when bricks and stones were thought insufficient.[117]

The Seal of the Glorious Name of God, identified as the "Glorified Name" (*ism-i celal*) and the "Greatest Name" (*ism-i aʿzam*), takes on two different shapes over two pages in the Lilly prayer manual (Figure 4.12). The first includes several checkerboards inscribed with God's name in the vocative, contained within a circle on whose parameters four semicircles call out God by His epithets, "The Living," "The Existent," "The Possessor of Glory," and "The Most Generous." The second depicts a calligram that reads "eye upon God" (*ʿayn ʿala Allah*), specifying that this seal is the "shape of true belief" (*shakl al-yaqin*). Other prayers and verses are also inscribed in checkerboards below the "eye upon God" painted in gold.

The Glorious Name of God is God's hundredth name: unlike the ninety-nine Beautiful Names, it remains unknown by humankind.

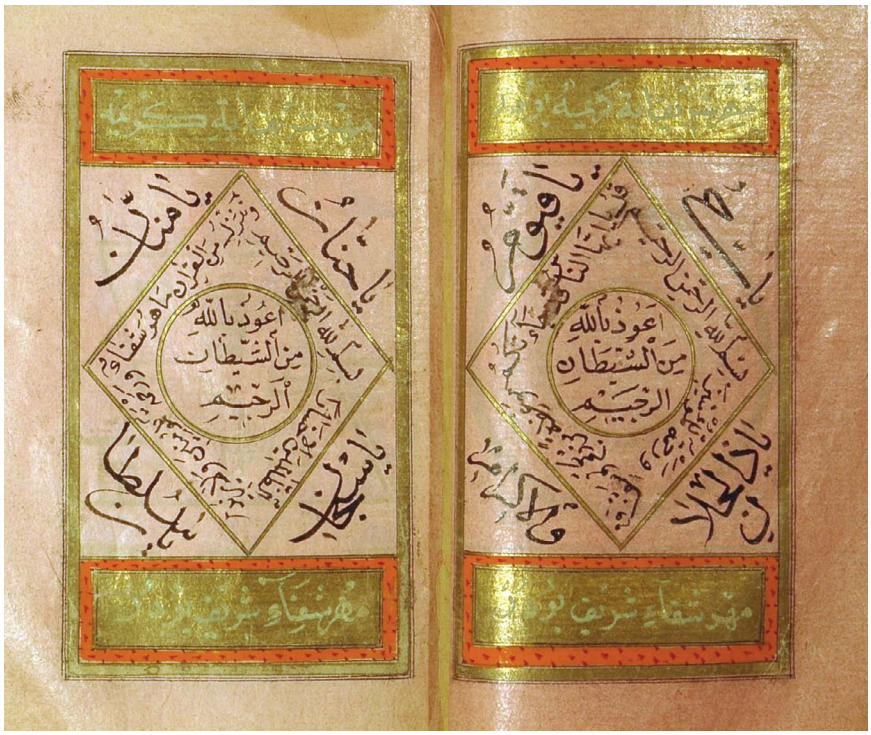


FIG. 4.13. Two (of four) "seals of healing," Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, pages 202–203, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

When inscribed on amulets and talismans, it is believed to possess magical properties;[118] moreover, when it appears on Ottoman blankets, it is believed to be protective and curative.[119] Although the Lilly prayer manual does not give directions as to how to use this Seal of the Glorious Name of God, a contemporaneous Ottoman illustrated prayer book includes the same design and provides specific instructions in Ottoman Turkish: "If this seal is placed to the forehead seventy years of sins will be erased; and if you look at it on the first day of the month you will be preserved from all dangers."[120] Yet another informs us that whoever looks at this seal and rubs it on his eyes will receive innumerable rewards from God.[121] Like the other seals in the manuscript, it too functions as a graphic safeguard, especially if it enters into contact with certain key parts of the human body.

In the Lilly prayer book, four more seals are specifically designated as curative by their title, "noble seal of healing" (*mühr-i şifa-yı şerif*), thereby providing final confirmation of the manuscript's potential to protect its owner and to serve as a spiritual recourse or remedy in times of difficulty (Figure 4.13). Shaped as a diamond—and thus perhaps paying tribute to the gemological arts—each one of these four seals includes four invocations to God (through his many names) inscribed in the rectangle's corners. In the circular center of the diamond seal appears the believer's promise: "I seek refuge in God from the evil Satan." Around this petition appear Qur'anic verses that state that God sent down the Qur'an as a cure and mercy to the believers (see Qur'an 17:82).

These "seals of healing" bring us full circle, back to our initial discussion of the Qur'an as the ultimate remedy for humankind. Besides giving further amuletic force to the Holy Book and its curative powers,

FIG. 4.14. The rod of Moses transforms into a dragon, Qur'an with five illustrations, Ottoman Turkey, text dated 1232/1816, folio 83r. Manuscript's location unknown; image from Gottheil, "An Illustrated Copy of the Koran," plate II.

these seals are capped by the very last graphic construct that includes the terminal assertion that "God is the Best Protector and the Most Merciful One."[122] These "seals of healing" and the declaration that God is the sole source of protection and mercy provide a fitting close to the manuscript. By visually reinforcing the Qur'anic verses and prayers that appear both before and after its cycle of pictorial and amuletic "equipment," the Lilly prayer manual's graphic program carefully combines text and image into a veritable armory of portable curative devices put to operative use within the boundaries of the book format.

PERFORMING AND PICTURING PIETY

The Lilly manuscript poses new questions about the development of religious expression in Ottoman Turkey from ca. 1750 to 1875, a time when the production of prayer books was widespread and thus rivaled the Qur'an in popularity.[123] While unillustrated devotional texts appealed to a wide range of social classes, lavishly illustrated prayer books were made for elite patrons, including sultans and their family members. These kinds of late Ottoman prayer books put to picture may have been purposefully inward-looking and anachronistic, essentially making the Qur'anic past immediate for a modern viewer engaged in devotional acts, while simultaneously serving as conduits to revive the prophetic Sunna during a period of intense debate over the construction of "normative" piety on the domestic front and in the international arena.

FIG. 4.15. The rod of Moses, Ottoman illustrated prayer manual, probably Istanbul, ca. 1850–1900, 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm, page 209, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Late Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals like the Lilly miscellany also force the question, is there such a thing as "illustrated scripture" in Islamic traditions? As a general rule, the answer is no, and scholars have stated with confidence that the Qur'an was and is never illustrated.[124] There are exceptions to this rule, however, and exceptions prove illuminating even if they are very rare. For example, there exists

a Qur'an calligraphed ca. 1540 that includes five paintings executed at a later date,[125] while another Qur'an written in 1816 also contains five paintings executed during the nineteenth century.[126] The nineteenth-century Qur'an is Ottoman Turkish and corresponds geographically and chronologically with the Lilly prayer manual. Furthermore, like the manual, it represents the miraculous transformation of Moses's staff into a double-headed serpent (Figures 4.14 and 4.15).[127] Moses's rod symbolizes the transformative and salvific power of prayer and thus provides a powerful visual metaphor for the Qur'an as both the ultimate spiritual remedy and, alongside God, the sole source of guidance and mercy.

Illustrating a Qur'an or a prayer manual during the late Ottoman period may have been undertaken with a number of goals in mind. The first consists in harnessing and visualizing forces that are transmitted through God's revealed word and/or the utterer's praise, which seeks divine communion. From an educational perspective, such images could have helped reinforce pious messages through the buttress of the visual mode, a strategy still used in contemporary printed Qur'ans provided with illustrations.[128] Finally, the manuscript's paintings and seal designs acted as the visual vestiges of the Prophet Muhammad as well as powerful curative and protective devices that, at a psychosomatic and esoteric level, could benefit the owner's spiritual development and his wish to enter into contact with the domain of the sacred.

Religious expression and its deployment through texts and images, in these cases, are internally forged and contribute to the Ottoman construction of "orthodox" piety. Whether illustrated prayer manuals may have helped an audience to achieve successfully the goal of accessing and communicating with the sacred dimension is difficult to ascertain without further research. At this early stage, however, late Ottoman illustrated devotional books like the Lilly miscellany certainly suggest that these kinds of manuscripts relied on the cumulative effect of Qur'anic verses, supplicatory prayers, prophetic relics, and amuletic devices to offer their readers and viewers the double desiderata of protection and healing.

APPENDIX 4.1 PAINTINGS AND SEALS IN THE LILLY PRAYER MANUAL

There are thirty-seven paintings and seal designs in the Lilly prayer manual. These run between pages 187 and 223. Page numbers follow the Arabic numerals written on the manuscript's original pages.

1. p. 187: Muhammad's name painted in gold in mirror script on a grassy blue-green background. This painting marks the end of the section on the "Names of the Prophet" (*asma' al-nabi*).
2. p. 188: God's name painted in silver on grassy blue-green background, framed by a red background decorated with gold arabesques.
3. p. 189: Muhammad's name painted in silver on grassy blue background, framed by a red background decorated with gold arabesques.
4. pp. 190–195: Six continuous *hilyes* of the Prophet Muhammad containing ʿAli's verbal description of his physical traits and attributes.
5. p. 196: The Seal of Muhammad's Prophecy.
6. p. 197: The Seal of Solomon.
7. p. 198: The Noble Seal of [God's] Glorious Name.
8. p. 199: The Seal of [God's] Greatest Name.
9. pp. 200–203: Four seals, each identified as a "seal of healing."
10. pp. 204–205: Double-page painting of Mecca and Medina.
11. p. 206: The Prophet Muhammad's standard.
12. p. 207: Imam Husayn's standard.
13. p. 208: Imam ʿAli's double-edged sword (*dhu'l-fiqar*).
14. p. 209: The rod of Moses.
15. p. 210: The handprint of ʿAli.

16 p. 211: The Tuba tree.
17 p. 212: The Prophet's date tree.
18 p. 213: The rose of Muhammad providing the Prophet's genealogy.
19 p. 214: The Prophet's footprint.
20 p. 215: The Prophet's sandal.
21 p. 216: A graphic construct in the shape of a six-pointed star, containing prayer invocations to God.
22 p. 217: The Prophet Muhammad's staff.
23 p. 218: Four roundels containing the names of God, Muhammad, the first four rightly guided caliphs, and Hasan and Husayn.
24 p. 219: The names of the seven sleepers of Ephesus and their dog written in roundels.
25 p. 220: The Lote Tree of the Limit (*sidrat al-muntaha*), inscribed in a gold-painted checkerboard.
26 p. 221: The Exalted Station (*maqam-i mahmud*).
27 p. 222: A framed graphic construct containing prayers and, in the center, a statement proclaiming, "I seek refuge in God from evil Satan."
28 p. 223: A large, framed inscription reading "God is the Best Protector and the Most Merciful [One]."

NOTES

I wish to thank Irvin Schick, Tobias Heinzelmann, Hakan Karateke, and Yasmine al-Saleh for their comments and feedback on an earlier draft of this paper. All remaining shortcomings are my own. The transliteration system used here combines the rules for Arabic transcription as laid out in the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (if a word or text is in Arabic) and the modern Turkish transliteration system (if a word or text is in Ottoman Turkish).

1. The manuscript includes page numbers, rather than folio numbers, written in Arabic numerals. These run from page 170 (the text's opening page) to page 408 (the undated colophon signed by the calligrapher Mustafa al-Üsküdari)—yielding a total of 238 pages, or 119 folios, each measuring 10 (w) × 14.6 (h) cm. These numbers suggest that there were 169 pages (or 85 folios) of a text or texts that preceded the prayer book and, therefore, that it most likely formed part of a larger compendium of texts before it was removed and bound as a separate volume. For the sake of consistency, the Arabic numbering system as present on the manuscript's original folios is maintained in this chapter.

2. For an overview of the most frequently extracted Qur'anic verses and the major prayers in unillustrated Ottoman prayer manuals that were seized on the battlefield in the Balkans, see Florian Sobieroj, "Repertory of Suras and Prayers in a Collection of Ottoman Manuscripts," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 59 (2006), 365–386.

3. The titles of these prayer books vary depending on how they are catalogued. They are referred to as *Duʿa Kitabı* (Prayer Book), *Duʿa Mecmuası* (Prayer Compendium), and *Enʿam-ı Şerif* (the Noble Cattle, a title based on the Qur'anic chapter *Surat al-Inʿam*). See M. Uğur Derman, *Calligraphies ottomanes: collection du Musée Sakıp Sabancı, Université Sabancı, Istanbul* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 48, cat. no. 2; 52, cat. no. 4; 76, cat. no. 16; and 92, cat. no. 24. Alexandra Bain, who has analyzed select Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals, refers to them collectively as *Enʿam-ı Şerif*. She uses the term *enʿam* specifically to describe an unillustrated prayer book. Although the title is not inappropriate, Bain does not provide an explanation for her decision to use these two very specific titles for every Ottoman illustrated or unillustrated prayer book in her "The Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*: Sacred Text and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Victoria, 1999; and idem, "The *Enʿam-ı Şerif*: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 213–238. In this chapter, I prefer to refer to such materials as prayer manuals, prayer books, or collections of prayers because many of these texts do not include titles and I wish to avoid the potential confusion between these compendia of prayers and *Surat al-Inʿam* proper. Other appropriate titles include "selected Qur'anic *suras*," if the manuscript contains only excerpts from the Qur'an, and "devotional miscellany" and "devotional manual" if it includes both Qur'anic verses and petitionary prayers. For these three descriptive titles, see Nabil Safwat, *Golden Pages: Qur'ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 226–230, cat. no. 57; and 268–275, cat. no. 69; and idem, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries,* ed. Julian Raby, NDKCIA, vol. 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 50, mss. 158.

4. For a complete list and description of the manuscript's thirty-seven paintings and seal designs, see this chapter's Appendix 4.1.

5. For a comparable image of Muhammad's lineage shaped as a rose included in an Ottoman album of *hilyes* (verbal descriptions) made during the 18th century, see Faruk Taşkale and Hüseyin Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri: Hat Sanatında Hilye-i Şerîfe / Characteristics of the Prophet Muhammed in Calligraphic Art* (Istanbul: Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 55; and Faruk Taşkale, "Hilyeler," *Antik & Dekor: Antika, Dekorasyon ve Sanat Dergisi* 7 (1990): 92. For a further discussion of this rose-shaped *hilye* album and other prayer manuals including floral patterns, see Yıldız Demiriz, "On Rococo-Decorated Manuscripts in Sadberk Hanım Museum," *Palmet: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Yıllığı* 3 (2000), 54–76. For another illustration of a "rose of Muhammad," see Malik Aksel, *Türklerde Dinî Resimler: Yazı-Resim* (Istanbul: Elif Yayınları, 1967), 145–146.

6. As Bain has shown in her two studies ("The *Enʿam-ı Şerif*" and "The Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif*"), most illustrated prayer manuals seem to have been produced in Istanbul. However, many still remain to be uncovered

and studied. For example, one illustrated miscellany dated 1289/1872 (New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Turk ms. 9) may have been executed in Medina rather than Istanbul. See Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Library; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 48–49, cat. I.11, figs. 38–42.

7. The question of Ottoman decline has been called into question by Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, who provides a more nuanced discussion of the various internal processes of social and political transformation in his *Formation of the Modern State: the Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

8. See Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 22/1–4 (1982): 1–36.

9. Ebu Su'ud's collection of prayers is entitled variously as "Prayer Book" (*Du'aname*), "Treatise on the Prayers to Be Learned by Heart" (*Risala fi'l-Ad'iya al-Ma'thura*), and "Compendium of Prayers" (*Mecmu'a-i Du'avat*). His collection of prayers, dedicated to the grand vizier (*sadrazam*) Semiz 'Ali Paşa, includes an introduction and seven chapters. For a discussion of Ebu Su'ud's prayer book, see M. Cavid Baysun, "Ebüssu'ûd Efendi," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 4, 99; and Abdullah Demir, *Ebussuud Efendi: Devlet-i Aliyye'nin Büyük Hukukçusu Şeyhülislam* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2006), 51, and section E for a listing of extant manuscripts of his prayer book in Turkish collections. On Ebu Su'ud's life and his works more generally, see Colin Imber, *Ebu's-su'ud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997). It appears that Ebu Su'ud's collection of prayers continued to be copied in the 18th and 19th centuries, at which time various paintings and seal impressions could be added to accompany the text: see, for example, the Ottoman prayer manual in the Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Shoebox B. This manuscript includes a variety of Qur'anic chapters and prayers, including Ebu Su'ud's Arabic-language *du'a* (folio 85r), which asks God to give the petitioner patience in all his worldly and religious affairs, to attain goodness, to perform good deeds, to be loyal and kind, and to increase his faith in order to receive God's grace and mercy. The manuscript has been examined by Yasmine al-Saleh in her unpublished research paper, "An Ottoman Prayer Book Goes to War," University of Pennsylvania, 2003, in which she convincingly argues that this kind of manual possibly was intended to be carried into battle, where it would protect its carrier.

10. Approximately thirty to fifty uncatalogued examples of miniature printed books containing Qur'anic verses and prayers are held in the Adomeit collection in the Lilly Library. These date from the late 19th to the early 20th century and deserve future study.

11. See the modern bilingual Arabic-Turkish prayer book by Mehmet Ali Kerkütlü, *Günlük Hayatta En Çok İhtiyaç Duyulan Türkçe Dualar* (Istanbul: Mozaik Yayınları, 2001); and *Namaz Güldestesi,* calligraphed by Mehmed Özçay and illuminated by Fatma Özçay (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1993). The latter work is produced in the same size as many manuscript copies of Ottoman prayer books, and also comprises pink sheets and illumination. It includes a number of Qur'anic verses in both the original Arabic language and script and in Turkish translation (in Roman transcription), thus helping the modern Turkish reader access and understand the prayers.

12. Ottoman Turkish translations in the 19th century continued a trend of Ottoman Turkish translations of Islamic works written in Arabic and Persian, which began in the 15th century and expanded substantially during the 16th and 17th centuries. See Gottfried Hagen, "Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society: A Case Study of Persian-Ottoman Translations, Late Fifteenth to Early Seventeenth Century," *Eurasian Studies* 2/1 (2003): 95–134; and for translations in the 19th century, see Butrus Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1826–1876), Analecta Isisiana* 52 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001), 52.

13. In her work on Ottoman illustrated prayer books, Alexandra Bain particularly highlights Wahhabism as the external threat to which Ottoman Islam, and by extension these kinds of illustrated manuscripts, must be understood as a response. She states that "these books served as focal points in the polemics between orthodox Islam as practiced by the Ottomans, and the emerging of fundamentalism [Wahhabism] that rejected it" (Bain, "The *En'am-ı Şerif,*" 32–33). Although such manuscripts do provide evidence for the rise of Ottoman piety during a period of contestation over the construction and definition of Islamic "orthodoxy," it is difficult to sustain the argument that these small-scale objects provided a ground for polemical disputation since they function in the private domain of personal devotion rather than in the public sphere, in which various "correct" forms of religiosity were debated and promoted.

14. Maria Subtelny and Anas Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shah-Rukh," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115/2 (April–June 1995): 212.

15. Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century,* 51. On Selim III and Sultan Mahmud II as leaders of the "New Order" (*Nizam-i Cedid*), see Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman Ulema and Westernization in the Time of Selim III and Mahmud II," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 63–96.

16. For a discussion of Islamic revivalist efforts becoming political movements in the 18th and 19th centuries, see Ira M. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40/4 (1997): 448–450; and John Obert Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World,* 2nd ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 25–31. For anti-colonial movements that used the notion of *tajdid* in the 20th century and, in particular, for an analysis of the religio-political rhetoric of ʿAbd al-Hamid b. Badis (1889–1940), leader of the Algerian reform movement, see Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity," 452.

17. For a discussion of the term "neo-Sufism," see Nikki Keddie, "The Revolt of Islam, 1700 to 1993: Comparative Considerations and Relations to Imperialism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36/3 (July 1994): 469; and Dina Le Gall, "Forgotten Naqshbandis and the Culture of Pre-Modern Sufi Brotherhoods," *Studia Islamica* 97 (2003): 90, and n. 6 for a review of the scholarly debates surrounding this term.

18. Hamid Algar, "Devotional Practices of the Khalidi Naqshbandis of Ottoman Turkey," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 209–210. In Naqshbandi practices, the silent mode of *dhikr* or "hidden recollection" (*al-dhikr al-khafi*) was preferred (Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005] , 113). Moreover, Naqshbandis cast silent *dhikr* as the original method of recollection as practiced by the Prophet Muhammad himself, thereby portraying their interiorized method of practicing *dhikr* as a return to an uncorrupted practice but also consonant with both the prophetic Sunna and with the *shariʿa* (ibid., 117).

19. Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism,* 111; idem, "Forgotten Naqshbandis and the Culture of Pre-Modern Sufi Brotherhoods," 92; and Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century," 13.

20. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity," 454.

21. Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century,* 8; and Klaus Kreiser, "Medresen und Derwischkonvente in Istanbul: Quantitative Aspekte," in idem, *Istanbul und das Osmanische Reich: Städte, Bauten, Inschriften Derwische und ihre Konvente* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1995), 165. According to Kreiser, the 54 Naqshbandi *tekkes* represent approximately 22% of the 248 active *tekkes* in Istanbul in the 19th century, and thus constitute the highest percentage of any Sufi order in the capital city. However, there were certainly other important orders; these included the Qadiriyya (41 *tekkes,* i.e., ca. 17% of *tekkes* in Istanbul) and the Rifaʿiyya (37 *tekkes,* i.e., ca. 15% of *tekkes* in Istanbul).

22. For a discussion of specific supporters of the Naqshbandi order, see Abu-Manneh, "The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century," 19–21; and for a detailed overview of the relationship between various Sufi orders and rulers and government officials during the 18th century, see Ramazan Muslu, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf (18. yüzyıl),* 1st ed. (Istanbul: Insan Yayınları, 2003), 567–619.

23. Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century,* 104–105.

24. Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century,* 55. In the 1830s, Mahmud II also restored Naqshbandi mosques and *tekkes* in Istanbul and elsewhere. High officials at his court followed suit, they too endowing or providing financial support to various Sufi institutions.

25. See Bain, "The *Enʿam-ı Şerif,*" 218–219, for the illustrated prayer books associated with Mehmed Saʿid Halet Efendi (1760–1823), Kadiasker Mustafa ʿIzzet Efendi (d. 1876), and Pertevniyal Valide Sultan. Another prayer miscellany is connected to Sultan Selim III: see ms. no. 1985.260 in the Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (briefly published as a catalogue entry in Walter Denny, *Turkish Treasures of Edwin Binney III* [Portland, Ore.: Portland Museum of Art, 1979], 138, fig. 90). Another illustrated devotional miscellany dated 1294/1877 is directly connected with Abdülmecid as well (Safwat, *Golden Pages,* 268, cat. no. 69).

26. On Ottoman conservatism positioning itself against pan-Islamism, see Mark Sedgwick, "The Place of Religion in Social Life: The Nature of Ottoman Sufism," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization,* ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), vol. 2, 505.

27. These proclamations are included in Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab's many writings, including most prominently his *Rasaʾil al-Daʿwa* (Letters of Calling [to the Faith]) and his *Kitab al-Tawhid* (Book of [God's] Unity), as cited in Ahmad Dallal, "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750–1850," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113/3 (July–September 1993): 350.

28. At this time, Ottoman politico-religious thought was not the only opposition to Wahhabism in Islamic lands. Also of note is Algeria's Muhammad b. ʿAli al-Sanuni (1787–1859), who in his writings defended Sufi practices and the validity of seeking intercession through the Prophet Muhammad as a direct response to Wahhabi doctrine (for which, see Dallal, "The Origins and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought," 356).

29. For a theoretical discussion of the multiple manifestations of Islam during the late Ottoman period, see Hasan Kayalı and

A. Kevin Reinhart, "Studies in Late Ottoman Islam," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 194.

30. Al-Busiri (d. 1294) wrote his *Qasidat al-Burda* (Mantle Ode), an Arabic-language panegyric poem in honor of the Prophet, to thank Muhammad for appearing to him in his sleep and for covering him with the Prophet's mantle (*burda*), thereby curing his paralysis. The *Burda* became a favorite devotional poem that was often recited during the yearly festivities commemorating the Prophet's birth on 12 Rabiʿ I. It also was frequently translated into other languages: in its Ottoman Turkish translation, it rivaled the popularity of Süleyman Çelebi's (d. 1657) *Mevlid-i Şerif* (Noble Birth). For an English translation of al-Busiri's *Burda,* see Arthur Jeffery, *A Reader on Islam: Passages from Standard Arabic Writings Illustrative of the Beliefs and Practices of Muslims* ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962), 604–621.

31. Unillustrated prayer books popular in the modern period are examined in detail in Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1996). One exception to this rule is al-Jazuli's (d. ca. 869/1465) *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (Proofs of Good Deeds), which was frequently put to illustration during the Ottoman period; see Jan Just Witkam, "The Battle of the Images: Mecca vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat,*" *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 111 (2007): 67–82.

32. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 170–171 (Qur'an 1); 171–172 (Qur'an 2:1–5); 172–174 (Qur'an 2:284–286); 175 (Qur'an 9:51); 175–176 (Qur'an 10:107); 176 (Qur'an 11:6); 177 top (Qur'an 29:60); 177 bottom (Qur'an 11:56); 178 (Qur'an 35:2); and 178–179 (Qur'an 39:38).

33. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 174–175. Kaʿb al-Akhbar was a Jewish convert to Islam and one of the Prophet Muhammad's companions who transmitted a number of sayings.

34. There are a number of texts that describe the special attributes and beneficial properties of the Qur'an (a genre generally known as *khawass al-Qur'an*). These include, for example, al-Tamimi's (10th century) and al-Buni's (d. 1225) treatises, both entitled *Manafiʿ al-Qur'an* (The Benefits of the Qur'an). See Peter Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 148; and Toufic Fahd, "Khawass al-Qur'an," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. (hereafter E.I.^{2}), vol. 4, 1133–1134. On the virtues and merits (*fada'il*) of reciting and writing the Qur'an, also see Asma Afsaruddin, "The Excellences of the Qur'an: Textual Sacrality and the Organization of Early Islamic Society," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/1 (January–March 2002): 1–24.

35. Qur'anic chapters pertaining to warfare include most especially *Surat al-Fath* (The Victory, Qur'an 48:1–3), *Surat al-Nasr* (The Conquest, Qur'an 110:1–3), and *Surat al-Saff* (The Battle Array, Qur'an 61:13). For a further discussion of the martial context of the Qur'an, see Heather Coffey's chapter in this volume; and for Ottoman talismanic shirts, see Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler* (Istanbul: Euromat, 2006); and Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Tılsımlı Gömlekler, Türk Folkloru Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 185 (Ankara: Ankara University Press, 1977).

36. Arthur Christensen, *Xavass-i-ayat: notices et extraits d'un manuscript persan traitant de la magie des versets du Coran* (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, 1920), see in particular 8–11 for a detailed list of the verses' many uses.

37. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Medicine of the Prophet,* trans. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1998).

38. One copy of the *Tibb al-Nabi* of Ibn al-Qayyim transcribed in 926/1520 was owned by Sultan Süleyman I. The work bears the sultan's imperial emblem (*tuğra*) both at the beginning and the end of the manuscript. See Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic. Part One: Body and Spirit, Mapping the Universe,* ed. Julian Raby, NDKCIA, vol. 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 40–41, cat. no. 11.

39. Tawfik Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot, England: Variorum, 2004), 130.

40. Hadith (with source not provided) cited in Christensen, *Xavass-i-ayat,* 26.

41. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Medicine of the Prophet,* 134.

42. Christensen, *Xavass-i-ayat,* 29.

43. *Ayat al-kursi,* which describes God's omnipotence and omniscience, is often inscribed on amulets and talismans. For an amulet and a further discussion of the special qualities of *ayat al-kursi,* see Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 54–55.

44. For a list of protective and curative *suras,* see Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," 129–131. Curative verses that use derivatives of the verb "to cure" include Qur'an 9:15, 10:57, 16:69, 17:82, 26:80, and 41:44. The most famous protective *suras* are the "two *suras* of seeking refuge" (*al-muʿawwidhatan*), i.e., Qur'an 113 (*al-Falaq,* or Dawn) and 114 (*al-Nas,* or Mankind). It is believed that Qur'an 113–114 were revealed to save Muhammad when he became gravely ill from a bewitchment by a daughter of a certain Jewish man named Lubayd (her bewitchment consisted of tying eleven knots in a cord, which she threw in a well). Gabriel came down with the two *suras* and informed Muhammad of the cord's location. Muhammad sent ʿAli to fetch the cord, and once it was brought to the Prophet, he recited the eleven verses contained in the two *suras.* For each verse he recited, a knot

came undone. Once the last knot came loose, Muhammad was freed from the bewitchment and his health returned (Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions,* 61–67). This story endows these two *suras* with their special "preserving" qualities and thus explains their popular use in Islamic amulets and talismans.

45. Ibn al-Qayyim, *Medicine of the Prophet,* 133.

46. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 179–183: *heza duʿa-yı ism-i şerif budur.*

47. Qur'an 7:180; 17:110; 20:8; and 59:24. In English translations of the Qur'an, the expression *al-asma' al-husna* is rendered either as "The Most Beautiful Names [of God]" or "The Most Perfect Attributes [of God]."

48. Al-Ghazali, *Ninety-Nine Names of God in Islam,* trans. Robert Stade (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1970).

49. Sobieroj, "Repertory of Suras and Prayers," 377.

50. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 183–187: *heza esma' ün-nebi.*

51. Closely associated with the concept of the "Beautiful Names" of God, the idea that the Prophet Muhammad had many names can be traced back to the hadith. For example, al-Bukhari reports in his *Sahih* (Sound [hadith]) that the Prophet stated that he has five names: "I am Muhammad and Ahmad; I am *al-Mahi* through whom God will eliminate infidelity; I am *al-Hashir* who will be the first to be resurrected, the people being resurrected thereafter; and I am also *al-ʿAqib* [i.e., There will be no prophet after me]" (al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari, The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari, Arabic-English,* ed./trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan [Medina: Dar Ahya Us-Sunnah al-Nabawiya, 1977], vol. 4, 481–482, Book 56, Number 732). For a further discussion of the names of the Prophet Muhammad, see Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 105–122.

52. Magic squares are also called *buduh* (for an explanation of this term, derived from a 4 × 4 square inscribed with the letters *b-u-d-h,* see Schuyler Cammann, "Islamic and Indian Magic Squares: Part I," *History of Religion* 8/3 [Feb. 1969]: 190). The inscribing of one name per cell comprises the format known as a Latin square (*wafq majazi*). See Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* 107, and Fig. 44 upper, for a Latin square with *al-asma' al-husna* inscribed singly in each cell.

53. See Annette Ittig, "A Talismanic Bowl," *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 93, for a discussion of the *jadwal* as a cipher, plan, or seal as used in talismanic bowls.

54. Cammann, "Islamic and Indian Magic Squares," 199.

55. Christiane Gruber, *Selections of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2006), specimen 1-88-154.13 (http://international.loc.gov/intldl/apochtml/apochome.html, accessed February 27, 2007). For comparative Ottoman *hilye*s mounted on wooden boards, see Taşkale and Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri,* 20, 38, 66, 106, 126, 141, 146, 147, 150, 161, and 188; Safwat, *The Art of the Pen,* 54–55; Ali Alparslan, *Osmanlı Hat Sanatı Tarihi,* 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 133–134; and *In Pursuit of Excellence: Works of Art from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Ahmet Ertuğ, 1993), pl. 38.

56. Talismans of the Prophet's many names exist as metal pendants to be worn around the neck. These materials suggest that checkerboards or litanies of the Prophet Muhammad's many names and epithets could be used in a similar talismanic manner as those of God's Beautiful Names. See the talisman of the *asma' al-nabi* examined and reproduced in W. E. Staples, "Muhammad, a Talismanic Force," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57/1 (January 1940): 63–70. Sometimes Muhammad's name is abbreviated to just the letter "m" (*mim*), while at other times his full name "Muhammad" is written in mirror script. Both the abbreviation and the mirror-image calligram of his name can serve as talismans. For a talisman including the name of Muhammad in mirror script, see Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," 143, fig. 3.

57. This hadith is included in al-Ghazali's *Ihya' ʿulum al-din* (The Revival of Religious Sciences) and cited in Kojiro Nakamura, *Ghazali on Prayer* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1973), 20.

58. For these reasons, Annemarie Schimmel notes that devotional praise is not just about petitioning or asking, but rather forms everlasting praise. See her "Some Aspects of Mystical Prayer in Islam," *Die Welt des Islams,* new series 2/2 (1952): 116.

59. Al-Ghazali, "The Merit of Tasbih, Tahmid, and Other Invocations," in Nakamura, *Ghazali on Prayer,* 52.

60. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 224–257: *heza şerh-i duʿa-yı salavat-ı kebir.* The prayers consist in extending greetings to God and the Prophet.

61. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 269–310: *heza duʿa-yı istiğfar; heza duʿa-yı seyyid-i istiğfar;* and *heza duʿa-yı istiğfar budur.* These three prayers are directly addressed to God in the hopes of securing his mercy and forgiveness. They blend Arabic prayers and Qur'anic expressions and also include Ottoman Turkish invocations to God, in which God is addressed in the informal "You" (*sen* rather than *siz*). For example, one finds the repeated expression "*Rabbim sensin*" ("You are my Lord") and "*Senden gayri ilah yokdur*" ("There is no god except You").

62. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 310–319: (Arabic) *bi-ism huwa taʿala* and (Turkish) *heza duʿa-yı ismihi ya Hu'dur.* The second prayer (*heza duʿa-yı ismihi ya Hu'dur*)

varies the "*ya Hu*" (O, He/God) formula: it consists in a series of invocations using the vocative "*ya*" followed by God's many names and sobriquets, for exmaple: *ya Allah, ya Karim, ya Rahim, ya Sultan,* and so forth.

63. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 328–362: *heza duʿa-yı nur-ı mübarek budur.* God is praised as light based and elaborated upon *ayat al-nur* (the Verse of Light, Qur'an 24:35).

64. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 362–364: *heza duʿa-yı ʿahdname.* This prayer is based on Qur'an 19:87, which states that only Muslims who had previously made a pact (*ʿahd*) with God will enjoy the Prophet Muhammad's intercession on the Day of Judgment. According to other Ottoman prayer manuals, the *duʿa-yı ʿahdname* provides protection for a dead person against the "tortures of the tomb" (*ʿadhab al-qabr*) if a paper inscribed with this prayer is placed over the deceased's body (see Sobieroj, "Repertory of Suras and Prayers," 375–376).

65. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 364–408: *duʿa-yı hatim-i şerif.* This "Prayer of the Noble Seal" is in Arabic.

66. For a discussion of a small selection of *duʿa*s included in late Ottoman illustrated prayer manuals, see Bain, "The Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif,*" 63–68. Unfortunately, Bain's discussion does not include a list of the prayers' titles nor a detailed analysis of their contents. Moreover, she emphasizes "Qur'anic *duʿas*" (i.e., Qur'anic verses) rather than non-Qur'anic *duʿas,* only one of which is transcribed in English and briefly described (ibid., 66–68).

67. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 257–279: *heza duʿa-yı şerh-ı qadeh budur* and *heza duʿa-yı qadeh-i mübarek.*

68. For a further discussion of the "testing of the cups" and the "tempting of the voices" in ascension narratives and images, see in particular Christiane Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (*Miʿraj*) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300–1600," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005, 81–99.

69. Other important religious holidays include most prominently the "Birth of the Prophet" (Arabic, *mawlid al-nabi,* or Turkish, *mevlid-i şerif*) and the "Night of Decree" (Arabic, *laylat al-qadr,* or Turkish, *kadir gecesi*), which commemorates the beginning of the revelations of the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad via the Angel Gabriel. These and other holidays are discussed in Gustave von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals* (London: Curzon Press, 1981).

70. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, pages 320–323. The title of this section appears in three chapter headings located on pages 317, 319, and 320. These read: "*heza duʿa-yı ismihi ya vedud*" (p. 317), "*ve dahi akşamda ve sabahda*" (p. 319), "*her gün bir kere bu duʿayı okuya*" (p. 320).

71. For a brief discussion of the hadith as textual "relics" of the Prophet, see Brannon Wheeler, "Relics in Islam," *Islamica* 11 (Summer/Fall 2004): 112.

72. For a full English translation of this rather standard text of the *hilye,* see Safwat, *The Art of the Pen,* 46; and Taşkale and Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri,* 45–46.

73. The most well-known *shama'il* texts are those composed in Arabic by al-Tirmidhi (d. 880), al-Baghawi (d. 1117), and Ibn Kathir (d. 1313). These texts describe in detail Muhammad's physical traits, like his hair, his face, his limbs, and so forth, as well as his clothes (his mantle and turban) and his moral attributes. For al-Timirdhi's text, which is available in English translation, see al-Tirmidhi, *Shamaal-il Tirmidhi: Characteristics of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, Sallallahu ʿAlayhi Wasallam,* trans. Muhammad Zakariyya (Karachi: Idaratul Quran, 1993).

74. The *Hilye-i Hakani* exists in a number of 19th-century printed copies. For a recent edition of the *Hilye-i Hakani,* see Hakani Mehmet Bey, *Hilye-i Saadet,* ed. İskender Pala (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 1991).

75. E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry,* ed. Edward Browne (London: Luzac, 1904), vol. 3, 196.

76. For a review of these later texts, see Taşkale and Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri,* 22–25.

77. See the diagram in Taşkale and Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri,* 40.

78. Tim Stanley, "From Text to Art Form in the Ottoman Hilye," in *Studies on Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Filiz Çağman* (Istanbul: Topkapı Palace, forthcoming).

79. Cited in full in Taşkale and Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri,* 18; and also cited in part in Kees Wagtendonk, "Images in Islam: Discussion of a Paradox," *Effigies Dei: Essays on the History of Religions,* ed. Dirk van der Plas (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 123.

80. Turkish, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler.* For an English-language overview of the history of the Ottoman Royal Palace's collection of relics, see Hilmi Aydın, *Pavilion of the Sacred Relics: The Sacred Trusts, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul* (Istanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004); and Süleyman Beyoğlu, "The Ottomans and the Islamic Sacred Relics," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization,* ed. Kemal Çiçek (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), vol. 4, 36–44.

81. Mehmed II is said to have commissioned the great Italian painter Gentile Bellini (1429–1507), who was sent to Constantinople as part of a peace settlement between Venice and the Ottomans, to create a painting of the Virgin Mary and Child to be hung on the walls of the chamber containing the relics (Julian Raby, "A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts," *Oxford Art Journal* 5/1 [1982]: 5). Besides relics, Mehmed

II also collected Byzantine regalia and other "antiquities." He also was a fond reader of classical texts, including the *Iliad* (ibid., 6). In 1483 an inventory list of these relics was drawn up by the order of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) because he wished to offer them to various European rulers in exchange for keeping his rival brother (and talented poet) Prince Cem captive abroad. For the inventory list, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press; New York, N.Y.: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 136; and J. M. Rogers, "Mehmed the Conqueror: Between East and West," in *Bellini and the East,* ed. Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (London: National Gallery, 2005), 92.

82. Beyoğlu, "The Ottomans and the Islamic Sacred Relics," 39. Other relics from the Great Mosque of Damascus were brought with this footprint from Hawran; these were placed in a tomb built in Bahçekapı.

83. Mouradgea D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001), tome 2, 131–139. On the chamber of relics as a location for the sultan's prayer activities, see in particular ibid., 137: "Les sultans sont dans l'usage de visiter fréquemment cette chapelle; ils y font ordinairement l'un des deux derniers *namazs* du jour."

84. D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman,* 138: "La dévotion des mahométans pour leurs reliques se borne simplement à les honorer: l'hommage qu'on leur rend se rapporte tout entier au Créateur. On ne leur attribue aucune qualité propre, aucune vertu miraculeuse. . . . S'ils les invoquent, ce n'est qu'en qualité d'intercesseurs auprès de Dieu."

85. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power,* 151; and Beyoğlu, "The Ottomans and the Islamic Sacred Relics," 42. Once a year, the relics were taken out of the chamber and to a kiosk so that the chamber could be cleaned; this cleaning or purification ceremony was called *pars.*

86. See, for example, the luxurious illustrated collection of Qur'anic verses and prayers, probably made in Istanbul ca. 1850–1900, in Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, M.R. 275 (Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* [Istanbul: Topkapı Palace, 1961], vol. 1, 155–156, cat. no. 461, under the Arabic title *Majmuʿa-i suwar wa adʿiya,* 265 folios, 19.8 ×12 cm, written in *naskh* [*nesih*] at 11 lines/page).

87. D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman,* 135: "[Le porte-glaive du sultan] se tient à côté de la relique, et à mesure qu'on la baise, il l'essuie avec un mouchoir de mousseline qu'il présente à la même personne." After the washing of the robe in water, "cette eau est servie ordinairement à table, les quinze nuits restantes du Ramazan. On rompt alors le jeûne avec un verre d'eau, dans lequel on verse quelques gouttes de celle qui est réputée sacrée."

88. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power,* 151.

89. Hakan Karateke, "Opium for the Subjects?: Religiosity as a Legitimizing Factor for the Ottoman Sultan," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power,* ed. idem and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 115.

90. Karateke, "Opium for the Subjects?" 118.

91. Aydın, *Pavilion of the Sacred Relics,* 115. For a detailed discussion of the Prophet's footprints, see Christiane Gruber, "The Footprint of the Prophet Muhammad," in *Encyclopedia of Sacred Sites and Religious Icons,* ed. Dennis Spillman and Cynthia Clark Northrup (New York: Facts on File, forthcoming).

92. Perween Hasan, "Kadam Rasul." *Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh* (http://banglapedia.search.com.bd/HT/K_0012.htm, accessed March 1, 2008).

93. Aydın, *Pavilion of the Sacred Relics,* 118–121.

94. Ludvik Kalus, "Islamic Art.VIII.14: Seals," in *Grove Art Online* (http://bert.lib.indiana.edu:4536/subscriber/article/grove/art/T041771pg38#T042410, accessed March 8, 2008; available through the Indiana University library catalogue).

95. Raphaela Lewis, *Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey* (London: Batsford; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1971), 50. Other means of seeking intercession include lighting candles, driving nails, knotting rags to trees and window bars, and eating or drinking earth or water from a holy site.

96. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler,* 127, 135.

97. Wheeler, "Relics in Islam," 110 (citing Ibn al-Hawrani); and Beyoğlu, "The Ottomans and the Islamic Sacred Relics," 41. For the Darwishiyya tile representing the Prophet's sandal print and another similar Ottoman tile of Damascene provenance, see Sophie Makariou, ed., *Chefs d'Oeuvre Islamiques de l'Aga Khan Museum* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2007), 200–201, cat. no. 72.

98. Karateke, "Opium for the Subjects?" 120–121; and Selim Deringil, "Abdülhamid dönemi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda simgesel ve törensel doku: 'görünmeden görmek,'" *Toplum ve Bilim* 62 (1993): 34–35.

99. D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman,* 138: "On lit dans Ahmed Efendy, que sous le règne du khaliphe Mohammed I, prince très affable, un homme du peuple pénétra jusqu'à lui, et lui présenta de vieilles sandales, comme étant celles du Prophète. Le Khaliphe les prit, les baisa respectueusement, s'en frotta les yeux; et après avoir renvoyé cet homme avec de l'argent, et gardé la relique, il dit à deux de ses officiers, qu'assurément le Prophète n'avait jamais porté cette chausure;

mais qu'il fallait compatir aux écarts de la simplicité ou de l'indigence, prévenir avec sagesse ces abus, et arrêter les propos indécents que ce vieillard aurait pu tenir, s'il lui eût fait une autre réception."

100. The *Na'l-i Resul Manzumesi* is dated 1289/1872 and transcribed in full in Hilmi Aydın, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler,* 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004), 130–135.

101. Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, E.H. 1189 and 1190; and Istanbul University Library, AY 4887. For a brief description of the two Topkapı manuscripts (E.H. 1189 and 1190), see Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul: Topkapı Palace, 1962), vol. 3, 434, cat. nos. 6051 and 6052. For the Istanbul University manuscript (A.Y. 4887), see Hüsamettin Aksu, "Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi'nde Bulunan Minyatürlü, Resimli, Şekilli, Cedvelli, Plân ve Haritalı (Türkçe-Arapça-Farsça) Yazmalar," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 8 (1988): 20–62, entry AY 4887.

102. Authors who are frequently cited in the *Rawdat al-Safa* include al-Tirmidhi (whose *Shama'il* includes an entire chapter on the Prophet's sandals), al-Sakhawi (d. 1497), al-Suyuti (d. 1505), al-Maqqari (d. 1632; the author of a popular eulogistic text on the Prophet's sandals, entitled *Fath al-Muta'al fi Madh al-Ni'al*), and al-Khafaji (recorded as the author of a text entitled *Fath al-Muta'al fi Wasf al Ni'al*).

103. The amulet therefore differs from the talisman in that it is protective and permanent. According to Budge (*Amulets and Superstitions,* 14): "The amulet is supposed to exercise its protective powers on behalf of the individual or thing continually, whereas the talisman is only intended to perform one specific task."

104. J. Deny, "Muhr," E.I.^{2}, vol. 7, 472.

105. For a discussion of the seal as a mark of authority within the context of the function of Islamic seals, see Venetia Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. Savage-Smith, 183.

106. In Islamic traditions, the Qur'an is considered the best of talismans. Oftentimes select verses are inscribed on ring-seals, paper talismans, and magic shirts (for Qur'anic verses inscribed on Ottoman talismanic seals, see Süleyman Berk, "Osmanlı Tılsım Mühürleri," *P Dergisi* 29 (Bahar 2003): 22–31. In Ottoman Turkey, Qur'anic amulets were also worn by adults and children, hung in cradles or around the necks and on the foreheads of animals, and suspended in houses and shops, where they fulfilled protective functions (Lewis, *Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey,* 52). Likewise, manuals of the *Tibb al-Nabi* often describe the benefits of prayers and sometimes include designs for amulets containing Qur'anic verses (Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* 29).

107. Deny, "Muhr," 473; Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools and Magic,* 106; and Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Siyahatnamesi,* ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), vol. 1, 312. Evliya Çelebi informs us that in Istanbul the amulet-makers guild consisted of forty members occupying fifteen stores.

108. Several statements appear first in the hadith and are expanded in subsequent texts. These include, for example, al-Sa'id b. Yazid's report: "I drank of the remaining water of his ablution and then stood behind his back and saw the Seal of Prophethood between his shoulders resembling the button of a tent or the egg of a partridge." See al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari,* Book 1, no. 189; Book 4, no. 741; and Book 7, no. 574.

109. For a summary of texts describing the splitting open of Muhammad's chest (*shaqq al-sadr*), see Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammad's Ascension (*Mi'raj*) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300–1600," 70–81.

110. This is a narrative episode Frederick S. Colby has identified as the "Cold Hand narreme." For example, Saffar Qummi (d. 902–903) reports Muhammad stating: "He [God] put His hand, that is, the 'hand of power' (*qudra*) between my nipples, and I felt their coldness between my shoulder blades. I knew everything that he asked me about, what had passed and what remained" (translated in Frederick S. Colby, "Early Imami Narratives and Contestation over Intimate Colloquy Scenes in Muhammad's *Mi'raj,*" in *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi'raj Tales,* ed. Christiane J. Gruber and Frederick S. Colby [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009], 141–156).

111. Safwat, *Golden Pages,* 226, cat. no. 57; and 228, top figure (folios 76v–77r).

112. Safwat, *Golden Pages,* 226, note 2 (cat. no. 69).

113. Michael Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. Savage-Smith, 92.

114. Edmond Doutté, *Magie & Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger: Typographie Adolphe Jourdan, 1908), 157; and Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions,* 40.

115. The Seal of the Glorious Name of God (*al-ism al-a'zam*) typically represents a series of seven cryptic signs. These include (1) a six- or five-pointed star (a possible reference to Judaism or Moses); (2) three vertical lines topped by a horizontal line (a possible reference to the Trinity); (3) a sign that resembles the letter *mim* (a possible reference to Muhammad); (4) a ladder-like symbol (a possible reference to an ascension, perhaps Muhammad's *mi'raj* in particular); (5) four vertical lines (a possible abstraction of the written word "Allah"); (6) a sign resembling the letter *ha;* and (7) a sign

that resembles an extended letter *wa*. Dawkins interprets the *ha* and *wa* as signs for God being the first and last (see J. Dawkins, "The Seal of Solomon," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1944]: 150; and for a further discussion of the Seal of the Glorious Name of God according to al-Buni's *Shams al-Maʿarif* (Sun of Knowledge), see George Anawati, "Le nom suprême de Dieu," *Atti del Terzo Congresso Di Studi Arabi e Islamici* [Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1967], 23–33). The seven-signed crypto-seal of the Glorious Name of God is not included in the Lilly prayer manual.

116. Qur'an 27:30–31 read: "Behold, it is from Solomon, and it says: 'In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.' [God says,] Exalt not yourselves against Me, but come to Me in willing surrender."

117. Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Siyahatnamesi,* vol. 4, 216, for the mention of a design of the Seal of Solomon on the Rhodes fortress; and ibid., vol. 6, 227, for a discussion of a drawing of the Seal of Solomon on the Uyvar fortress in Hungary.

118. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," 135.

119. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler,* 142–145. Tezcan mistakingly reads "*ʿayn ʿala Allah*" as "Allah, Muhammad, ʿAli."

120. See the Ottoman illustrated prayer manual dated 1289/1872 in Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library,* 48, cat. no. I.11 (Spencer Collection, Turk ms. 9, folio 39r).

121. Bain, "The Late Ottoman *En'am-ı Şerif,*" 94 (Istanbul University Library, ms. 5197, folio 123r; and ms. 5573, folios 70v–71r).

122. The Lilly Library, Misc. Uncat. II. C.4, page 223.

123. For example, between 1671 and 1833, unillustrated prayer books were produced in high numbers in Ottoman Sofia. These devotional miscellanies were smaller in size and typically cheaper than full Qur'ans, and therefore more practical to carry and affordable to purchase. They also were sometimes kept in silver cases and given as gifts (see Orlin Sabev, "Private Book Collections in Ottoman Sofia, 1671–1833 [Preliminary Notes]," *Études Balkaniques* 1 [2003]: 41–42).

124. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 5, 21.

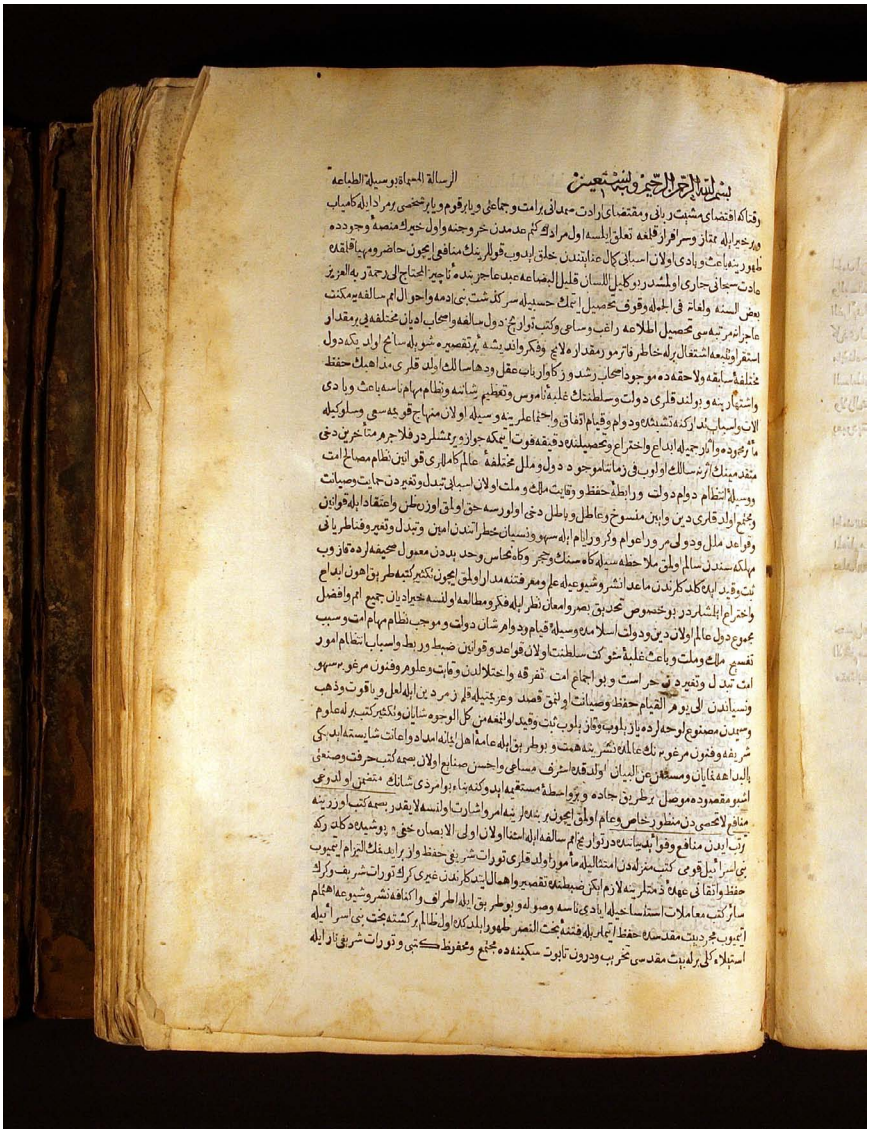
125. Sold at Christie's, London, November 9, 1997, Lot 31. Unfortunately, the manuscript is now in an unknown private collection.

126. Richard Gottheil, "An Illustrated Copy of the Koran," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 5 (1931): 21–24. This illustrated Qur'an belonged to John W. Roberton (San Francisco) in 1931, at the time Gottheil wrote his brief note on the manuscript. The location of the work is not known today. The Qur'an's paintings represent the changing of Moses's rod into a serpent (folio 83r), Joseph left in a well by his brothers (folio 119v), Muhammad's ascension (folio 158r), the sacrifice of Ismaʿil (folio 238r), and the Prophet splitting the moon (folio 265r).

127. Moses's rod performed a number of miracles: water could be drawn from a well with it; when struck by it, the ground would bear fruit; when an enemy came near, two serpents appeared from the twigs of the rod. Moses also used his rod to divide rivers and to transport himself wherever he pleased (A. Fodor, "The Rod of Moses in Arabic Magic," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. Savage-Smith, 107).

128. See the 2008 publication of a bilingual Arabic-German Qur'an accompanied by various color figures drawn from well-known Islamic manuscripts—such as Shahrukh's *Miʿrajnama* (Book of Ascension) of ca. 1436–1437 and Sultan Murad III's *Siyer-i nebi* (Life of the Prophet) of 1595–1596—placed in the corresponding thematic sections of the Qur'anic text: Lamya Kaddor and Rabeya Müller, *Der Koran für Kinder und Erwachsene* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008).

fig. 5.1. First page of İbrahim Müteferrika's *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa* as reproduced in al-Jawhari's *Lugat-ı Vankulu*, vol. 1, 1141/1729, 32.5 × 21.5 cm, DR 403 .M82215, folio 7r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.



İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript

5

YASEMİN GENCER

İbrahim Müteferrika (ca. 1674–1745), an Ottoman imperial court steward, founded the first officially sanctioned Ottoman Turkish printing press in Istanbul in 1727.[1] Active under his supervision between the years of 1729 and 1742, the press produced seventeen works in twenty-two volumes. Müteferrika's press printed between five hundred and twelve hundred copies of each book—this output of 12,200–13,700 printed books[2] was a relatively small yield for a printing press of the eighteenth century.[3]

Following several years of inactivity, the press fell into disuse indefinitely after Müteferrika's death in 1745 but was used once again in 1756 by his successors, İbrahim Efendi and Ahmed Efendi,[4] to issue the second edition of an Arabic-Turkish dictionary, *Lugat-ı Vankulu,* first published in 1729. After this time, the printing press was once again abandoned until it was bought from Müteferrika's heirs by two court secretaries—Vak'anüvis Ahmed Vasıf Efendi and Beylikçi Raşid Efendi—in 1783–1784, at which time it was used to print six more titles.[5]

The Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington, is the only repository in North America to house the complete collection of printed books produced by İbrahim Müteferrika's press during his lifetime.[6] The Lilly also owns a copy of the two-volume second edition of the *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (1756), as well as two books printed in 1783–1784. All volumes were purchased in 1976 from the estate of William Edward David Allen (1901–1973) of Waterford, Ireland.[7] The library's holdings thus provide a fitting opportunity to examine İbrahim Müteferrika and his press both during and after his lifetime, a period of rapid change and innovation in the Ottoman Empire.

The Müteferrika press was preceded by a number of presses established in Istanbul by non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. The very first printing house was established in Istanbul in 1493 by two Jewish brothers, David and Samuel ibn Nahmias, and was permitted to produce works in Hebrew.[8] The Nahmias press was followed by many other presses run by ethnic and religious minorities, principally Armenians and Greeks, in other major cities of the empire.[9] Despite such precedents, the Müteferrika press holds a significant place in the history of printing for Muslims: it was the first Islamic press in the Islamic world established with the approval of a Muslim ruler to produce works that catered primarily to a Muslim audience (using the local language, Turkish, and printed in Arabic script) and, more often than not, written from a Muslim author's perspective.[10] The Islamic world—in which book arts were deeply immersed in the traditions of the written word, calligraphy, and the aesthetics of the Arabic script—was unhurried in adopting the technology

of printing, lagging three centuries behind Europe.[11] The Müteferrika press thus was by no means the first printing press established in Ottoman lands; rather, it was the first to receive royal sanction to produce Islamic printed works.[12]

The products of the Müteferrika press embody the period of change between 1727 and 1745 in Ottoman Turkish printing technology. Müteferrika's printed books in fact constitute the incunabula[13] period of printing in the Islamic world, and thus bear witness to the beginning of the gradual abandoning of the manuscript format in favor of the printed book, a phenomenon with similarities to European incunabula.[14] Emerging during the eighteenth century, these Ottoman Turkish printed books still conserved the appearance of traditional manuscripts, although they were produced in mass quantities (relative to the manuscript industry) and by movable type rather than by hand. Thus, the Müteferrika press's books deserve the more descriptive name of "printed manuscripts,"[15] a term that suggests the production method of the printed book while connoting the appearance of the "manually" produced manuscript through the preservation and appropriation of a variety of elements typical of the Islamic manuscript tradition.

The books of the Müteferrika press were also produced during a critical period in Ottoman history. The eighteenth century started with the Tulip Period (1718–1730),[16] marked by leisure and conspicuous consumption, while the remainder of the eighteenth century was plagued by attempts to revise the existing administrative system, an endeavor further complicated by the general corruption that had made its way into the ruling class.[17] After the so-called classical period of the sixteenth century, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented an era of change.[18] Military defeats, a poor economy, growing internal corruption, and an increasingly diminishing and decentralizing empire brought to the fore this old establishment's essential need for reform. The founding of the first Ottoman printing press thus was a much-needed change in eighteenth-century Ottoman society, with the potential to spark hoped-for scientific and educational advances and to move the empire out of its stagnant spell and into the modern age.

İbrahim Müteferrika's Printing House

In 1726, İbrahim Müteferrika wrote a pamphlet titled *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa* (The Usefulness of Printing), which he presented to the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa, who in turn forwarded it to Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730).[19] Müteferrika's tract, which was included at the beginning of his first printed book, *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (Figure 5.1), lists ten reasons why the printing press was necessary for bettering the Ottoman Empire and its people. These ten benefits of the printing press included educational advantages; the retrieval of lost and/or destroyed manuscripts; longer lasting ink; errorless and easily legible publications; the inexpensive production of books in large quantities; the addition of indices and tables of contents to assist with the retrieval of information; the eventual elimination of ignorance through the mass production of printed material;

FIG. 5.2. Imperial *ferman* of Ahmed III, and introduction to *fetvas* as included in al-Jawhari's *Lugat-ı Vankulu,* vol. 1, 1141/1729, 32.5 × 21.5 cm, DR 403 .M82215, folios 3v and 4r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the strengthening of the empire through learning; the removal of the Islamic book trade from Christian hands; and increasing the glory of the empire as the leading Islamic state.[20] Müteferrika also reassured the grand vizier that he would not print books on Islamic law or any other works of a religious nature, due either to Müteferrika's own interest in the non-religious sciences or perhaps his desire to appease the scribes who held a monopoly on the book production trade at this time.[21]

In this *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa,* Müteferrika also argues that proofreaders must be employed to check the accuracy of the texts and thereby ensure the superiority of a printed product over a manuscript, whose text can be corrupted by scribal error. Sultan Ahmed III responded to the petition with a *ferman* (imperial edict) expressing his support for the establishment of Müteferrika's press, another document that the printer included as preliminary material in a number of his earlier printed books (Figure 5.2).[22] Echoing the suggestions listed by İbrahim Müteferrika in his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa* and basing his argument on the official opinion of the *şeyhülislam,*[23] Mevlana ʿAbdullah, Sultan Ahmed III

opined that printing was permissible so long as the selected works were secular in character. The *ferman*'s regulation entailed a strict prohibition on the printing of Qur'ans, collections of hadiths (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), and religious works on law and theology. For these reasons, dictionaries and books on secular subjects such as history, logic, astronomy, and geography would form the core of Müteferrika's printing efforts.

The *ferman* also appointed a handful of individual members of the *ʿulema'* (an administrative group of religious scholars)—whose names were suggested by Müteferrika in his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa*—to proofread works in their pre-publication phase.[24] The careful selection of this "editorial board" shows that a great deal of emphasis was laid upon the correct and accurate transfer of knowledge within the format of the printed book—a perceived benefit of the printing press as argued by Müteferrika in his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa.* In his *ferman,* Sultan Ahmed III elaborates upon and reemphasizes the importance of precision in the transmission of knowledge, made all the more critical due to mass production.

Threatened by the printing press and its potential to replace the demand for their profession, scribes and calligraphers strongly (and strategically) opposed the establishment of Müteferrika's press. On the other hand, only a few conservative individuals from the *ʿulema'* showed any opposition to this new technological venture.[25] The calligraphers and copyists' concerns were somewhat abated by the condition that only secular works were to be issued by the press, making the printing of religious works off-limits, a proviso established by Müteferrika in the first place.[26] Those who remained in opposition to the printing press in general do not appear to have expressed any further discontent, probably due to the reality that secular works made up but a small portion of their commissions.[27]

Although Müteferrika began his printing activities in earnest after having obtained the official clearance to establish his press, it is clear that his experimentation with this art form preceded his securing of the sultan's permission. In 1719–1720 a woodblock print of a map of the Sea of Marmara was produced and appears to have been presented to the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa, as the lower right corner of the map has an inscription that reads: "My illustrious master, if you wish, larger ones can be made, year 1132 (1719–20)."[28] This venture was followed by another map, this time of the Black Sea, produced in 1724–1725 from four engraved copper plates.[29] These two maps, produced before Müteferrika's imperial permission to print was granted in 1727, also predate the redaction of his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa,* which he presented to the grand vizier in 1726. The maps present clear proof that Müteferrika possessed printing materials before he received official permission to print, suggesting that he was either fairly confident that he would be granted imperial permission to run his press or that he knew he would have to show his printing abilities to the vizier—a man open to innovation—in order to secure his support for this venture. The first map—produced by means

of the simplest and oldest method of printing, block printing—must have made an impression on the vizier, as Müteferrika moved on to produce more technically complex and intricate maps afterward.

Müteferrika's own home in the quarter of Fatih, specifically the neighborhood of Sultan Selim, is the recorded place of his printing activities throughout his career.[30] His press comprised six printing machines, two of which were allocated exclusively for the production of maps.[31] Many of the works that Müteferrika published were geographies, histories, and dictionaries; thus, maps, diagrams, and other kinds of illustrations formed essential pictorial components to his printed texts.[32]

Based on the above information, it is clear that Müteferrika had somehow acquired a printing machine by the mid-1720s; prior to that date he had experimented with woodblock printing. As noted in the sultan's *ferman* of 1727, Müteferrika was not the only person granted official permission to print: Saʿid Efendi, who had returned in October of 1721 from a diplomatic trip to Paris with his father Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi,[33] also is listed as a beneficiary of the imperial decree. This date is a few years after Müteferrika's first woodblock print map and a few years before his first copper plate printed map, suggesting that Saʿid Efendi may have brought printing machines to Istanbul after his return from Paris. Besides Saʿid's potential role in securing printing materials from Europe, press equipment could have been imported from Holland, France, or Germany at this time.[34] Importing press machinery and related materials was not uncommon for printing houses in Istanbul during the eighteenth century. To the contrary, it was mostly the norm in the case of minority presses based in the imperial capital.[35]

Printing machines were not the only printing necessities imported from western Europe. Paper, the raw material needed for the production of a book, was also in high demand. The paper mills in Istanbul and Amasya[36] that produced paper for the manuscript industry had long since been unable to compete with the European market and were no longer in use by the eighteenth century; thus, European merchants provided much of the paper necessary for the Ottoman manuscript and book market.[37] Perhaps troubled by this situation, in 1741, Müteferrika established a paper mill in Yalova, a town outside of Istanbul.[38] Müteferrika's mill only operated for ten to fifteen years, during a period (ca. 1741–1755) when virtually no books were printed by his press.[39] Since the early years of printing in Europe, presses often were established close to paper mills and in large cities (where city dwellers readily provided used rags—i.e., the raw material for Islamic paper). Printers thus could obtain affordable local paper and secure a literate audience from within their urban milieus. The practice of producing paper close to major cities was not foreign to the Islamic lands, either, as the manuscript market needed a steady flow of paper to accommodate demand; indeed, the paper industry was no stranger to major cities such as Samarqand,[40] Baghdad,[41] and Damascus.[42] As Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin note, "contact between the papermaking industry and the book trade

was always close; the prosperity of either trade depended upon that of the other."[43] Although the Ottomans at first failed to conceive of paper and press as two inseparable ingredients essential for producing a book, Müteferrika eventually realized that they went hand in hand. Unfortunately, however, neither of the two establishments managed to enjoy the instant success expected of them, due perhaps to poor timing and/or the mistake of founding these two businesses in the reverse sequence one would expect.

Unfortunately, specific details about the production of books at the Müteferrika press are unavailable. Despite this dearth of information, the books themselves and their prices do provide some insight regarding the ways in which they were produced and received. Binding and illumination increased the market value of any book, regardless of whether it was produced by hand or printing press. For instance, a copy of Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma* (Book of the View of the World)[44] with hand-painted maps and a binding sold for forty-four *kuruş*,[45] while an unbound and unpainted copy of the same work cost thirty *kuruş*.[46] In this particular case, the combined price of painting and binding amounts to almost one-third of the book's final price. This price discrepancy also raises the question of whether painters and binders were on permanent staff at Müteferrika's printing house or if such costly services were executed only upon demand. One example of the price of a binding alone can be observed through the content of a *ferman* dated 1741, which mentions single unbound volumes of Mehmed Raşid's *Tarih-i Raşid* (History of Raşid) and Küçük Çelebi-zade İsmaʿil Asım's *Tarih-i Çelebi-zade Efendi* (The History of Çelebi-zade Efendi) priced at thirty *kuruş*, while the works' bound counterparts fetched the higher sum of forty *kuruş*.[47] In this case, the binding accounts for one-fourth of the book's total price. This substantial price increase helps explain why a *ferman*[48] issued in 1141/1729 by Sultan Ahmed III ordered Müteferrika to produce an unbound copy of Jawhari's *Lugat-ı Vankulu* priced at thirty-five *kuruş* so that students could afford to buy it.[49]

This brings us to the issue of the relative affordability of printed books in the early decades of the eighteenth century. How expensive would a thirty-five-*kuruş* book have been for an average clientele? While working for Rákóczi Ferenc II, a Hungarian king, in 1725, Müteferrika was paid fifty *akçes* per day,[50] meaning that an unbound copy of the *Lugat-ı Vankulu* would have cost him about eighty-four days' salary. Another interesting observation comes from Müteferrika's *tereke defteri* (a book that lists a deceased person's belongings), in which his horse is listed at the same value as a single copy of the *Lugat-ı Vankulu*.[51] This comparison raises the question, how many people could in fact afford to purchase these printed books? Not many, is the obvious answer.

As a result, Müteferrika's efforts to create a printing revolution that would fulfill the benefits he listed in his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa* were overshadowed by the realities and difficulties of this new trade in the Ottoman

Empire. Importing the technology and paper to produce printed books was a necessary measure taken by Müteferrika; however, the high cost of printing eventually undermined his sales as well as his main goal of producing affordable books.

MÜTEFERRİKA'S PRINTED BOOKS IN THE LILLY LIBRARY

The collection of books printed by the Müteferrika press in the Lilly Library can shed light about the period in which they were printed, perhaps more so than the historical evidence can tell us about the circumstances in which the tomes were produced. Although in appearance these printed books resemble manuscripts belonging to the tradition of Islamic book arts,[52] their production method distances them from their handwritten peers. Müteferrika's books were printed through typography or movable type rather than lithography (invented much later, in 1796),[53] a printing method that retains the traces of the calligrapher's or artist's hand.[54] Unlike lithography, typography and the movable type involve a different kind of handwork in the production process, one that is somewhat more detached than in the production of manuscripts.[55] Instead, the written word emerges from the proper alignment of letter blocks.[56] Despite this fundamental difference, manuscripts and printed books of this same time period nevertheless shared a number of basic visual and functional characteristics, including illuminated title pages (*serlevhas*),[57] terminal signature panels (colophons), and catchwords[58] to facilitate foliation. Interestingly, printed books and manuscripts even sold at comparable prices. There is little doubt that the decorative programs of these books were inspired by a long-standing tradition of Islamic manuscript production. As a result, they are printed books that retain an array of visual forms specific to the traditional Islamic manuscript.

Works printed by Müteferrika were largely previously written texts by authors of certain renown, such as Katib Çelebi (d. 1657) and Naʿima (d. 1716). That Müteferrika preferred Ottoman and other dynastic histories, dictionaries and lexica, and treatises on scientific matters is clear. Müteferrika authored some of the texts that he published—such as *Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye* (The Science of Magnets)—and also edited many others, one of which he translated completely from Latin (Krusinski's *Tarih-i Seyyah,* The History of the Traveler: The Afghan Invasion of the Safavid State). Despite this broad range of activity, the large majority of books issued by Müteferrika's press were texts printed in their original form and languages, mainly Ottoman Turkish. Müteferrika augmented each one of these original texts with a variety of front and/or back matter, such as tables of contents, indices, forewords, postscripts, and even lists of errata.

Müteferrika's printed books, while varying in size—ranging between twenty-two and thirty-three centimeters in height and between twelve and seventeen centimeters in width[59]—are coherent with regards to the letter types and paper used. Most noticeable is the consistent use

of a round and clear cursive font inspired by the recently perfected Ottoman cursive *naskh* (or *nesih*) script.[60] Additionally, like most of the manuscripts produced in Istanbul at the time, Müteferrika's printed books are made from watermarked paper imported from Europe, especially from the cities of Paris and Venice. Aside from these, we will see that there appears to have been unspoken aesthetic guidelines for Müteferrika's printed books, and these were most likely linked to the visual expectations of a manuscript.

The bindings of the printed books in the Lilly collection vary widely, from low quality and prosaic to elaborate and high end. Early eighteenth-century bindings made to accompany the original books are most interesting, although we do not know whether the books were bound at the printing house or elsewhere (at each individual book owner's discretion). Nevertheless, several books retain splendid original bindings, the most elaborate among them belonging to the twelfth book produced by Müteferrika, Katib Çelebi's *Takvimü't-Tevarih* (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). The book's front and back covers are decorated with a painted gold double frame over the dark brown leather (Figure 5.3). At the center is a stamped cartouche (*şemse*) with smaller medallions above and below, all painted in gold. The cover's four corners are ornamented with gold quarter cartouches (*köşebends*). The book's doublures are as splendid as its binding: they are decorated with meticulous multicolored filigree work, which fills in the central cartouche as well as the four *köşebend*s (Figure 5.4). These artistic elements of bookbinding are all long-established "classical" features used in manuscript bindings since the fifteenth century in Ottoman lands.[61] It is no wonder that books clad in such bindings appear much like manuscripts at first glance, reminding the reader that a book cannot be judged by its cover.

Another impressive original binding protects a copy of *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi* (History of the West Indies). The book's covers are decorated with blue-and-white marbled paper (*ebru*) and a leather stamped cartouche in the center of the front cover and at the edge of its envelope flap (Figure 5.5). In Ottoman lands, marbled papers had always been popular alternatives to other kinds of decorated papers.[62] This particular binding constitutes an example of *somaki*-style marbling.[63] Although *ebru* is more commonly seen covering the doublures of Ottoman books, it is also found on outer bindings as well,[64] sometimes with a leather *şemse* in the center, as seen on the binding of this example of *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi*.[65]

In Müteferrika's printed books, leaves are numbered either by folio[66] number or by page[67] number. Regardless of whether folio or page numbers are used in any given work, front and back matter (if present), such as tables of contents and prefaces, are always left unnumbered. In some cases, folios and pages are not provided with text frames until after the front matter has drawn to a close. The title page is always placed on the back side (verso) of a folio, which appears on the right, and is left

FIG. 5.3. (*opposite*) Binding, Katib Çelebi's *Takvimü't-Tevarih,* 1147/1733, 31.25 × 17 cm, DR 403 .M836. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 5.4. (*following page, left*) Doublure, Katib Çelebi's *Takvimü't-Tevarih,* 1147/1733, 31.25 × 16.5 cm, DR 403 .M836. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 5.5. (*following page, right*) Binding made of blue-and-white marbled paper, İbrahim Müteferrika's (ed.) *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi el-Müsemma bi Hadis-i Nev,* 1142/1730, 22 × 16 cm, DR 403 .M825. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 5.6. Table of contents (*fihrist-i kitab*), Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski's *Tarih-i Seyyah der Beyan-ı Zuhur-i Ağvaniyan ve İnhadam-ı Devlet-i Safeviyan,* 1142/1729, 21.25 × 15.5 cm, DR 403 .M82415, folio 5r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

unnumbered. The first printed page or folio number is almost always "2" (٢). The number "2" appears on the page or folio on the left, which faces the title page. In the printed books bearing folio numbers, folio numbers are always printed in the upper left corner of the folio's front side (recto).

Müteferrika frequently used catchwords at the bottom of his books' pages or folios, even those that are numbered. Although quite unnecessary in the presence of numbered pages and folios, this organizational method is common in the manuscript tradition. Catchwords can be found in all seventeen works that Müteferrika's press produced. At first the catchwords appear in the form of a single word in the lower left corner of the verso side of each page or folio, visually singled out from the main text and reflecting the first word of the following page or folio. However, by the fourteenth work, *Tarih-i Raşid,* catchwords are incorporated into the main text block rather than relegated to the page or folio's margins, thereby creating a transition between the old catchword system and the newly inserted page numbers.

In books issued by the Müteferrika press, front matter is more common than back matter. The two most consistent elements featured in the front matter are forewords written by Müteferrika himself, featured in all but five works,[68] usually followed by a *fihrist* (table of contents), also featured in all but five works.[69] In his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa,* this author-cum-printer lists printing's fifth benefit as the adding of indices and tables of contents to printed books, in this way assuring an enjoyable and efficient experience for the reader. Müteferrika followed his own dictum, as evidenced by his printed books, most of which contain tables of contents (Figure 5.6) that not only direct the reader to themes, but also record the pages on which these themes occur, in numerical order. However, Müteferrika failed to include any indices in works after the first publication, *Lugat-ı Vankulu.*

The forewords featured in many of Müteferrika's printed books are often used to express the importance of printing as well as to introduce the work and to explain its significance. This preliminary section is also used by Müteferrika to list and advertise books previously printed by his press. In the foreword of *Takvimü't-Tevarih* he lists for the first time the books he plans to publish next. In this case, rather than attempting to sell his backlist of books, he alerts his reading audience to his forthcoming projects.[70] He repeatedly declines to mention his eighth publication, the Turkish grammar and lexicon for French speakers, *Grammaire Turque* (Figure 5.12). Each time Müteferrika listed his published books (each followed by a short descriptive blurb), he skipped the *Grammaire Turque,* proceeding directly from his seventh publication to his ninth book. This blatant omission might be explained by the fact that this book was not directed toward the local Turkish audience of his other sixteen books. Instead, two hundred copies of this book were sent to Paris to be distributed among Jesuit school students, while the remaining copies were targeted toward French-speaking foreign merchants and religious personnel residing in Istanbul.[71] The work thus was produced

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for those who needed to learn Turkish in order to carry out their missionary and business activities in Ottoman lands.

All of Müteferrika's printed works include a colophon at the end. Visually, as well as in terms of their content, the colophons are much in line with the Islamic manuscript tradition. They often are set off from the end of the main text by a space, and the colophon's text itself trickles down to a V-shaped tip. Sometimes the text comes to a close in a downward, stepped pattern as well, followed by a colophon, after which Müteferrika adds his own V-shaped postscript, in which he lists his previously printed works (Figure 5.7). Each work's colophon includes pertinent information, including the publisher's name (Müteferrika) as well as the date and place of publication—namely Istanbul (*Kostantiniyye*).[72]

The recurring inclusion of these formal elements in all of Müteferrika's printed books—which retain and extend the Islamic manuscript tradition into the early modern period—were accompanied by changing trends in book production. Some manuscript and book traits disappeared or fell out of use, while other features began to emerge. Such is the case with the ornamental headpiece (*serlevha*) on each book's title page. The Müteferrika press did not begin using printed *serlevhas* until the ninth book, *Usulü'l-Hikem fi Nizamü'l-Ümem* (Fundamentals of the Wisdom in the Organization of Nations); thereafter they are featured consistently in each printed work (Figure 5.8). Until the ninth book, Müteferrika's published books occasionally included hand-painted *serlevhas,* which are barely distinguishable from those included in manuscripts. For example, the Lilly collection's *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi* (History of the West Indies), the fourth book published by the Müteferrika press, includes an attractive *serlevha* designed and illuminated by hand rather than mechanically produced (Figure 5.9).[73] A less-inspired hand-painted chapter heading was also added to the library's copy of the *Cihannüma,* placed before the preface and also before the printed *serlevha* at the beginning of the original work, following the front matter.

One element that was always present in the works but constantly evolved was the rather mandatory *besmele* (the formula "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful") featured at the incipit of the preface and the beginning of the original work (usually several pages later). The prominent *besmele* above the main text of the works was later accompanied by a larger title, itself later crowned with a decorative *serlevha.* Such additions have the potential to take the attention away from the *besmele,* which was presumably produced by its own separate woodblock. There are four distinctly different woodblocks that were used. Beginning as an elongated linear inscription in the *thuluth* (*sülüs*) script, the woodblock changed with the twelfth publication to a more layered calligraphic stamp containing delightful V-shaped decorative marks.[74] By the fourteenth publication, the *besmele* is much more two-dimensional, fluid, and artistically pleasing in its calligraphic style. Thus, although the *besmele* stamp is one that existed from day one, it

FIG. 5.7. (*opposite*) Last page of text, colophon, and list of Müteferrika's previously printed books, Mustafa Naʿima *Tarih-i Naʿima,* vol. 2, 1147/1734, 29.25 × 19 cm, DR 403 .M837, page 740. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

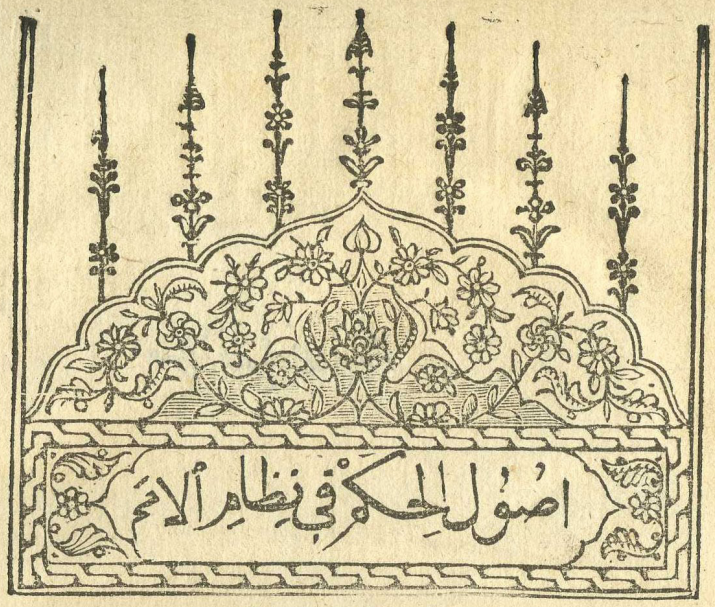
FIG. 5.8. (*following page, left*) Title page with printed *serlevha,* İbrahim Müteferrika's *Usulü'l-Hikem fi Nizamü'l-Ümem,* 1144/1730, 20.75 × 13.9 cm, DR 403 .M833, folio 2v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 5.9. (*following page, right*) Title page with hand-painted *serlevha,* İbrahim Müteferrika's (ed.) *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi el-Müsemma bi Hadis-i Nev,* 1142/1730, 22.2 × 16.2 cm, DR 403 .M825, folio 4v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

خزینهٔ عامره ده برنسخه سی مقام صدارت صاحبنده محفوظ طورمنه لایق براثر عظیم
اولوردی والله العظیم جمله اخلاق کتابلری وحکمت مؤلفاتی وتواریخ وهمایون نامه
وقانون نامه لرکبی هزار مصطلح کتابك نتیجه سی اول مختصر رساله ده مندرج اولدوغندن
غیری خاطره خطور ایتمه مش قولاقلر ایشتمه مش نجه کیز لو فائده لره وعقول حیران اولاجق
اسرار عظیمه یه اطلاع حاصل اولوردی حاصلی جوق منافعی مشاهده اولنمغله فتحان سزایر
دفینهٔ زیبا اولوردی وبو رساله خلق ارسنده مشهور اولان رساله سهروردیه دکلدر
بو رساله اخلاق وتدبیر منزل وتدبیر مملکت ودولت وسلطنتك مشکلات حقایقنه وعالم
کون وفساده تصرفات ربانیه اسرارینك خلاصه ونتیجه سنه متعلق دراموره نفس الامریه یی
بو بش مرتبه ده توفیق وتطبیق ایدوب جلب نفع ودفع ضرر فائده لرین خارجه چقارمقده
ابد الآباد شوحد وقاعده اولان فوائدی التزام ایتمشدر جناب حق ظفر بولمغه میسر ایلیه
اشبو بالاده ذکر اولنان مصالحتلرکه بربرینه متناقص کورنمکله اشیدنلر بو اولمیه جق
ایشلر دردیرلر اول رسالهٔ عظیمه یه ظفر بولنسه برمشکله صعوبت قالمیه جغی قتی آشکار
اولوردی صاحب دولت وکثیر المرحمت افندیمز حضرتلرینك همت علیه لری
یاور اولورسه بلکه ظفر یلق میسر اولوب بو تاریخك تحریری
اثناسنده تدریجاً ترجمه سنه سعی ایدوب مشکور اولاجق
برخدمته مظهر اولمش اولوردق ثم قول نعیما

هون وعنایت خدای متعال برله دولت علیهٔ ابد استمرار عثمانیه ده فن طبع وتمثیل کتب
ظهور ایدوب فن مرقوم ایله تکثیر وتوفیر کتبه مبدأ شروع اولان بیك یوزقرق سنه سندن
اشبو نعیمانك صنعت مرقومه ایله طبع وتوفیرینك تاریخ خاتمه سی اولان بیك یوزقرق یدی
جمادی الاولی اواسطنده کلنجه کتب ورسائلدن حجمی صغیر وکبیر
دار طباعهٔ عامره ده حصول پذیر اولان نسخ مرغوبه
بونلردرکه دفتر وتعداد اولندی

ترجمهٔ صحاح الجوهری لمحمد بن مصطفی الوانی لغت وان قولی دیمکله معروفدر جلد ۱۰۰۰
تحفة الکبار فی اسفار البحار لکاتب چلبی جلد ۱۰۰۰ ترجمهٔ تاریخ سیاح لطابع الکتاب جلد
۱۲۰۰ تاریخ هند غربی المسمی بحدیث نو جلد ۵۰۰ تاریخ تیمور کورکان لنظمی زاده بغدادی
جلد ۵۰۰ تاریخ مصر قدیم ومصر جدید المسمی بدرة الیتیمة لسهیلی جلد ۵۰۰ کلشن خلفا
لنظمی زاده بغدادی جلد ۵۰۰ اصول الحکم فی نظام الامم لطابع الکتاب جلد ۵۰۰
فیوضات مقنا طیسیه لطابع الکتاب جلد ۵۰۰ جهان نما لکاتب چلبی جلد ۵۰۰
تقویم التواریخ لکاتب چلبی جلد ۵۰۰ جلد اول من تاریخ نعیما جلد ۵۰۰
جلد ثانی من تاریخ نعیما جلد ۵۰۰ یکون کتب مطبوعه جمعاً جلد
۸۲۰۰ یالکز سکز بیك ایکی یوز جلد کتابدر



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

حمد وثنا وشكر بى انتها اول مالك الملك والملكوت
صاحب الكبرياء والجبروت تقدس وتعالى دركاهنه
شايان دركه تدبير نظام عالم وتنظيم امور بنى آدم انك ارادت
عليه سنه منوط وتعديل وتسويهٔ احوال امم مشيت
ازليه سنه موقوف ومربوط در ودرود بى پايان اول پيغمبر
آخر زمان دولتپناه اهل ايمان جنابنه شايسته دركه
قانون سياست شرع مبينى اصلاح مزاج دولته سند كافى
طب نبويسى اولان سنن سنيه سى تصحيح قواى قواعد دين
وملته دواى وافيدر وترضيه و تعظيم آل واصحاب نصفت
نصابه لايقدركه مسلك حميت انصافلرينه سلوك تقويم كاركاه
ملكه دستور ابدى وآثار ميمنت احتوالرينه تمسك تمشيت

امور

تاريخ الهند الغربي المسمى بحديث نو

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

ای سپهر افریده وانجم نه ملك مدرك تو نه مردم كشته از تو بدید هردو
جهان باز هردو جهان بكار تو كم زهی قادر خلاق وحكیم علی الاطلاق كه
چار اضداد عناصری دو حرف ایله ترکیب ونه قباب افلاكی بی عماد وستون
شش روزده ترتیب ایلمش ریاض قدرتنده صفحهٔ افتاب بركل تر بحار
حكمتنده ماه منیریك نیلوفر كتابهٔ كردونده مسطور اولان شكل هلال
هر ایینه كه منظور اولا كمال قدرتنه دال واختلافات فصول هر بابدن
حكمت بی نهایتنه محل استدلال در نظم ان صانعی كه از قلم صنع او فلك
چندین هزار صورت نقش ونكار یافت یك قطره از بحار عطایش سحاب برد
یك شمه از شمایم لطفش بهار یافت ودرود بی حساب حضرت رسالت
انتسابك روح پرفتوحنه واصل اولا كه اسباب چرخ انك یوزی صوینه
دونمشدر وخلعت لولاك انك قد بالاسنه كوكدن اینمشدر شمع جمع
افلاك چراغی انك مشكاة ضمیرندن یاقر وچشمهٔ صبح صادق طینت پاكی
اشمه سندن اقر كلمهٔ افتاب مصدر نور جبینندن مشتق وبدر منیر
امرینه امتثالایك اشارتیله ایكی شق اولمشدر قطعه هزاران افرین اول ذات
پاكه قدم باصدی چقوب فرق سماكه انك چون قدر عالیدر فلكدن

نولا

FIG. 5.10. Two examples of *besmeles*. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.
A. Katib Çelebi's *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l Bihar,* 1729, DR403 .M823, from folio 9v.
B. Çelebi-zade Isma'il Asım's *Tarih-i Çelebizade Efendi,* 1741, DR403 .M838, from folio 6v.

too evolved with the press—and arguably toward a more calligraphic, and thus manuscript-bound, style (Figures 5.10a–b).

Interestingly, the first three works printed by Müteferrika are rather Spartan in appearance. Much like their manuscript counterparts, they do not even include titles on their first pages after the front matter; rather, they mark the beginning of the main text by the aforementioned solitary *besmele* printed in a larger font. Titles do not appear in the Müteferrika series until the fourth book, in which the title is followed by a register containing the initiatory *besmele* (Figure 5.9). Unlike in today's books, titles and title pages were not printed before the front matter or on a separate page.[75] In all books from the fourth onward published by Müteferrika, titles only appear on the first page of the main text and always are followed by the *besmele* (Figure 5.11). Once taken into use, however, the styles of the titles move from a rather bland and rigid calligraphic hand (with no diacritical marks) to a more fluid and detailed one, as is the case with the *besmele*s discussed above. The evolution of titles thus follow the general trend of the press moving toward producing more elaborate and aesthetically pleasing books.

On the other hand, the *Grammaire Turque* is the only book from the Müteferrika series that actually bears a title page, not surprisingly

FIG. 5.11. (*opposite*) Title page, Nazmizade Murteza b. 'Ali's *Gülşen-i Hulefa,* 1143/1730, 26.25 × 16.5 cm, DR403 .M828, folio 6v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

گلشن خلفا لنظمی زاده افندی

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم وبه نستعین

مطلع انوار کلام قدیم میمنت افزای امور جهان حبل متین ید مستمسکان رشتهٔ شیرازهٔ ام الکتاب
شمسهٔ سر لوحهٔ فصل الخطاب سر سخن معجز خوان بیان ناطقه ارای تلاوت کنان مبداء ایات
کتاب کریم فاتح ابواب طلسم عظیم در تحمید حمد اله ملک بی زوال قادر قیوم جزیل النوال نظم ده
سلسلهٔ انس وجان جامع مجموعهٔ کون ومکان فیض ده طبع سخن پروران ایلین انسانی جهان
ایچره جان ادمی تکریم ایله تعریف ایدن امر خلافت ایله تشریف ایدن ملکه سلاطین ایله
ویرن شرف بر برینه انلری ایدن خلف حکمی عدالت ایله فرمان ایدن خیر جزا عادله احسان
ایدن واحد وفرد وصمد وذو الجلال بنده نواز و ملک لایزال جل جلاله وعلی نصره عم نواله وجری
امره در نعت حضرت سلطان رسل مصطفا احمد ومحمود عظیم الندا سید سادات عرب هم
عجم در کهنک چاکری فغفور وجم شاه وکدایه قیپوسی ماتجار رحمت حق شافع روز جزا ختم رسل
صاحب معراج وتاج ایلدی شاهانی اسیر خراج مشعله افروز طریق سوا فیض ده عالم امام
هدا سناه فلک مرتبه رفرف سوار کاتیدی قدومیله فلک افتخار روضهٔ اقدس سارینه دمبدم اوله
صلاتیله سلام اتم در مدح اصحاب حضرت صدیق نعم الصدیق هم دخی فاروق رفیق شفیق
حضرت عثمان حیا ارتسام سیف خدا یعنی علی امام شمس ضحی الحسن ابن علی بدر دجی شاه حسین
ولی ال نبی باقی صحب کزین جمله احباب دخی تابعین رحمت ورضوان ورضا وشرف روح مقدس سارینه
متحف سبب تالیف امابعد تتبع تواریخ واخبار ومطالعهٔ وقایع روزکار فی الجمله امور مجربه باعث
اطلاع دستور العمل لازم الاتباع اولدوغی مرأت قلوب اولوالالباب جلوه نما ومتفق علیه جمهور
اهل نها اولدغنه بناء حالا محافظ دار السلام حامیٔ حمای اسلام صاحب الخیرات کثیر البرکات
همایون

GRAMMAIRE TVRQVE,

OU

METHODE COVRTE & FACILE,

pour

APPRENDRE LA LANGVE TVRQVE,

Avec un Recueil des Noms, des verbes, & des Manieres de parler les plus necessaires a sçavoir, avec plusieurs Dialogues familiers,

A CONSTANTINOPLE,

M, DCC, XXX,

because it was a book produced entirely in a western format (Figure 5.12). Published in French and utilizing the Roman script to explain Ottoman Turkish words, this work certainly catered to its foreign audience's expectations of the European printed book.

FIG. 5.12. Title page, Jean Baptiste Daniel Holdermann's *Grammaire Turque,* 1730, 20.5 × 15 cm, DR 403 .M832, folio 1r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Elements of the Islamic manuscript tradition such as colophons, catchwords, *serlevhas,* and calligraphic styles thus can be seen as not only providing a visual lexicon for these new printed books; they also constitute a high standard to which the printed books could be held and to which Müteferrika aspired (while simultaneously allowing room for various innovations such as the inclusion of titles and page numbers).

Some of Müteferrika's printed books stand out for a variety of reasons, such as unusual content or structure—for example, the appearance of the *serlevha* and title on the opening page of the book, newly developed functional or stylistic elements, and recycled illustrations. For these reasons, a brief discussion of select books and their idiosyncratic elements is offered here.

The first book published by the Müteferrika press, *Lugat-ı Vankulu,* is an Arabic to Turkish dictionary that was printed in two volumes at five hundred copies each. This dictionary has the most extensive array of front matter among all of the press's printed works. The first volume starts with a foreword by Müteferrika (folios 2v–3r),[76] followed by the full text of the official *ferman* (folios 3v–4r) issued by Sultan Ahmed III granting Müteferrika permission to establish his printing press (Figure 5.2). At the close of the *ferman* appear the supporting legal approvals, or *fetvas* (folios 4r–6r), of leading Ottoman religious scholars and judges, starting with that of the current *şeyhülislam,* Mevlana ʿAbdullah. After these two documents, Müteferrika's own *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa* (Figure 5.1) features on the following four folios (7r–10r). Next is a short biography of Imam Jawhari, the author of the dictionary's Arabic text (folio 10v), followed by a biographical note on Vankulu, who translated Jawhari's work into Turkish (folio 11r). A list of missing phrases in the main text is printed on folio 12v, while a rather extensive list of errata takes up the next four folios (13r–17r)[77]—a clear indication of the need for an edict ordering the cessation of this book's print run due to the excessive number of omissions and misspellings found in the text.[78] Finally, the last section of front matter provides the "keys to what is in the book" (*mefatih ma fi'l-kitab*), along with a table of contents listing alphabetically all of the Arabic triliteral roots in the dictionary and the pages on which they appear (folios 18r–19v).[79]

The front matter included in this publication—and mostly excluded from later books—tells us much about the climate surrounding the printing press. The *fetvas* and *fermans* that feature in some of Müteferrika's early works suggest a need to publicize the legitimacy of the new technology and the activities of the press. Some of the addenda witnessed sustained success: for example, tables of contents were more or less consistent features, whereas tables of errors were later dropped from

FIG. 5.13. Map of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, Katib Çelebi's *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l Bihar,* 1141/1729, 26 × 36 cm, DR 403 .M823, folios 13v and 14r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the informational vocabulary of these books. The printer's experiment with form and content was thus an ongoing process.

The second book issued by the Müteferrika press, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l Bihar* (The Gift of the Elders to Naval Campaigns), is the first to include a series of maps (Figure 5.13) and a diagram of a compass, both useful graphic elements found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts depicting Ottoman military campaigns.[80] The volume's front matter includes a foreword by Müteferrika, the above-mentioned *fetvas,* a table of contents, and a section called "the Addendum on the Explanation of Comparison." At the very back of the book appear three pages of errata, a noteworthy addition since only two other printed books include this particular addendum. The other works that feature errata are *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (the first book printed) and *Grammaire Turque* (the eighth book printed). It appears that the first few books were carefully scrutinized by the editing team assigned to the task by the sultan. But as time went by, either editorial oversight tightened in the pre-publication phase, making the necessity for errata unwarranted, or, more likely, the task of compiling lists of errata proved too time-consuming an endeavor.

FIG. 5.14. (*opposite*) Mermen, İbrahim Müteferrika's (ed.) *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi el-Müsemma bi Hadis-i Nev,* 1142/1730, 22 × 15.5 cm (16.5 × 10.5 cm frame), DR 403 .M825, folio 49r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

An exciting work, the *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi el-Müsemma bi Hadis-i Nev,*[81] was the fourth book produced by the Müteferrika press. The

واهل جزیره نك اعلا طعامی لحم صدفدر قسطلیون نام برشخص بیك
بشیوز یکرمی اوچنده جزیره مزبوره یه مستولی اولوب قالیس نام برحصار
بنا ابتدی جزیره مزبوردن تحصیل ابتدوکی لولوری ایکی یوز بیك

book describes the newly discovered "West Indies" (North America) and is provided with thirteen illustrations, some of which are quite fantastic in character (Figure 5.14).[82] These illustrations are accompanied by two world maps and two diagrams, one of which consists of an oversized, foldout cosmological diagram of the seven celestial spheres (*aflak*). With its hand-drawn and illuminated *serlevha* (Figure 5.9) and its cycle of illustrations, this printed book recalls most closely the format of the traditional illustrated manuscript. The work also incorporates some orange, pink, and green dyed folios (Figure 5.14),[83] as well as an attractive *ebru* and stamped leather binding (Figure 5.5). Moreover, each page's written surface is provided with a double frame painted in gold. So here is truly a luxury copy of a printed text, whose owner spared no expenses in beautifying his prized possession.

The *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi* is also the first printed book of the Müteferrika press to include its title printed on the first page, immediately following the front matter. All books printed afterward feature their titles in a similar manner, suggesting that examples such as the present book may have spurred this noticeable change in the format of Müteferrika's printed books. This is certainly one of the most significant books in the Lilly Library's collection, a clear exemplum of the combined elements of the manuscript and printed book.

Many scholars consider Müteferrika's eleventh book, Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma,* to be the chef d'oeuvre of his press, and for good reason. This world geography is very large and elaborate: at a total of 698 pages, it includes twenty-seven maps and thirteen diagrams, some of which are signed by the artists, İbrahim Müteferrika, Mıgırdıç Galatavi, Tophaneli İbrahim, and Ahmed Kırımi.[84] Aware that Katib Çelebi had wished to include more maps in his original work, Müteferrika made his wish a reality with his own publication and thus first printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma.*[85] Maps and diagrams used in previously published books—such as the maps of the Mediterranean and Black seas, and the map of the islands of the Mediterranean Sea (originally included in his copy of the *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar,* Figures 5.13 and 5.15), along with the diagram of a compass, which appeared in the *Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye* (The Science of Magnets) of 1144/1732—were reused in Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma.* Müteferrika often saw it fit to recycle maps and diagrams, adding them to a variety of relevant works, thus saving labor time while creating more comprehensive publications.

When viewed in chronological order, the books produced by Müteferrika's press follow a shaky yet clear path not away from the manuscript form but toward it. One can see that this was a trial-and-error learning experience for the printer as well, as he gradually created "printed manuscripts" by adding and deleting elements with each new book depending on aesthetic qualities, practicality, and experience. The prominent, isolated title (quite uncommon in the Ottoman manuscript tradition until this time) that did not appear until the fourth publication was crowned with a *serlevha* several publications later, in the ninth

FIG. 5.15. The islands of the Mediterranean Sea, Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 31 × 39 cm (25.5 × 34.5 cm frame), DR 403 .M835, inserted between pages 75 and 76. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

printed work. However, Müteferrika never went so far as to adopt the full title page featured at the front of European printed books. Aware of this particular element, he included it in his *Grammaire Turque* (Figure 5.12)—but never in books that were intended for an Ottoman audience. The Ottoman printed manuscript thus forms a continuation of an established and colorful manuscript tradition, albeit with a different production method and innovative elements. Consequently, Müteferrika's printed book was essentially a "new and improved" manuscript.

FROM MANUSCRIPT TO BOOK: A GRADUAL BUT UNSTEADY TRANSITION

The Lilly Library's collection of incunabula printed by this early Ottoman press demonstrates that, at this inceptive period, the line between a manuscript and a printed book could be very thin. It is often noted that early European printed books looked much like their manuscript counterparts,[86] and in the case of the Müteferrika press we see a similar trend. Müteferrika was a learned man who owned many European printed books and manuscripts from the Islamic world. Familiar with both formats and their individual elements, Müteferrika decidedly fused these two book forms together. Sometimes the combined elements worked well together with no problems of incompatibility (e.g., the printed *serlevha* and the book title), while in other cases the synthesis could look

awkward or be redundant (e.g., the use of page and folio numbers while maintaining catchwords).

It is hard to ascertain whether Müteferrika had planned for his books to resemble manuscripts or whether this happened unintentionally; a convincing case can be made for each argument. It is logical to assume that Müteferrika—a man exposed to many Islamic manuscripts—expected a book written in Turkish with Arabic script to look a certain way, regardless of whether it was printed or handwritten. He may have been unable to fathom a book without catchwords, the same way we would feel lost today if a book did not include page numbers along with a title page containing the book's title and its author's name. The strength of inherited tradition may have determined the visual structure of Müteferrika's products, even if they were manufactured using modern technology.

On the other hand, it is more likely that Müteferrika was conscious of the fact that he was catering principally to an audience that had certain ideas of what a book should look like. The printer was familiar with both European book formats and Islamic manuscripts, as he owned an extensive collection of both types of books. As a result, his decisions regarding the layout and decorative elements found in his books must have been, at least to some extent, consciously calculated. His Ottoman audience was heir to a long and active tradition of manuscript production, in which a luxury codex would not be considered complete without, for example, a decorative *serlevha* and an information-bearing colophon.

Changing trends that emerge in examining Müteferrika's printed books—such as the addition of a book's title and a decorative, printed *serlevha* at the front of the book after the ninth publication—support the proposition that the printer purposefully inserted decorative manuscript details. Perhaps Müteferrika encountered some criticism or even ridicule from his peers for producing books that "did not resemble books" at first.[87] Especially given the comparable prices of his books to those of manuscripts, he may have deemed that the adding of decorative elements (such as the *serlevhas*) or beautifying the title and *besmele* could give him a distinct marketing advantage. Through the flattery of imitation, his manuscript-like products could thus compete more fully with manuscripts to gain the attention of an already established consumer base.

Alongside more familiar manuscript features, he introduced new elements, such as page numbers, title, and tables of contents, thus creating a comfortable transition for his readers. Such "transitional" peculiarities within Islamic printed books would last for another hundred years after Müteferrika's death. Above all, innovations that Müteferrika inserted into books functioned as devices to make information retrieval an easier process, as he had clearly stated in his *Vesiletü't-tibaʿa*. He had originally planned to include indices and tables of contents in all of his printed

works, but appears to have been consistent only in the assembly of tables of contents and not indices, most probably because creating an index was (and remains) a tedious task. Nevertheless, Müteferrika's intention to make his reader's experience more efficient appears to have been relatively successful, as there are no accounts of criticism or discontent recorded by his contemporaries.[88]

The development and widespread use of printing is often considered one of the greatest technological developments in human history.[89] When scholars discuss the Müteferrika press, they tend to try to determine its larger historic and social impact in Ottoman lands. Often, the press is assessed based on improved literacy rates or educational reforms, criteria typically used in gauging the advances made in Renaissance and Reformation Europe. However, a "revolution" in human knowledge and its transmission or expansion is not detectable in the case of this printer's experiment. There are a number of reasons such a revolution did not and could not have come about in Ottoman Istanbul. Economic and social obstacles forcibly slowed Müteferrika's momentum, and the products and activities of his press in turn bear witness to a gradual transition—rather than an instant conversion—to modern technology.

In the case of Ottoman Turkey, three phases in the establishment of the Islamic printing press can be detected. The first can be defined as a rejection or apathy toward the technology (ca. 1450–1727),[90] when the advantages of the press were ignored for nearly three hundred years, until an Ottoman Turkish press was finally established.[91] The second phase (ca. 1727–1797) is characterized by a fragmented series of individual printing efforts, spearheaded by Müteferrika and his colleagues, followed by substantial intervals of inactivity. The third and last phase (ca. 1797 and onward)[92] can be considered the beginning of a more stable establishment of the printing press, characterized by a relatively steady production, and its longer-lasting effects on literacy and education. Müteferrika fits in the second and intermediate phase of transition from a non-existent Islamic printing culture to a consistent one. Naturally, this intermediate phase is of immense importance, setting the stage for the third and final chapter of the Ottoman venture in printing.

There are various reasons why the printing press took so long to be adopted by the Ottoman Turks. These reasons remain in the realm of the speculative, and usually revolve around a few recurring themes, specifically the Ottomans' excessive self-confidence, which led to an attitude of arrogance toward and dismissal of European technology, as well as religious figures' discontent with "Christian" innovations.[93] To add to such problems, further complications explain why the printing press did not gain immediate acceptance once established by Müteferrika. The first question, namely why the Ottoman press lingered so far behind European advances, cannot be resolved here, as Ottoman attitudes toward the printing press remain largely undocumented. However, the

second question—regarding the problems, aftermath, and impact of the Müteferrika press—can be traced and, as a result, is of interest to the present investigation.

One of the major differences between manuscript production and the printing industry is the need for fungible capital, not only to launch a business but also to keep it afloat and eventually turn it into a profitable business. This long-term investment is absolutely necessary for the success of a printing house, whereas the production of manuscripts relied on immediate patronage and required little upfront investment other than enough ink and paper for each individual product. In the case of the early Ottoman printing activities, both press and paper were imported from Europe, making the acquisition of basic equipment and materials a costly one. Ironically, the printed book was supposed to introduce a cheaper and thus more accessible product to a broader public. However, due to a dependence on foreign technology and materials, this ideally economical object became quite expensive, with prices rivaling those of handwritten manuscripts. Consequently, many printed books remained unsold during the early years of the Ottoman printing press.[94]

Another cause for unsold books may have been Müteferrika's lack of experience in creating business ties. As a first-time printer and entrepreneur, he did not have the accumulated experience and financial network that would have come with years of activity within the trade. European printers, on the other hand, were much more organized: they were able to determine how many copies of a given book needed to be printed, thus minimizing their financial losses due to overprinting. They also had steady patrons, deals with bookshops and merchants, and predetermined outlets where they sold their books.[95] In essence, successful European publishers were savvy businessmen first and craftsmen second. Müteferrika—although ambitious and educated—had little to no practice and know-how in running a printing business, two likely reasons why his press did not prosper.

Müteferrika also may have failed to realize the importance of advertising his products. Although from time to time he included a list of his printed or forthcoming books in a published tome, he does not seem to have printed catalogues of his existing books or advertisements for his forthcoming projects: he thus relied on a preexisting clientele within a rather restricted circle of buyers. He sold his books directly from his printing house, which was by no means a "bookstore" per se, as this venue doubled as his personal residence.[96] Although some libraries outside Istanbul, in cities such as Amasya, Samakov, and Sofya, possessed copies of Müteferrika's books,[97] it is hard to track accounts of individuals outside of Istanbul who owned a book printed by his press. As a consequence, distribution and marketing problems played their fair share in stalling the printer's success.

The competition between early printed books and handwritten manuscripts must have been substantial for both economic and social

reasons. The high prices of printed books may have led consumers to choose to pay a bit more to acquire a handwritten book, since a printed copy would not necessarily be a more affordable product. Also, the value attached to the manuscript tradition and an appreciation for the handmade would have made it difficult for Müteferrika's printed books to compete with manuscripts.[98] Perhaps his efforts to produce books that resembled manuscripts can be explained as not only a means by which to create an innovative new form by synthesizing traditional Islamic elements with European ones, but also as a way to appeal to the market and compete with existing scribal spheres. Calligraphers and scribes possessed the upper hand in the trade because they already had established business networks, including their own organized guild.

The early Ottoman press also had to function despite the stipulation that it was banned from printing religious works, especially copies of the Qur'an.[99] This prohibition can be flagged as a major obstacle preventing Müteferrika's press from turning a profit, as religious works most certainly would have been purchased more eagerly than secular works.[100] Once again we turn to western Europe for comparison: the majority of early printed works were religious in nature, and they included Psalms, Books of Hours, Books of Days, and so forth.[101] These kinds of religious texts, whether Christian or Muslim, were in high demand, even by the illiterate classes who felt compelled to own pietistic works.

Religious scholars of the Ottoman court actually supported Müteferrika's press and approved of it. In fact, later operators of the Müteferrika press (İbrahim Efendi and Ahmed Efendi) were high-ranking members of the '*ulema*'. The adverse affect of the initial clause prohibiting the publication of religious texts was more substantial than the press's subsequent reception and patronage among the religious classes. Thus, its inability to issue pious works such as the Qur'an, or even single-page calligraphic panels, crippled it at a time when the European printed book market flourished through the production of religious works.

With regards to the ever-important issues of patronage and support, İbrahim Müteferrika's press was established as the official press to the sultan and his government. Ahmed III and later Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754) were supporters of the printing press in their capital city, but they failed to utilize it for their own ends[102] or toward larger educational goals. Furthermore, there is no evidence suggesting that they provided any financial support of Müteferrika's efforts.[103] It was not until Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) personally took interest in the printing press in 1797, purchasing it from its previous owners (Vak'anüvis Ahmed Vasıf Efendi and Beylikçi Raşid Efendi) for use at the newly established military school in Istanbul, the Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun, that the press and printing culture began to stabilize.[104] However, before the turn of the nineteenth century, Müteferrika's endeavors of the 1720–1730s faced a lack of imperial benefaction and educational applicability, as well as significant economic and social obstacles.

CONCLUSION

The first officially sanctioned Ottoman press outlived its founder and continued to print works into the next century, although with much interruption. This shaky start was the result of a number of factors that are mostly linked to an incomplete importation of technology and materials, as well as poor trade foundations for the printed book in Turkish lands. Most importantly, though, the printed book's slow acceptance was a result of the perdurance of the manuscript tradition so highly valued in Ottoman society.

This first Ottoman printing effort was not only about making books more available; it also was about making knowledge more accessible. Müteferrika's efforts to make books, and by extension knowledge, more obtainable may not have materialized during his own lifetime for reasons beyond his control. However, his combination of old and new book forms enabled him to create a familiar, yet new and user-friendly, book for his audience. Manuscript elements made printed books more attractive and less intimidating, while the new printing technology used to produce them made their production more efficient. Similarly, added European book conventions such as indices and page numbers made information retrieval less arduous.

Historical, social, and technological changes marked eighteenth-century Ottoman Turkey. These same changes also radiate from the printing activities of İbrahim Müteferrika, themselves manifest on the "micro"-level of the printed book. Much as Islamic traditions held firm and yet entered into contest with modern advances, manuscripts too continued to be produced and challenged printed books. This early coexistence and competition within the book world yielded a hybrid product, namely the printed manuscript. Retaining and gaining elements of the manuscript tradition and moving the book form forward thanks to new technology, the printed manuscripts of Müteferrika's press provide a small but fascinating lens through which to observe the gradual but unsteady emergence of the modern Ottoman world.

The initial printing experience of the Ottomans was not as revolutionary as the European experience; rather, it was a slow and gradual transition from the manuscript to the printed book, with a transition period marked by İbrahim Müteferrika's printed manuscripts. The printer's endeavors mark a conscious effort to modernize the empire, a progression considered vital for the Ottoman realm to stay apace and compete with other world powers. The Ottoman Empire, lagging behind its European counterparts and neighbors in education, technology, and military sciences, was feeling pressure to change. The book, and the knowledge that came embedded within it, was seen as a seed of development and a necessary tool to achieve social, political, and cultural advancement. Müteferrika understood that change could start with knowledge and the prosperity of the printed book. His was a large step to initiate change in the methods of transmitting knowledge in the Islamic world and thus inspire a revolution that would take more than one lifetime to unfold.

1. Ebu Nasr Isma'il b. Hammad el-Jawhari, translated into Turkish from the Arabic original by Mehmed b. Mustafa el-Vani

- *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (Vankulu's Dictionary), 2 volumes
- Gurre-i Recep 1141 (January 1729)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M82215
- 500 copies of each volume

2. Mustafa b. 'Abdullah (Katib Çelebi)

- *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l Bihar* (The Gift of the Elders to Naval Campaigns)
- Gurre-i Zilkade 1141 (May 1729)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M823
- 1,000 copies

3. Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski, translated into Turkish from the Latin original by İbrahim Müteferrika

- *Tarih-i Seyyah der Beyan-ı Zuhur-i Ağvaniyan ve Inhadam-ı Devlet-i Safeviyan* (The History of the Traveler: The Afghan Invasion of the Safavid State)
- Gurre-i Safer 1142 (August 1729)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M82415
- 1,200 copies

4. Collated and edited by İbrahim Müteferrika

- *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi el-Müsemma bi Hadis-i Nev* (History of the West Indies)
- Evasıt-ı Ramazan 1142 (March–April 1730)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M825
- 500 copies

5. Ibn 'Arabshah, translated into Turkish from the Arabic original of Nazmi-zade Murtaza b. 'Ali

- *Tarih-i Timur-i Gürgan* (History of Timur of Gürgan)
- Gurre-i Zilkade 1142 (May 1730)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M82615
- 500 copies

6. Ahmed b. Hemdem (Süheyli)

- *Tarih-i Mısri'l-Cedid ve Tarih-i Mısri'l-Kadim* (The History of New Egypt and the History of Old Egypt), 2 volumes in one. The 2 volumes were published and bound together despite the folio numbers beginning anew with the second volume.
- Gurre-i Zilhicce 1142 (June 1730)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M82715
- 500 copies

7. Nazmi-zade Murteza b. 'Ali

- *Gülşen-i Hulefa* (Rose Garden of the Caliphs)
- Gurre-i Safer 1143 (August 1730)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M828
- 500 copies

8. Jean Baptiste Daniel Holdermann

- *Grammaire Turque* (Turkish Grammar)
- 1730
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M832
- Estimated at 500–1,000 copies

9. İbrahim Müteferrika

- *Usulü'l-Hikem fi Nizamü'l-Ümem* (Fundamentals of the Wisdom in the Organization of Nations)
- Evasıt-ı Şaban 1144 (February 1730)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M833
- 500 copies

10. İbrahim Müteferrika

- *Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye* (The Science of Magnets)
- Gurre-i Ramazan 1144 (February 1732)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M834
- 500 copies

11. Mustafa b. 'Abdullah (Katib Çelebi)

- *Cihannüma* (The Book of the World View)
- 10 Muharrem 1145 (3 July 1732)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M835
- 500 copies

12. Mustafa b. 'Abdullah (Katib Çelebi)

- *Takvimü't-Tevarih* (Almanac of Histories)
- Gurre-i Muharrem 1147 (June 1733)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M836
- 500 copies

13. Mustafa Na'ima

- *Tarih-i Na'ima* (*The History of Na'ima*), 2 volumes
- Vol. I, Evasıt-i Muharrem 1147 (June 1734)
- Vol. II, Evasıt-i Cemaziyelevvel 1147 (October 1734)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M837
- 500 copies of each volume

14. Mehmed Raşid

- *Tarih-i Raşid* (The History of Raşid), 3 volumes
- Gurre-i Zilkade 1153 (February 1741)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M842
- Estimated at 500 copies per volume

15. Küçük Çelebi-zade İsma'il Asım

- *Tarih-i Çelebi-zade Efendi* (The History of Çelebi-zade Efendi)
- Gurre-i Zilhicce 1153 (February 1741)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M838
- Estimated at 500 copies

APPENDIX 5.1

At left is the complete list of books printed by the original Müteferrika press, active between 1729 and 1742 and under the primary management of İbrahim Müteferrika. The Lilly Library has a complete collection of these books. They are listed here in the order in which they were printed. The number of copies printed for each of the first thirteen books (with the exception of *Grammaire Turque*) is recorded on the last page of the second volume of the thirteenth publication, *Tarih-i Na'ima*. The number of copies printed for each of the remaining four publications and *Grammaire Turque,* however, remains unknown. The number of copies are estimates based on previous trends. Single-volume works were mostly printed in five hundred copies, and multi-volume works were generally produced at five hundred copies per volume, as well. *Grammaire Turque* could have been produced in five hundred or one thousand copies because the demand (both local and foreign) for this book may have been higher than for other books printed by the Müteferrika press.

16. ʿÖmer Bosnavi Efendi

- *Ahval-i Gazavat der Diyar-ı Bosna* (The Situations of Holy Raids in the Lands of Bosnia)
- Gurre-i Muharrem 1154 (May 1741)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M843
- Estimated at 500 copies

17. Hasan Şuʿuri

- *Ferheng-i Şuʿuri* (The Persian Dictionary of Şuʿuri), 2 volumes
- Gurre-i Şaban 1155 (October 1742)
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M844
- Estimated at 500 copies per volume

APPENDIX 5.2

At right is a list of all the works printed by the Müteferrika press between 1755 and 1795 (that is, after Müteferrika's death in 1745). A call number is provided if the Lilly Library owns a copy of the listed work.

1. Ebu Nasr Ismaʿil b. Hammad el-Jawhari, translated into Turkish from the Arabic original by Mehmed b. Mustafa el-Vani

- *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (Vankulu's Dictionary), 2 volumes
- 1169–1170/1755–1757
- Kadi İbrahim Efendi and Kadi Ahmed Efendi, press supervisors
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M82215 1756

2. Mustafa Sami, Hüseyin Şakir, and Mehmed Suphi

- *Tarih-i Sami ve Şakir ve Suphi* (Sami, Şakir, and Suphi's History)
- 1198/1784
- Vak'anüvis Ahmed Vasıf Efendi and Beylikçi Raşid Efendi, press supervisors
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M846

3. Süleyman ʿIzzi

- *Tarih-i ʿIzzi* (ʿIzzi's History)
- 1199/1785
- Vak'anüvis Ahmed Vasıf Efendi and Beylikçi Raşid Efendi, press supervisors
- Lilly Library, DR 403 .M845

4. Güzelhisarlı Zeyni-zade Hüseyin

- *Iʿrabü'l-Kafiye* (Arabic Grammar)
- 1200/1786
- Vak'anüvis Ahmed Vasıf Efendi and Beylikçi Raşid Efendi, press supervisors

5. Unknown author, translated into Turkish from the French original by Konstantin Ipsilanti

- *Fenn-i Harb* (Science of War)
- 1207/1792–1793
- Beylikçi Raşid Efendi, press supervisor

6. Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, translated into Turkish from the French original by Konstantin Ipsilanti

- *Fenn-i Lağım* (Science of Mining)
- 1208/1793
- Beylikçi Raşid Efendi, press supervisor

7. Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban, translated into Turkish from the French original by Konstantin Ipsilanti

- *Fenn-i Muhasara* (Science of the Siege)
- 1209/1794
- Beylikçi Raşid Efendi, press supervisor

NOTES

The author would like to thank the helpful staff of the Lilly Library at Indiana University; Chris Murphy for his help with materials at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; H. Erdem Çıpa, Kemal Silay, Irvin Schick, and Tobias Heinzelmann for their valuable feedback and comments; and, last but not least, Christiane Gruber for her help and support throughout this project.

1. İbrahim Müteferrika (b. ca. 1674) was a Hungarian Calvinist or Unitarian from the town of Koloszvár. He was taken to Istanbul as a prisoner by the Ottomans (ca. 1694), at which time he converted to Islam and quickly started making himself known in courtly circles. He became a court steward (*müteferrika*) around 1716. For further information about Müteferrika, his life, and his works, see Osman Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler* (Ankara: Güven Basımevi, 1959); Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı: Müteferrika Matbaası* (Istanbul: Istanbul Devlet Basımevi, 1939); Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726–1746)* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006); and Giambatista Toderini, *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı,* trans. Rikkat Kunt, ed. Şevket Rado (Istanbul: Yayın Matbaacılık Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1990).

2. See Appendix 5.1 for a complete list of his printed books. There are conflicting views about the total number of books printed by this press. The number of copies of only the first thirteen books is recorded, excluding the eighth book (*Grammaire Turque*). This information is included on the last page of the second volume of Müteferrika's thirteenth book, *Tarih-i Naʿima*. The number of printed copies of the remaining four books and *Grammaire Turque* is estimated based on previous trends of this press. Also see Appendix 5.1 for more details about these numbers.

3. It is no surprise that by the 18th century, European presses were producing books more consistently and in larger quantities. Even 15th-century presses of Europe tended to have a much higher output than did the first Islamic press. For instance, in Venice alone between the years of 1480 and 1482 at least 156 titles were printed. With at least ten major printing houses, the average press would have thus produced about fifteen titles in two years. For further figures, see Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (London: NLB, 1979), 182–183.

4. The *kadis* of Rumelia and Anatolia, respectively. A *kadi* is a judge who rules in accordance with Islamic religious law (*shariʿa*) and who has jurisdiction over all legal matters

involving Muslims (E. Tyan, "Kadi," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. [hereafter E.I.^{2}], vol. 4, 373). In the Ottoman Empire in particular, a *kadi*'s responsibilities, in addition to the above description, were actually quite varied. These responsibilities ranged from making sure the local roads were safe to ensuring the fair pricing of certain food products that had fixed prices within the empire. For more on Ottoman *kadis,* see GY. Káldy Nagy, "Kadi: Ottoman Empire," E.I.^{2}, vol. 4, 375.

5. Turgut Kut and Fatma Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 9. See Appendix 5.2 for names of post-Müteferrika works printed between 1755 and 1795.

6. To the best of my knowledge, North American libraries that are one copy shy of a complete collection are the University of California Library, Los Angeles, and McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

7. For further information about Allen, see the chapter by Janet Rauscher in this volume.

8. See Günay Alpay Kut, "Matbaʿa: In Turkey," E.I.^{2}, vol. 6, 799; and Ittai Joseph Tamari, "Jewish Printing and Publishing Activities in the Ottoman Cities of Constantinople and Saloniki at the Dawn of Early Modern Europe (cat. 6–9)," in *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 9. Jewish presses later printed in Spanish, Greek, and Latin in addition to Hebrew (see Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler,* 19).

9. For presses established by minorities in the Ottoman Empire, see Kut, "Matbaʿa: In Turkey," 799–800; Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler,* 18–21, 55–56, and 59; and Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 50. Although *fermans* issued by Sultans Bayezid II (in 1485) and Selim I (in 1515) forbade Muslims to utilize this technology for Arabic texts, Jews were allowed to print Hebrew texts. See G. Oman, "Matbaʿa: In the Arab World," E.I.^{2}, vol. 6, 795.

10. The exceptions to this are Judasz Tadeusz Krusinski's *Tarih-i Seyyah der Beyan-ı Zuhur-i Ağvaniyan ve Inhadam-ı Devlet-i Safeviyan,* translated from Latin to Turkish by Müteferrika, and Jean Baptiste Daniel Holdermann's *Grammaire Turque,* a book that was targeted toward foreigners. The books that were selected for publication were accessible to the general literate audience, including works translated from Arabic, Persian, and Latin into Turkish.

11. The first printing activities took place in Europe in the 1440s, under the auspices of Johann Gensflisch zum Gutenberg of Mainz. For printing in Europe, see Warren Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970); Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book.*

12. This press can also be accurately defined as an Ottoman press due to the materials produced and its location within the Ottoman Empire. Can this press, then, also be called the first Ottoman press? Probably not, as there were presses established by minorities within the empire prior to Müteferrika's efforts. Müteferrika's press can, however, be defined as the first imperial press; first imperial Ottoman press; or first Ottoman press to print books in Turkish using the Arabic script. Likewise, in defining this press as an "Islamic press," one would first have to define "Islamic." Is Islam simply a religion, or is it a tradition and/or cultural phenomenon? Again, would the religion of the employees, the language, script, end product, or location then define whether or not this is an Islamic press? Not all of Müteferrika's staff were Muslims, and İbrahim Müteferrika himself was a Hungarian Christian convert to Islam, a subject that has sparked much controversy in scholarship over whether his press can indeed be considered an "Islamic" one. The language in which the works were printed was Ottoman Turkish, which arguably can be considered an "Islamic" language. The script used is Arabic, the holy script of the Qur'an. However, the books produced by this press are by no means religious or Islamic; to the contrary, they were purposefully secular in character. So it is difficult to call this press an "Islamic press" unless "Islamic" is defined as a collective cultural identity based around a common ideology but without outright religious implications. In such a case, Müteferrika's press then can be called Islamic because of the support it received from the Ottoman court, a Turkish-Islamic system of government.

13. The word "incunabula" is used to describe early printed books. It more commonly refers to printed books produced before 1500 in the western tradition. See Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word,* 59.

14. Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 77–78.

15. The "printed manuscript" is used in this chapter as a strictly descriptive term. Although the method of reproduction used for printed books indeed is typography, much of the visual vocabulary of these books was inspired by the Islamic manuscript tradition, hence rendering these books as manuscript-like in appearance.

16. For more detailed information on the Tulip Period, see Fuat Andıç and Süphan Andıç, *Batıya Açılan Pencere: Lale Devri* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2006); and Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Empire of the Gazis 1280–1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 234–240.

17. Although the empire flourished in the areas of the arts and sciences during the Tulip Period and the early 18th century, the state was in fact deteriorating from within. Since its beginning, the Ottoman Empire had harnessed its power from its centralized ruling system, which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, became dispersed and weak. High-ranking officials in the capital as well as provincial governors attained more power than ever before. The military system started to fail the empire as well. Non-*devşirme* individuals (mainly sons of wealthy court officials) were being admitted into the highly selective imperial educational system, and more and more Janissaries mingled in the civilian sphere, starting families and getting involved in trades of their own (activities in which they were not traditionally allowed to participate, as ideally their one and only concern was to serve the sultan), while remaining on government payroll. Civil unrest also became an issue toward the end of the Tulip Period as the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa's strict economic reforms and taxes—used to fund the lavish lifestyle of Sultan Ahmed III and his court—pushed the empire's people to the edge. Finally, an unsuccessful military campaign to Iran caused civilians and soldiers alike to join in the Patrona Halil Revolt of 1730, which ultimately ended in the sultan's abdication of the throne and in the execution of Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa.

18. See Ira M. Lapidus, "Sultanates and Gunpowder Empires," in *The Oxford History of Islam,* ed. John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 390–393; and Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam. Vol. 3: The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 134–144. For a general study on political and social changes in the Ottoman Empire during this period, see Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005).

19. For an English translation of the *Vesiletü't-tiba'a,* see Christopher M. Murphy, trans., "Appendix: Ottoman Imperial Documents Relating to the History of Books and Printing," in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East,* ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 286–292. For the most complete transcription of the original Ottoman text in Latin script, see Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya,* 34–35.

20. Murphy, "Appendix: Ottoman Imperial Documents," 289–292.

21. Another possible reason for this topical discrimination may have been an effort on Müteferrika's behalf to imply that religious texts were too holy to be printed; he may have expressed this opinion in order to win the favor of the religious class, which was necessary to acquire permission to print books.

22. See Murphy, "Appendix: Ottoman Imperial Documents," 284–285 (English translation of the *ferman*). For a complete Roman transcription of the *ferman* in Ottoman Turkish, see Osman Keskioğlu, "Türkiye'de Matbaa Te'sisi ve Mushaf Basımı," *İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 15 (1967): 125–127.

23. The *şeyhülislam* is the foremost legal authority in Islamic jurisprudence.

24. The people assigned to this task were the *Kadi* of Istanbul, Mevlana Ishak; the *Kadi* of Selaniki, Mevlana Sahib; and the *Kadi* of Galata, Mevlana Asad. The overseer of the proofreading process was Mevlana Musa, Şeyh of the Kasım Paşa Mevlevihane.

25. See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 149–151.

26. It has been suggested that Müteferrika may have been protecting the job security of scribes by promising that he would not print works of religious content and that he had no intention to steal their existing clientele. See Osman Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları," in *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Basım ve Yayıncılığımızın 250. Yılı Bilimsel Toplantısı, 10–11 Aralık 1979* (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1980), 80. Furthermore, one wonders whether Müteferrika, regardless of the employment situation of the scribal classes, would have even been interested in printing books of a religious nature since he was much more interested in history, geography, and the sciences than religious issues. As evident in his *Vesiletü't-tiba'a* and *Usulü'l-Hikem fi Nizami'l-Ümem,* he believed in the benefits of education as put into practice in the west, and in the positive impact the sciences could have on the development of the Ottoman Empire.

27. Manuscripts of the Qur'an were in far higher demand than any other title; they comprised a great majority of any copyist's output. Once the Ottoman presses started printing religious works, these sold very well. One example is the printing of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (Proofs of Good Deeds), a popular religious work, in 1839: 2,400 copies were made at the request of booksellers. It is important to note that at this time many of the books were printed in batches of 200. See Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishane: Mühendishane Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776–1826)* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1995), 326.

28. See Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya,* 22–23.

29. Ibid., 22–29. Two more maps were produced by Müteferrika after he started printing books: a map of Iran in 1729–1730, and a map of Egypt in 1730. A copy of the map of Egypt was reportedly included in a small number of copies of Süheyli's *Tarih-i Mısri'l-Cedid ve Tarih-i Mısri'l-Kadim,* 1730.

30. Gerçek, *Türk Matbaacılığı: Müteferrika Matbaası,* 58; and Kut, "Matba'a: In Turkey," 800.

31. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler,* 35.

32. For a detailed description of each printed work, see Toderini, *İbrahim Müteferrika Matbaası ve Türk Matbaacılığı,* 27–108. For brief descriptions, refer to William J. Watson, "İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88/3 (1968): 437–441.

33. Beynun Akyavaş, trans., *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefaretnamesi* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1993), 60, 67.

34. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey,* 51, claims that initial materials were acquired from local Jewish and Christian printers, while later presses were imported from European cities such as Paris and Leiden. Also see Edvard Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika's Printing House and Its First Printed Books* (Ankara: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1979), 21. Carleson reports that the workers (including type founders) employed in Müteferrika's printing house were originally from Germany.

35. Kut, "Matbaʿa: In Turkey," 800.

36. Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 205–206.

37. European paper was exported to and used in Ottoman lands as early as the 15th century and, by the 18th century, manuscripts were produced almost exclusively on paper imported from Europe. See Osman Ersoy, *Onsekizinci ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de Kağıt* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1963), 19–20. For a detailed list of the individual books and the European origins of the paper, see Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler,* 38–45.

38. Yalova was also called Yalakabad in the 18th century, and was considered a *kasaba,* or town. See Ersoy, *Onsekizinci ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de Kağıt,* 30–36, for a detailed account of the Yalova paper mill. Also see Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 290–291, for a brief discussion of the high prices of books and the Yalova paper mill.

39. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 292–293, where a bundle (*top*) of 480 folios is noted as priced at two *kuruş* in the *tereke defterleri* of İbrahim after his death. A *tereke defteri* is a detailed list of the deceased's belongings and their valued prices. Müteferrika had 234 such bundles of paper at the time of his death, believed to have been produced at the paper mill in Yalova. The paper produced at the Yalova mill was probably intended to be used for books produced by the Müteferrika press. As Müteferrika produced his final book in 1742, it seems likely that he continued to accumulate paper produced in Yalova in his home/printing house in the hope that he would print further books using this paper.

40. See Joseph von Karabacek, *Arab Paper* (London: Archetype Publications, 2001), 19–25.

41. See Bloom, *Paper Before Print,* 50–56.

42. Karabacek, *Arab Paper,* 30–31.

43. Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 41. Also see Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word,* 8. Here, the author notes that "in Europe the technique of printing had to await the introduction and use of paper."

44. For a discussion of an illustrated copy of the *Cihannüma,* see the chapter by Emily Zoss in this volume.

45. The *kuruş* was a monetary unit made of silver used in the Ottoman Empire, also commonly called a *piastre* in European languages.

46. See Carleson, *İbrahim Müteferrika's Printing House and Its First Printed Books,* 23; and Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları," 71.

47. See Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 114.

48. This particular *ferman* is specified as being a "Hattı Humayun." See Server R. İskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış* (Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939), 12. A Hattı Humayun *ferman* is meant to hold greater weight, as it bears a few words alongside the *tuğra* (imperial signature or monogram) of the sultan (see U. Heyd, "Farman: Ottoman Empire," E.I.², vol. 2, 805).

49. See İskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış,* 12–13, for a transcription of the complete Ottoman Turkish *ferman* in Latin script.

50. Ersoy, "İlk Türk Basımevi'nde Basılan Kitapların Fiyatları," 73–74. One *kuruş* was equivalent to about 120 *akçes* at the time. Ersoy makes interesting comparisons between the prices of Müteferrika's printed books and sample wages, highlighting the extent to which the books were unaffordable to the average person. He also points out that handwritten manuscripts were ten times more expensive than their printed counterparts (78), making printed books still a cheaper alternative. Nevertheless, these printed books remained quite expensive even when compared to the income of court staff such as that of Müteferrika himself. See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 290–291, in which the author acknowledges the high prices of these books; however, based on the prices entered in the *tereke defterleri* of İbrahim Müteferrika, Sabev suggests that printed books were on average two times the price of handwritten manuscripts.

51. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 290.

52. See Klaus Kreiser, "Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance? Remarks on the Printing of Books in the Ottoman Empire," in *The Beginnings of Printing in the Near and Middle East: Jews, Christians and Muslims*

(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), 14; and Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 308.

53. As the first lithograph press would not open in Istanbul until 1835, its works and activities remain outside of the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, its technical closeness to the production of manuscripts helps to argue for the continuation and rearticulation of the manuscript-like qualities also found in the Müteferrika volumes.

54. Ulrich Marzolph, "Early Printing History in Iran (1817–ca. 1900). Part I: Printed Manuscript," in *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter,* ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass, and Geoffrey Roper (Westhofen, Germany: Wva-Verlag Skulima, 2002), 263–267. The lithographic production of Persian books caused them to resemble manuscripts more closely. It also allowed some calligraphers to continue with their craft by being employed at lithography presses, where they could produce close imitations of manuscripts.

55. The word "manuscript" in the term "printed manuscript," as used in this paper, is not meant to suggest the books produced by this press were hand-written, but rather that they bear many of the visual qualities one is used to seeing in the traditional Islamic manuscript. The term comes from the fact that the books are printed but still resemble manuscripts in appearance.

56. Exceptions, of course, are illustrations, maps, and diagrams that are engraved rather than typeset, and the titles and *besmele*s that are most likely woodblock prints.

57. *Serlevha* is the Turkish form of the Arabic term *sarlawh,* that is, a "head panel" or headpiece. For the purpose of consistency the term *serlevha* will be used since the materials being examined are Turkish. For further discussion of illuminated headpieces, see Christiane Gruber's introduction to this volume.

58. Common in manuscripts, a catchword is the first word of the next folio that appears in the lower margin of the previous folio. Catchwords functioned to indicate the order in which an unbound manuscript's folios were to be organized.

59. The smallest book produced by this press is İbrahim Müteferrika's *Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye* (22 × 12 cm); while the second volume of the first book of Jawhari's *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (33 × 17 cm) is the largest book produced.

60. See Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy,* 487. *Naskh* (nesih) script was perfected in the Ottoman world by the famous calligrapher Hafız Osman (d. 1698). *Naskh* was the most common script style used in Istanbul for Qur'an manuscripts, as well as scholarly and religious works.

61. See Julian Raby and Zeren Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: The Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: Azimuth editions on behalf of l'Association Internationale de Bibliophilie, 1993).

62. Although the history of marbling is vague and its origins still debated, it probably came into the Islamic repertoire of decorated papers from China. Earliest examples of Timurid marbling, for instance, date from the mid-15th century. See Sheila S. Blair, "Color and Gold: The Decorated Papers Used in Manuscripts in Later Islamic Times," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 31.

63. For examples of other *ebru* styles, see Henry Glassie, *Turkish Traditional Art Today* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 122–125; and Hasan Özönder, *Ansiklopedik Hat ve Tezhip Sanatları Deyimleri, Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Konya: Sebat Ofset Matbaacılık, 2003), 40–42. The *somaki* type of *ebru* is distinguishable by its close resemblance to actual marble, with prominent veins and irregular blotches that can vary widely in size.

64. See Mine Esiner Özen, *Türk Cilt Sanatı* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1998), 29–30.

65. For an example of another 18th-century *ebru* binding, see Özen, *Türk Cilt Sanatı,* 91.

66. The numbering of folios in a book is called "foliation." A foliated book will only have numbers on every other folio surface (or page), as each folio (front and back) needs to be numbered only once. In a foliated book, the anterior surface of the folio is called "recto" (r), while the posterior surface is "verso" (v).

67. Pagination is the numbering of pages (not folios). Each folio surface is thus numbered throughout the book. For instance, a book containing thirty folios would have sixty pages.

68. The books that do not include forewords are the following: *Usulü'l-Hikem fi Nizami'l-Ümem, Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye, Tarih-i Çelebi-zade Efendi, Abval-i Gazavat der Diyar-i Bosna,* and *Ferheng-i Şu'uri.*

69. The books that do not include tables of contents are the following: *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi, Tarih-i Mısri'l-Cedid ve Tarih-i Mısri'l-Kadim, Usulü'l-Hikem fi Nizami'l-Ümem, Füyuzat-ı Mıknatısiyye,* and *Tarih-i Çelebi-zade Efendi.*

70. The list of books that Müteferrika planned to print is located on folio 4v, the fifth page of the foreword. He lists three forthcoming publications: *Tarih-i Na'ima, Tarih-i Raşid,* and *Tarih-i Çelebi-zade Efendi.*

71. See Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya,* 49; and Göçek, *East Encounters West,* 115.

72. The name *Kostantiniyye* (or *Kustantiniyya*) in Ottoman Turkish documents and literature was adopted from Arabic and Persian, in which the name occurred as a corruption of the city's Eastern Roman (Byzantine) name, "Constantinupolis." "Kostantiniyye" was used more frequently in scholarly and educational

circles, whereas the various forms of "Istanbul" were used in more popular communication. See Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul," E.I.[2], vol. 4, 224.

73. This particular book contains two *serlevhas:* the first appears on folio 1v, which is the first page of the foreword, while the second on folio 4v (Figure 5.9) marks the beginning of the main text. Both *serlevhas* were not printed designs but later additions painted by hand.

74. The more linear *besmele* used initially by the press continued to appear above the front matter, particularly above the prefaces, even though the *besmeles* used atop the first page of the original texts (with the *serlevhas*) changed through time.

75. The titles of the books can be found noted in their table of contents titles (i.e., *Fihrist-i Cild-i Evvel min Tarih-i Raşid Efendi,* or "The Table of Contents of the First Volume of the History of Raşid Efendi"). However, this title is featured in regular-sized font and does not constitute the type of noticeable title one would be accustomed to seeing in a western book.

76. The author has included flypages (if they appear original) while counting and designating folios within these books.

77. While the list of missing phrases covers both volumes, the list of mistakes only covers the first volume (a separate list of mistakes appears in the front of the second volume). The Near East Section's rare books collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., holds a copy of *Lugat-ı Vankulu* (both volumes). In the Library of Congress volumes, the list of errata for both volumes appears only at the back of the second volume.

78. So time-consuming was this editorial work that the staff at the Müteferrika press began working on the book's second volume while the first volume was being checked for further mistakes. See Iskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış,* 12.

79. The second volume of *Lugat-ı Vankulu* contains only a table of contents as front matter; it resembles the table of contents in the first volume.

80. This book includes a double-page world map (inserted between numbered folios 1 and 2, or on folios 10v–11r from the beginning), a map of the Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea (inserted between the world map and map of the islands of the Mediterranean, or folios 13v–14r from the beginning, Figure 5.12), a map of the islands of the Mediterranean (inserted between the map of the Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea and numbered folio 3, or folios 15v–16r from the beginning), and a map of the "Venetian Gulf," i.e., the Adriatic Sea (inserted between the map of the islands of the Mediterranean Sea and numbered folio 4, or folios 18v–19r from the beginning). The backs of these maps are left blank since they have been inserted between the printed pages. Each map is printed and colored in by hand in this copy of *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar.* Other examples of 16th- and 17th-century maps can be found in *Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından XIV–XVIII. Yüzyıl Portolan ve Deniz Haritaları* (Istanbul: Istanbul Italyan Kültür Merkezi, 1997). An example of a map by Piri Reis (executed in 1528–1529) of Cuba, Florida, Haiti, Yucatan, and North America can be found on pages 68–69, while a map of Yucatan and Guatemala by Ebubekir el-Behram el-Dımişki executed sometime between 1675 and 1685 can be found on pages 150–151.

81. This work is referred to by Müteferrika in other texts as simply "Yeni Dünya," or New World. For more information about this particular work, see Thomas D. Goodrich, "Tarihi-i Hind-i Garbi: an Ottoman Book on the New World," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107/2 (1987): 317–319.

82. The illustrations depict a variety of subjects, including exotic and sometimes fantastic animals, foreign plants, and native peoples from the New World usually engaged in hunting and gathering activities. There are a total of thirteen paintings spread throughout the book. They are located on folios 15r, 38v, 46v, 49r, 53v, 55v, 63r, 73v, 79v, 86r, 87v, 89v, and 91r.

83. The Near East Section's rare books collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., holds a copy of *Gülşen-i Hulefa,* 1730, the seventh book from the Müteferrika press. It bears a similar hand-painted *serlevha,* ruled pages (gold initially and red throughout the bulk of the text), and dyed paper (yellow and burnished), giving it a completely different visual appearance from the Lilly Library's rather plain copy of the same publication.

84. See Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler,* 55, and Appendix 6.1 in this volume for a complete list of these maps and diagrams, along with the names of artists. Mıgırdıç is in fact an Armenian name, while Galata, Tophane, and Kırım are all locative names. The identities of these artists raise the question of their artistic training. It is certain that Mıgırdıç Galatavi and Tophaneli İbrahim are local artists from Istanbul, as made apparent by their epithets. Mıgırdıç Galatavi could have been drafted from a local Armenian press, whereas Tophaneli İbrahim and Ahmet Kırımi could have learned to draw in a traditional manuscript atelier and then applied their techniques to engraving, or they received formal training in engraving elsewhere. This is certainly an interesting topic that is open to further inquiry.

85. See Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970), 152; and Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler,* 30.

86. The most noticeable similarity between European manuscripts and incunabula is the text-crowded pages, full of abbreviated words,

and minimal word and line spacing, which gradually disappeared in post-incunabula books. See Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 87–88. An interesting parallel between the early Ottoman printing experience and the European example is the coexistence of the manuscript and printed book for a period of time before the printed book emerged victorious. Eisenstein notes that scribes of the late 15th century in fact often copied works from printed books. See Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe,* 21. Also, for the change of the colophon page into the title page in European books see ibid., 30.

87. Such a possibility is pointed out in Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 310. The author noticed a number of non-*serlevha*-bearing books from this press as having been adorned with hand-painted ones. He also notes that this reaction may have prompted Müteferrika to make later decorative additions or that perhaps customers were making such requests.

88. The index would have been especially useful because it would have allowed readers to skim through many books in search of necessary information rather than read through entire books or chapters, as was the common way of learning in Ottoman scholarly circles.

89. Chappell, *A Short History of the Printed Word,* 60. Also see Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe.* Controversial to this day, Eisenstein argues that the effects of the printing press on society were so great that it was more revolutionary than the invention of writing itself.

90. This is true with the exception of the aforementioned non-Muslim presses.

91. Although the first minority-owned presses established in Ottoman lands date as far back as the 1490s, Ottoman Turks had virtually no access to printed works until 1588, at which time Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595) issued an official *ferman* allowing Europeans to sell printed books in Ottoman Turkish (using the Arabic script). This *ferman* was issued after several European merchants were stopped at the Ottoman border. The merchants' books were confiscated because they were printed using the Arabic script. See Kreiser, "Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance?", 13. Also see Kut, "Matbaʿa: In Turkey," 799; and Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya,* 4.

92. This coincides with the year Selim III purchased the press for use in the Mühendishane school.

93. The four major reasons commonly offered are: the Ottomans' excessive self-confidence, leading to an attitude of arrogance toward European technology; opposition by religious figures and the scribal classes; no real need for large quantities of books; and the relative strength and efficiency of the manuscript industry. The most comprehensive analysis of all of the above theories is found in Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 56–65.

94. Müteferrika reportedly gave a number of his books away as gifts to foreign dignitaries and other officials. He also had about 30% of his books still in his possession at the time of his death. See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 344.

95. Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 41.

96. See Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 282–284. Travelers of the second half of the 18th century record seeing Müteferrika titles being sold at various *sahaflar* (second-hand bookstores) around Istanbul. Other than these brief mentions, there are no records suggesting any type of business agreement for selling his books in any systematic manner. In his "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th–20th Centuries," in *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution: A Cross-Cultural Encounter,* ed. Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass, and Geoffrey Roper (Westhofen: Wva-Verlag Skulima, 2002), 231, Christoph K. Neumann states that many of the publications were apparently distributed to state employees. However, there is no evidence supporting this statement.

97. Neumann, "Book and Newspaper Printing in Turkish, 18th–20th Centuries," 285–286.

98. Notable areas in which it should have had the upper hand include the heightened legibility of the typographical word, the elimination of scribal errors, and other mistakes due to potential scribal sloppiness or oversights.

99. The first Qur'an would not be printed in Istanbul until 1871. Prior to that, copies of the Qur'an were printed in a number of European cities as well as cities in the Islamic world such as Cairo in 1864. For a complete list of cities in which Qur'ans were printed prior to Istanbul, see Keskioğlu, "Türkiye'de Matbaa Te'sisi," 134.

100. Once religious works started being printed, during the 19th century, they dominated the printed book market. See Kreiser, "Causes of the Decrease of Ignorance?", 16.

101. See Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 248–252.

102. The press was utilized for political reasons immediately after Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) abolished the Janissaries. He ordered the imperial press to print a treatise called *Üss-i Zafer* (The Foundations of Victory) to explain the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1828. See Christopher Murphy, "The Physical Properties of Early Nineteenth Century Ottoman Printed Books, What Can They Tell Us?", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 29 (2005): 265–269.

103. See Kut and Türe, *Yazmadan Basmaya,* 6; and İskit, *Türkiye'de Neşriyat Hareketleri Tarihine Bir Bakış,* 10–11. Both believe that

Müteferrika's *Vesilet üt-tibaʿa* was actually a plea for financial support. However, the printer does not openly ask for financial support in his tract, which makes this a matter of continued speculation.

104. See Jale Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyete Kadar Osmanlı Türkleri'nin Bastıkları Kitaplar* (Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1968), 56, for Ottoman printing activities. Also see Kut, "Matbaʿa: In Turkey," 801–802, for a brief history of printing during and after the establishment of the Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun.

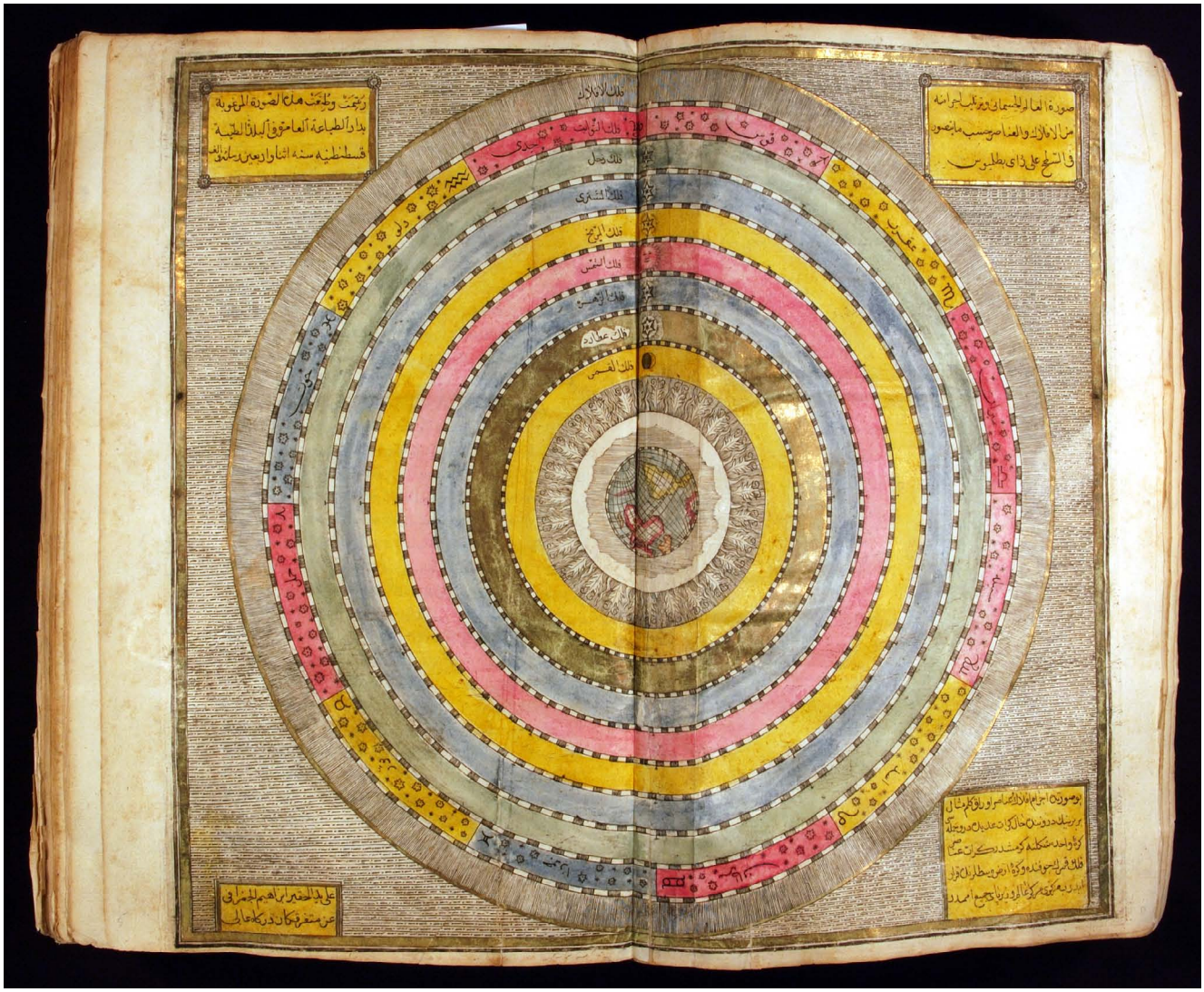


FIG. 6.1. Diagram of the Heavenly Spheres, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 30 × 32.6 cm, plate 5, DR 403 .M835. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

An Ottoman View of the World: The *Kitab Cihannüma* and Its Cartographic Contexts

6

EMILY ZOSS

On 10 Muharram 1145 AH (3 July 1732), the printing press established by İbrahim Müteferrika in Constantinople produced its eleventh work: the *Kitab Cihannüma,* or Book of the View of the World. This edition was compiled from a number of sources, though it carried the name of the author, Katib Çelebi (1609–1657), who had composed the original text in the previous century. The 1732 *Cihannüma* presents a view of geographical knowledge of its time, spanning from Anatolia to the frontiers of the New World and Eastern Asia. The volume also provides geographical and historical commentaries on regions of the world, and is accompanied by twenty-seven regional and world maps, as well as a number of charts and diagrams illustrating astronomical concepts.[1]

The care devoted to the publication of this volume likely reflects İbrahim Müteferrika's personal interest in cartography, which is well documented and predates both the publication of the *Cihannüma* and the establishment of his press in 1727.[2] Several maps were prepared and printed by his hand between 1719 and 1730, including maps of the Sea of Marmara, the Black Sea, Iran, and Egypt;[3] he also may have personally drawn some of the maps and diagrams for his edition of the *Cihannüma* (as seen in Figure 6.1, which contains a legend referring to "İbrahim the Geographer from among the stewards to the Exalted Throne.").[4] Thus, a study of the *Cihannüma* maps and their production may be valuable to those hoping to investigate the motivations of this man and the workings of his press, the first established under imperial auspices in the Muslim world—for we may suppose that the *Cihannüma,* with its large number of detailed maps and diagrams, posed a professional challenge to İbrahim in the early years of his printing operation, and that the creation of this work must have been as much a labor of love as it had been for its original author, Katib Çelebi.

Much remains to be investigated about the function and importance of cartography within early modern Ottoman society, namely the period spanning from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. We have evidence suggesting that maps were used in service to the military and bureaucratic needs of the empire,[5] but they also educated and entertained scholars and the elite, and allowed the pious reader to situate himself and his world within a divine order. To some extent, all this was the case before the sixteenth century, where we begin our study. However, the expansion of the empire had a profound impact on Ottoman cartographic practice. Contemporary Ottoman maps from the sixteenth century onward provide tangible evidence of intensified engagement with western European cartographic sources, throwing into

relief the differing cosmographies, technologies, and understandings of the known world as they were encountered.

Beginning with a survey of Ottoman cartographical activities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the two centuries prior to the publication of İbrahim Müteferrika's *Cihannüma*), this chapter then proceeds with a limited analysis and contextualization of several maps, particularly of the New World, as included in a printed *Cihannüma* held in the Lilly Library at Indiana University.[6] These New World maps emphasize the significant role that European maps played in shaping Ottoman cartography. Nonetheless, the *Cihannüma* maps, like a number of other Ottoman maps from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, negotiate a wide range of cartographic sources and artistic sensibilities to reflect their views of a changing and complex world.

Piri Re'is and Ottoman Cartography of the Early Sixiteenth Century

By the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), the Ottomans had established naval supremacy over much of the Mediterranean.[7] Piri Re'is (1470–1554), an early and prominent Ottoman cartographer, held a dual career as a privateer and officer in the Ottoman navy during this time. He was likely familiar with the portolan chart, a type of map that had developed by the thirteenth century in association with Mediterranean maritime culture.[8] A major distinguishing feature of these charts is a network of rhumb lines coordinating with wind directions, which radiate from intersection points that orbit a hidden center point of the chart.[9] These points are frequently decorated with wind roses. Remnants of these portolan features may be seen in the *Cihannüma;* for example, the map of Anatolia displays rhumb lines as well as two compass roses that appear to be circling the land (Figure 6.2). Unlike the Anatolia plate, though, portolan charts generally emphasize the Mediterranean and its coasts—as opposed to a specific inland region—as the most common geographical focus of the genre. Harbors and important ports are labeled perpendicular to the shoreline along the inland coasts; the interiors of land masses are usually left blank. Charts appeared individually, in combination with others (covering the Mediterranean in smaller sections), or in conjunction with portolan texts that provided verbal descriptions of relevant features apparently intended to assist navigation.

The few Ottoman portolans that exist today reflect a range of likely functions. Portolan charts and texts in general had practical value in aiding navigation around the Mediterranean (where sailors were always within a relatively short distance from a coast) and were almost surely used on board,[10] but few such examples are extant and Piri Re'is himself acknowledges that a portolan chart alone could not provide all the information necessary for navigation.[11] In addition, most extant Ottoman portolan specimens were beautifully ornamented, suggesting that they were likely prepared as presentation copies, with no navigational function intended.[12] However, even these presentation copies had functional

FIG. 6.2. Anatolia, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 25.9 × 34.5 cm, plate 39, DR 403 .M835. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

importance as educational tools destined for the libraries of scholars, or as luxury objects cherished by the elite—and such roles were not mutually exclusive. The value of the portolan and its charts in Ottoman circles was clearly not limited to the mariner.

As navigation extended across the oceans during the Age of Discovery (1400–1600), elements of the portolan aesthetic were applied to a number of grand world maps by various Mediterranean cartographers. Fragments of two such portolanesque world maps of Piri Re'is exist, both offering significant depictions of the New World. The earlier of the two, from 1513, created an international sensation when it was rediscovered in 1929. The fragment—only one-half or one-third of the original map—shows the Atlantic, portions of the African and South American coasts, and the Caribbean in a highly decorative, presentational style.[13] Numerous legends are scattered around the map, including one that identifies the map's date and author, and another that cites the author's map sources. Twenty maps are identified as models, including maps

belonging to Arabs and Portuguese, as well as "a map of Qulunbu."[14] This last comment, as well as several additional legends marked on the map describing the acquisition of this source, is interpreted as evidence that Piri Re'is had access to a map of Columbus, no longer extant and possibly dating from his second voyage (1493–1496).[15] The hypothesized map of Columbus appears to be of rather dubious accuracy, but the attention Piri Re'is devotes to describing its acquisition in a number of legends suggests that his justification for including the Columbus excerpt may have had much to do with the fame of the explorer, whom he specifies discovered the region depicted in his map.[16]

Piri Re'is's final major work, the *Kitab-i bahriyye* (Book on Seafaring), has a more clearly established history than either of his world maps, and combines aspects of both the portolan and a related genre, the isolario.[17] It consists of an atlas of isolario charts joined with a detailed text that guided a mariner around the Mediterranean in the style of a portolan narrative.[18] Copies exist today in two editions: the first version of 1521, and a second edition of 1526, which Piri Re'is reports was undertaken at the request of the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa (d. 1536) so that a suitably polished copy could be given to the sultan.[19] The 1526 edition variants are more presentational in style, incorporating additional charts copied in a more elaborate manner, as well as a new introduction and epilogue in verse form. A number of topographical depictions of towns, which frequently bear resemblance to European examples of such town views, are included among the charts of the second version.[20]

The *Kitab-i bahriyye* apparently was popular. Around ten manuscripts of the second edition and twice that number of the first survive; in all likelihood, a great many more were produced.[21] In addition, we are told in the introduction to his *Kitab-i bahriyye* that Piri Re'is's first world map was indeed presented to Sultan Süleyman. However, the 1528 world map appears to have been the last major cartographic project Piri Re'is undertook—or at least, the last that has survived. He nonetheless is preeminent as the major figure in Ottoman cartography of the first half of the sixteenth century.

A final observation regarding his work will be particularly relevant to the current study. We have already seen the ways in which Piri Re'is embraced the practice of collating multiple sources, including European and Islamic works. In the versified epilogue to the second version of the *Kitab-i bahriyye,* Piri Re'is asks that his work "be constantly improved. [If] those who consult it notice errors and are able to correct [them]—may God reward such masters who have perceived my shortcomings! . . . Since there is no limit to knowledge, who would aspire to such a goal [i.e., to produce a book free of errors]? Is there any science that is finite?"[22] Even his masterpiece intended for presentation to the sultan was considered a malleable work that could be improved by its exposure to other knowledgeable sources. This topos appears in the writings of other contemporary mapmakers;[23] both the value accorded to such infinite manipulability—and the practical expectation of it being a com-

monplace occurrence—resonate in the later Ottoman cartographical works to which we now turn.

OTTOMAN PORTOLAN ATLASES OF 1560–1570

Three Ottoman portolan atlases, likely created between 1560 and 1570 as presentation pieces, offer further examples of the Ottoman appropriation of portolan charting techniques.[24] They have been identified as the *Deniz Atlası* (Sea Atlas, ca. 1560), the *ʿAli Macar Re'is Atlası* (Atlas of Captain ʿAli the Hungarian, 1567), and the *Atlas-i Hümayun* (Imperial Atlas, ca. 1570). Each of these atlases consist of between seven and nine portolan charts bound together, without text, progressing from the Black Sea outward toward the rest of the world—roughly as if the oceans were being encountered in a series of concentric circles, radiating out from Constantinople—in approximately the same order.[25] All three can be characterized as presentational on the basis of the high quality of decoration found in the charts and because they are executed on vellum rather than paper—although as noted above, such luxury objects were not necessarily without practical function. The cartographic style is Italian for all three atlases, although the *Deniz Atlası* includes a number of large and finely detailed cityscapes.[26] It has been suggested that at least the *Atlas-i Hümayun* and the *ʿAli Macar Re'is Atlası* came from the same workshop, although they are not identical.[27] In his study focusing on the *ʿAli Macar Re'is Atlası,* Svat Soucek theorizes that the drawing of the charts was likely the work of an Italian cartographer—though it is unclear whether the map was drawn in Italy, or by an Italian craftsman employed in Constantinople[28]—who left the legends and place-names blank. These were later provided by an Ottoman naval captain who is identified as ʿAli Macar Re'is in a legend included in one of the charts.[29] In a similar manner, the different decorations for all three atlases may have been added by artists specifically assigned to these commissions.

The world maps of these three Ottoman portolan atlases are worthy of closer examination, as each reveals evidence of close Ottoman cartographic contacts with Europe during the mid-sixteenth century. The world maps included in the *Atlas-i Hümayun* and the *ʿAli Macar Re'is Atlası* appear either to be the same map or to share the same original source, possibly a derivative of a 1561 world map by the Venetian cartographer Gastaldi (d. 1566).[30] The world map of the *Atlas-i Hümayun* orients south, while the orientation of the world map in the *ʿAli Macar Re'is Atlası* remains unclear.[31] The world map of the *Deniz Atlası,* the earliest of the three atlases, is markedly different from the Gastaldi derivative noted above. This world map is oriented north, as are the remaining charts in the *Deniz Atlası,* and it clearly depicts "an older concept of the shape of the continents" than do the Gastaldi-influenced world maps included in the other two atlases.[32] Whether these similarities provide enough support to suggest that the *Deniz Atlası* was produced in a different atelier remains unclear. The presence of two such different world map prototypes in atlases appearing within a decade of

each other—atlases that share a number of marked stylistic and formal similarities, and at least two of which may have come from the same atelier—suggest continued interest in the acquisition of new cartographic sources and concepts.

Taken as a group, these lavish presentation atlases provide additional evidence of the significance of the portolan genre in which Piri Re'is had worked several decades earlier. Italian influences are present in the form of cartographic style, decoration, and source material, but the precise nature of these influences' transmission is unclear. Finally, we can discern the mapmakers' sustained engagement with a variety of cartographic sources and conventions. Such debates continue to unfold in the work of seventeenth-century Ottoman cartographers.

OTTOMAN GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The term "geography" covers a wide range of concepts in Arabic literature, and a full overview of the term, and of the history of Arab-Islamic cartography and geography, is well beyond the scope of this chapter. As some of these geographical traditions bear significance for the *Cihannüma* under discussion in this section, however, a few comments are necessary. First, it should be observed that within the context of pre-modern Islamic cartography, maps generally appear in association with texts.[33] Broadly speaking, these texts were frequently treatises uniting aspects of history with descriptive geography; maps also appear in conjunction with navigational and cosmographical texts.[34] This relationship between maps and geographical texts was particularly the case with the works produced by geographers of the Balkhi school during the course of the tenth century. A number of the cartographic conventions of the Balkhi school can be traced through subsequent cartographical practices in the medieval Islamic world, particularly in their application to world maps. These conventions included, most prominently, the placement of Mecca near the center of the world, surrounded by a large body of water called "the encircling ocean" (*al-bahr al-muhit*), along with the maps' frequent, though not exclusive, southern orientation.[35]

Before the mid-seventeenth century, a number of Ottoman world maps reflecting various Islamic cartographic conventions were included with Turkish translations of older Islamic geographical and historical texts. Gradually, the world maps included in such works began to demonstrate the influence of European cartographic knowledge, and more rapidly than did the associated texts.[36] In some cases, foreign maps were appropriated for inclusion within these texts with little or no modification; however, other Ottoman authors attempted to absorb the new information provided by European voyages of exploration and place it within a framework of cartographic conventions recognizable to readers familiar with traditional Islamic geographical works.[37]

Direct evidence of specific European sources incorporated into Ottoman cartographical works is rare. However, some is available when looking at the works of the geographer Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi (d. 1690–1691).[38] A copy of Blaeu's 1662 *Atlas Maior* (Great Atlas) was presented to

FIG. 6.3. World Map, Blaeu, *Atlas Maior sive Cosmographia Blaviana,* 1665, 40.8 × 54 cm, vol. 1, plate between pages i and ii, G 1012.B63 A88 1665 vault. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

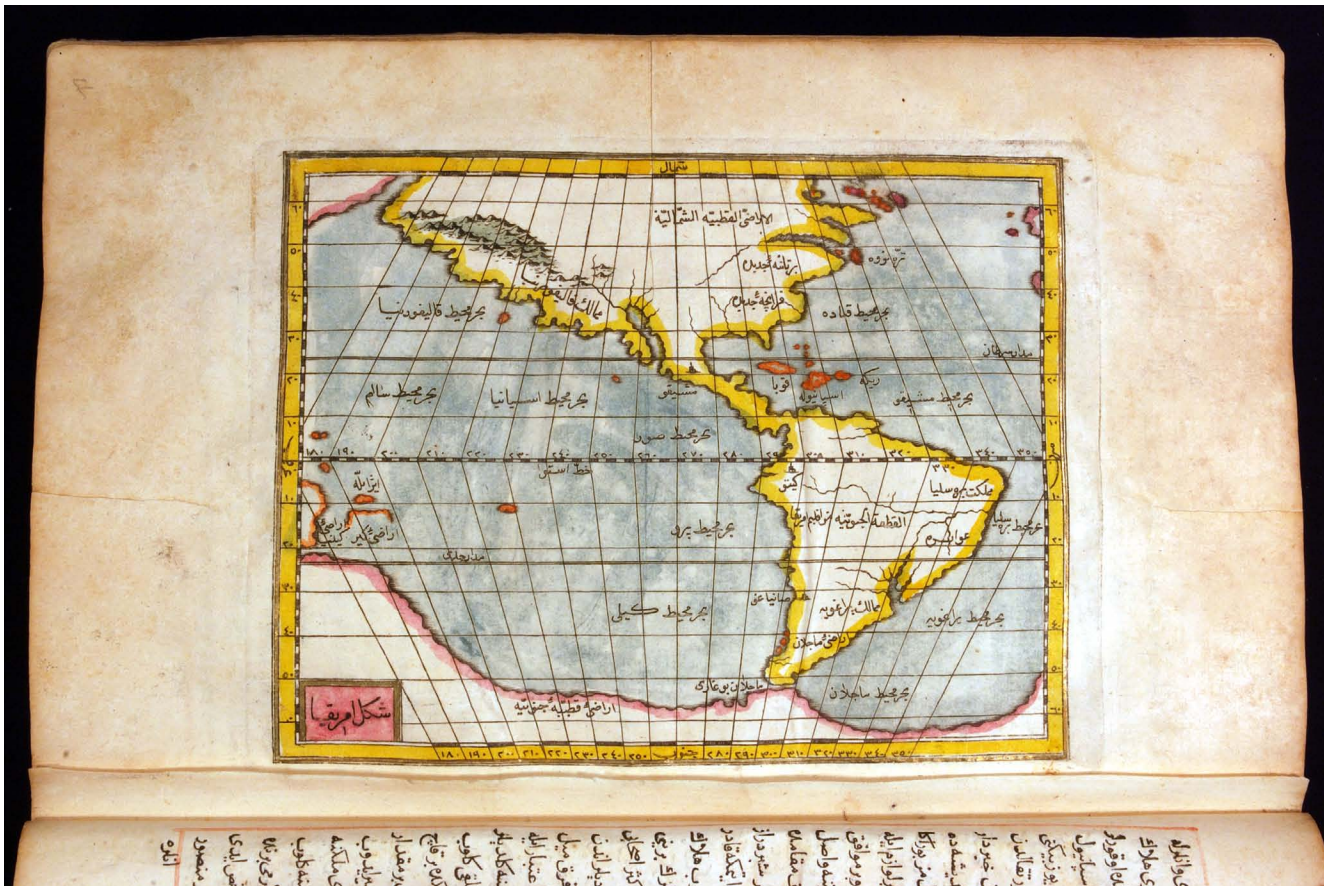
the Ottomans in 1668 as a diplomatic gift from the Dutch; al-Dimashqi assisted in the production of a translation of the *Atlas Maior* into Turkish at the request of Sultan Mehmet IV (r. 1648–1687).[39] The first version of al-Dimashqi's translation, completed in 1685, filled nine volumes, a fine copy of which is housed in the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul (B. 325–333).[40] An abridged version in two volumes was also produced in preparation for military campaigns against Vienna in 1683.[41] The cartographic information conveyed in the world map included in the nine-volume copy is extremely close to that of Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (Figure 6.3).[42] However, al-Dimashqi did not merely translate the information by rote; he also compiled information from a variety of sources to produce his finished version, as has been shown in a detailed comparison of a map of New England appearing in both the original Blaeu edition as well as al-Dimashqi's reworking.[43] While following the Blaeu form very closely, al-Dimashqi's map has several examples of toponomy (both older and newer) not found in the Blaeu prototype, suggesting that al-Dimashqi may have used, as some of his supplemental sources, European explorers' reports, accounts, and coastal surveys.[44] Several copies

FIG. 6.4. The Americas, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 14.9 × 19.3 cm, plate 22, DR 403 .M835. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

of al-Dimashqi's abbreviated translation survive, suggesting that it may have served as an important mechanism for the transfer of European cartographical knowledge into Ottoman lands.

Additional evidence of the influence of contemporary European cartography can be found in the history of the *Cihannüma*. Its author, Katib Çelebi (1609–1657), was one of the preeminent scholars of his time. Apprenticed as a scribe, Katib Çelebi went on a number of Ottoman military campaigns in his youth, including expeditions with the army to Baghdad and Iran. After 1635, he settled in Constantinople, where he devoted his energies to his studies, the amassing of a noteworthy private library, and writing on a wide variety of topics (including history).[45] In a biographical epilogue contained in his 1656 *Mizan al-haqq fi ikhtiyar al-ahaqq* (The Balance of Truth in the Selection of the Most True), Katib Çelebi recalls that, in 1645, he also developed an interest in cartography: "I turned my attention to the terrestrial globe and outlines of land and sea, for which I had acquired a taste. I learned how the drawing known as 'chart' is done, and examined all the illustrated treatises written on the subject, every single one of them."[46] The *Cihannüma,* a geographical work of grand scope, reflects his "acquired taste" for cartography, as Katib Çelebi drew several maps for the manuscript himself, in addition to copying others.[47] As a whole, the book illustrates the variety of influences hinted at in this comment by its author, drawing on sources ranging from travelers' accounts to the cartographic works of Piri Re'is, Ortelius, and Mercator.[48]

Katib Çelebi described the *Cihannüma* as "a Turkish book on geography . . . in two parts: the first on the seas, their configurations and their islands; the second on the land, its countries, rivers, mountains, and roads, in alphabetical order, with an account of the new lands discovered since the ninth century of the *hijra*."[49] His first version, begun in 1648, concentrated on the rivers, lakes, and lands around the Mediterranean, including Ottoman lands, and followed a cosmographic pattern utilized in medieval Arab works.[50] Around this time, though, Katib Çelebi writes that, "as the lands of the infidels are not discussed in Muslim books, I wanted to take the maps from the Frankish Atlas Minor and to have it translated."[51] Collaborating with a Christian convert to Islam, he produced an Ottoman Turkish translation of the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas Minor* (Small Atlas) entitled *Levami en-nur fi zulmet Atlas Minor,* or Flashes of Light on the Darkness of the Atlas Minor (1655).[52] Inspired by the work, he began a second version of the *Cihannüma* in 1654 with coverage expanding to the rest of Asia as far as Japan.[53] Katib Çelebi's work on the *Cihannüma* thus demonstrates a continuation of trends we have identified in the sixteenth century, albeit expanded to a much greater scale. Chief among these trends appears a keen interest on the part of Ottoman cartographers in seeking out new sources to bring their works to completion, and a particular recognition of the value of selected non-Ottoman sources in filling in the gaps of Ottoman geographical knowledge.[54]



İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA'S *CİHANNÜMA* AND ITS NORTH AMERICAN MAPS

Katib Çelebi's translation of the *Atlas Minor* was finished in 1655, but the *Cihannüma* was left uncompleted. The text published by the Müteferrika press in 1732 comprised the second version essayed by Katib Çelebi, supplemented with Müteferrika's "printer's addendum" (*tadhyil al-tabi'*). The added material included excerpts from al-Dimashqi's works based on Blaeu, as well as updates of the introductory chapters on mathematical and physical geography, geometry, and astronomy.[55]

Two maps containing depictions of North America—a single plate showing North and South America, and a double-hemisphere world map—will serve as case studies for the present discussion of some cartographic conventions found in the *Cihannüma*.[56] The New World maps, in their depiction of lands that the Ottomans primarily encountered through records of European exploration, serve as graphic zones of contention in which cartographic sources and traditions were by necessity confronted and reconciled.

THE AMERICAS PLATE

North and South America appear on a single plate (Figure 6.4). The orientation is north; the projection grid is trapezoidal. California is peninsular. The print has been hand-colored and illuminated with gold.

This map closely resembles a map of the Americas from the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas Minor,* a reduced-size version of the 1606 *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas sive Cosmographicae.*[57] The cartography of the *Atlas Minor* plate follows that of an Americas plate in the earlier work (engraved

FIG. 6.5. The Americas, Hondius (after Mercator), *L'Atlas ou Meditations Cosmographiques de la Fabrique du Monde,* 1613, 37.3 × 49.4 cm, plate between pages 363 and 364, G 1007 1613 Mendel vault. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

by Jodocus Hondius), aside from a loss of some detail owing to the smaller size. The comparable details can be noted in the version of the plate contained in a 1613 French edition of the *Atlas sive Cosmographicae* (entitled *L'Atlas ou Meditations Cosmographiques*) housed in the Lilly Library (Figure 6.5). In both maps, the latitudinal and longitudinal boundaries are the same, although the projection grid in the Hondius example differs from that in the *Cihannüma* plate. The *Cihannüma* includes the addition of lines for the tropics, which do not appear on the *Atlas Minor* map. Nonetheless, the coastal outlines of both North and South America are exceptionally similar. The North American river systems noted on the *Cihannüma* map correspond closely to those of Hondius; the South American rivers are rather different. Fewer islands are shown in the Caribbean of the *Cihannüma*. Mountains are depicted running northward up the western coast of North America.

The Americas plate from the grand *L'Atlas ou Meditations Cosmographiques* in the Lilly Library is ornately embellished with a number of ships and an exotic cartouche; the *Atlas Minor* map ornamentation is more restrained, showing only two ships and two sea monsters in the oceans, with a simple title emblem. In contrast, the decoration of

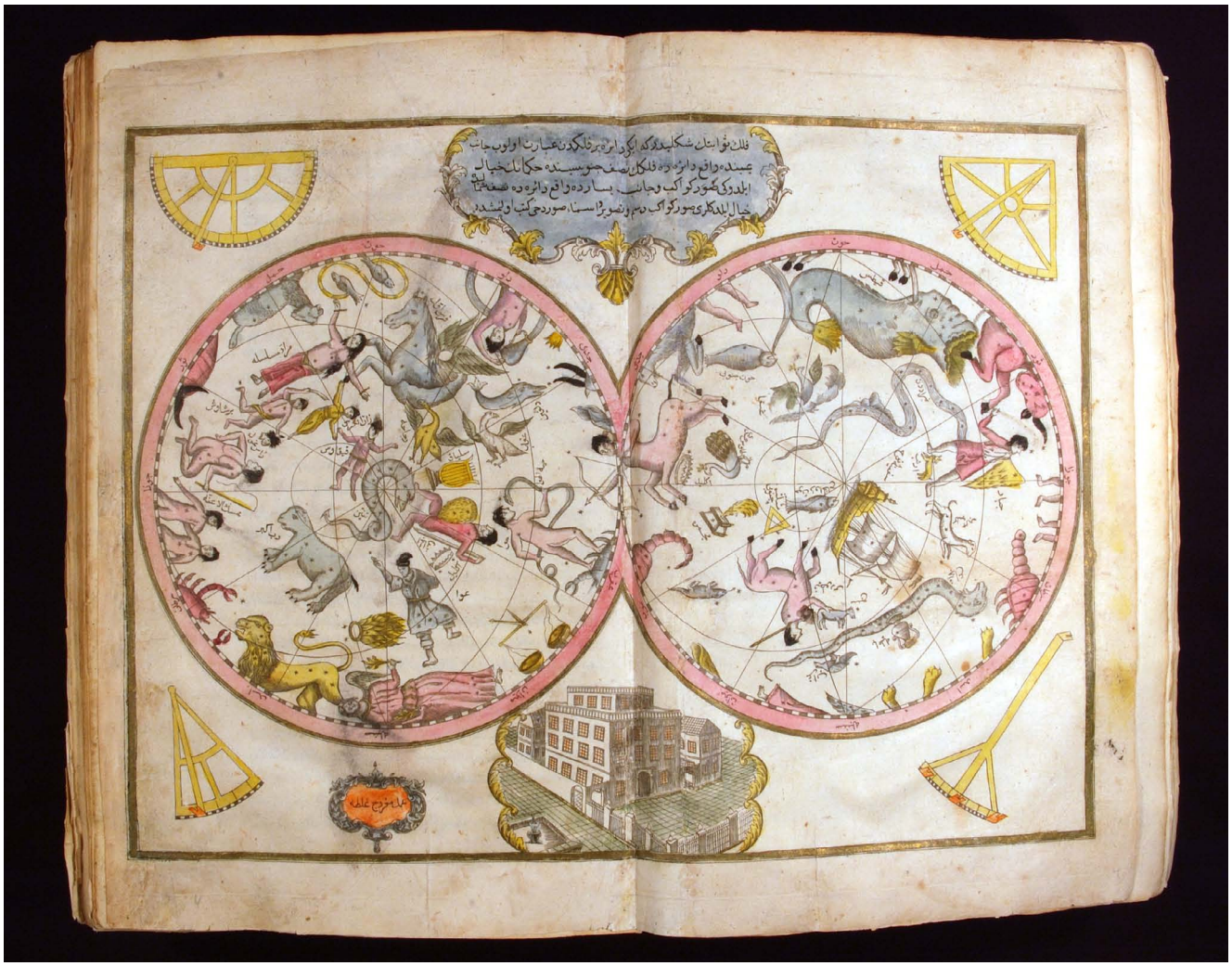


FIG. 6.6. Constellations, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 25.5 × 34.2 cm, plate 6, DR 403 .M835. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

the *Cihannüma* plate consists of colored borders painted on the coastal outlines, a blue wash on the oceans, and some gold illumination around the borders of the frame and the map's title block.

Figural imagery on maps has a long history and appears elsewhere in the *Cihannüma,* most prominently in the depictions of the constellations in the first part of the volume (Figure 6.6). Its absence in the Americas map may emphasize the map's educational, rather than solely presentational, function—a characteristic which İbrahim Müteferrika may have found attractive in his aim of making information more accessible to an audience interested in cartography.

The *Cihannüma* Americas map seems to illustrate the most fundamental knowledge about these new worlds in an efficient manner, unencumbered by unnecessary ornamentation, which is a clear deviation from the decorative program followed in any number of European exemplars. The Americas plate also contains relatively few place names, particularly on land, when compared to the Hondius maps. As more numerous legends in smaller script appear on other *Cihannüma* maps (for example, that of Anatolia, Figure 6.2), it seems unlikely that including fewer legends on the Americas plate was anything other than a

FIG. 6.7. World Map, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 21.5 × 31.2 cm, plate 14, DR 403 .M835. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

deliberate choice on the part of the publisher. This choice may again support the theory of a primarily educational function for his *Cihannüma,* in its transmission of only that cartographical knowledge considered absolutely essential for an Ottoman audience—for whom Anatolia was more essential than America.

THE WORLD MAP

The world is shown in two hemispheres on a double plate (Figure 6.7). The orientation is north. Surrounding the map are various celestial diagrams. A caption appears in a cartouche along the top of both pages. The plates have been hand-colored and illuminated with gold.

The rather restrained decorative program of this world map is similar to that of the Americas plate. Pink and yellow have been used to outline coasts, and the ocean is washed in blue.[58] Gold illumination edges the round yellow frames of the globes, as well as the borders of the celestial diagrams and the cartouches. There is no excess illustration in the form of ships, sea monsters, and the like.

California is represented as an island on this map, reflecting a widely held misconception that began to appear in maps of the early

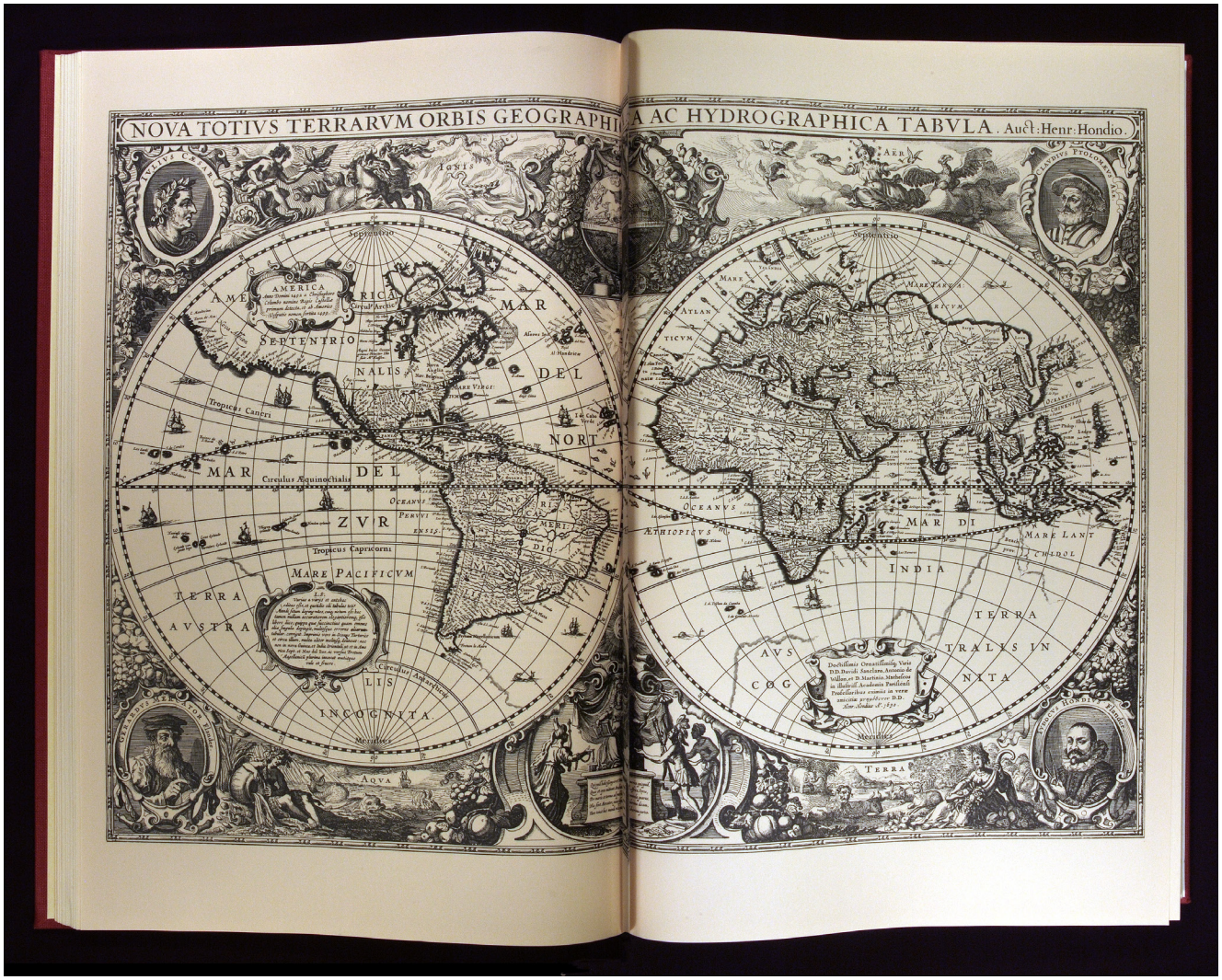


FIG. 6.8. World Map, Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius, *Atlas: or a Geographicke Description of the World in Two Volumes,* 1636 (1968 facsimile), 38.1 × 54.6 cm, vol. 1, plate between pages 39 and 40, G 1007 1968 v. 1. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

seventeenth century and extended well into the late eighteenth.[59] This representation is in contrast to the depiction of California and the western coast of North America in the *Cihannüma* Americas plate, which is characteristic of those published in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.[60] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, maps were produced with both peninsular and insular depictions of California—sometimes by the same cartographic publishers. For a single atlas to contain examples of conflicting cartography is not without precedent: for instance, an English version of the Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius *Atlas* published in England in 1636 contains representations of California as peninsular and insular in the very same work (Figures 6.8 and 6.9).[61] Maintaining the discrepancy in the 1732 *Cihannüma* may have simply reflected fidelity to one of its sources, an earlier manuscript copy of Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma,* or even the very real debate still being entertained regarding the actual shape of California. On a symbolic level, though, such a choice allows the Müteferrika *Cihannüma* to be situated squarely within the company of its cartographic predecessors: Mercator's grand atlases and Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma,* which similarly encourage their

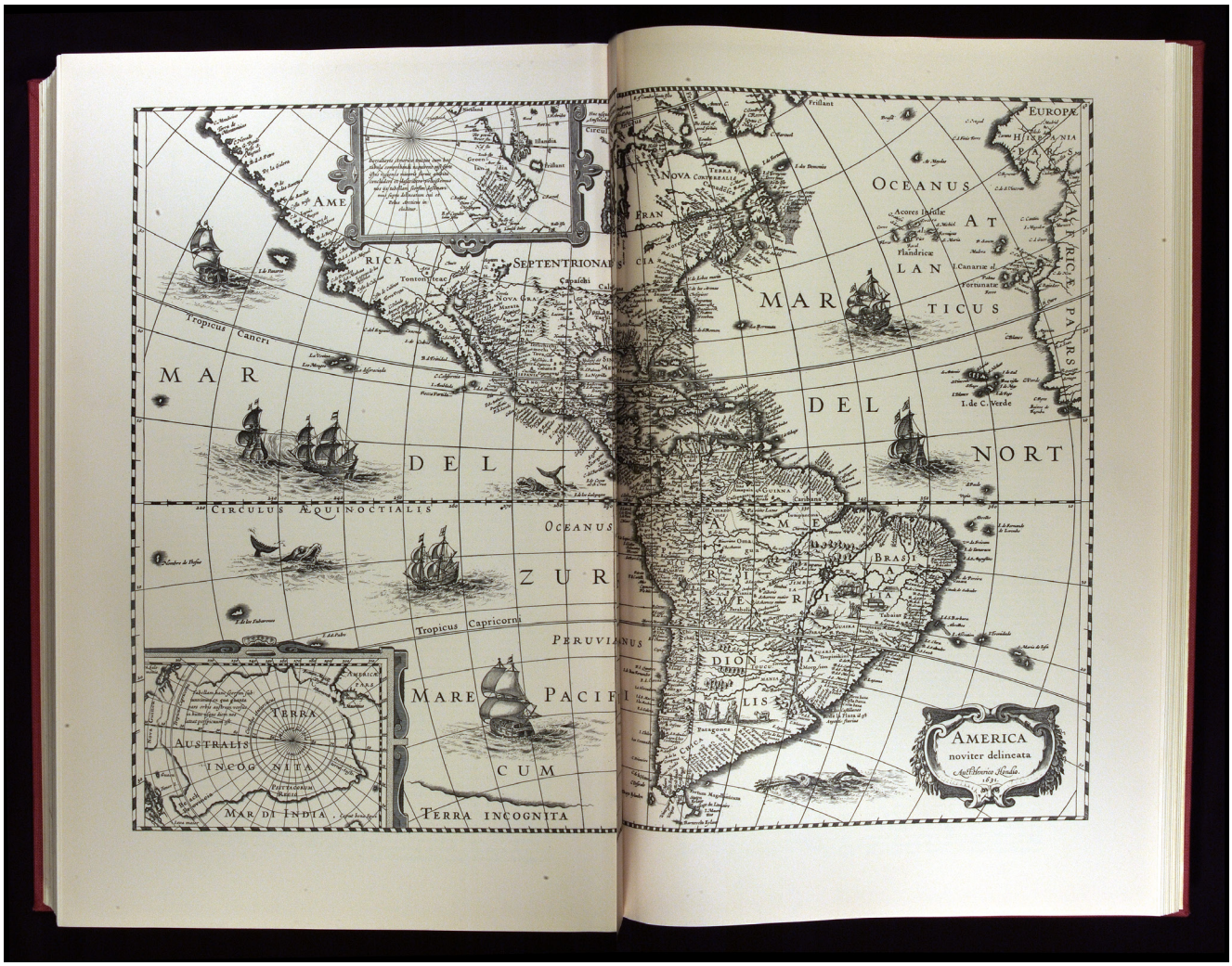


FIG. 6.9. The Americas, Mercator-Hondius-Janssonius, *Atlas: or a Geographicke Description of the World in Two Volumes,* 1636 (1968 facsimile), 37.9 × 50 cm, vol. 2, plate between pages 435 and 436, G 1007 1968 v. 2. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

readers to engage dialectically with these conflicting views, rather than passively accept a "codified" presentation of the world's form.

We see plentiful evidence of this attitude elsewhere in the Müteferrika *Cihannüma.* In the same book, we find the austere depiction of the Americas and the ornate chart of the spheres, probably drawn by İbrahim Müteferrika himself; the latter prominently features a geocentric cosmography, yet attention is devoted to heliocentric theories as well. A southern-oriented map of Anatolia—jam-packed with legends—is presented alongside a map of the Bosphorus with broad swaths of empty interior, thus looking more like a portolan chart than anything else[62] (Figure 6.10). Even the world map is offered twice (in what can most properly be described as different frames, rather than different projections), as if to ensure that the reader understands that both means of portrayal are valid.

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE MAPS

İbrahim Müteferrika likely had a range of sources accessible to him when preparing the maps for the 1732 printed *Cihannüma,* including Katib Çelebi's autograph copy of the second version of the incomplete

FIG. 6.10. The Bosphorus, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma,* 1145/1732, 24.5 × 34.4 cm, plate 40 , DR 403 .M835. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Cihannüma (Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, R. 1624).[63] In addition, a copy of a Latin *Atlas Minor,* printed in Arnheim in 1621 (i.e., a Mercator-Hondius *Atlas Minor*), appears in a list of İbrahim Müteferrika's personal possessions, although there is no indication of when he may have acquired it.[64] We also know that Katib Çelebi produced a manuscript translation of the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas Minor,* so İbrahim Müteferrika may have had the Katib Çelebi translation and its maps available as an additional source. Finally, İbrahim Müteferrika used Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's works to supplement the unfinished text of the *Cihannüma,* so presumably al-Dimashqi's maps (after Blaeu) were available to him as well.

It has been suggested that the world map included in the 1732 *Cihannüma* is based upon the double-hemisphere world maps of Nicolas Sanson, with the closest match being a 1691 Sanson-Jaillot *Atlas nouveau, contenant toutes les parties du monde,* a copy of which is located in the Military Museum Library in Istanbul.[65] Figure 6.11 provides a slightly later Sanson map from the Lilly Library's collection, offering comparable cartographic information. Although there is a resemblance

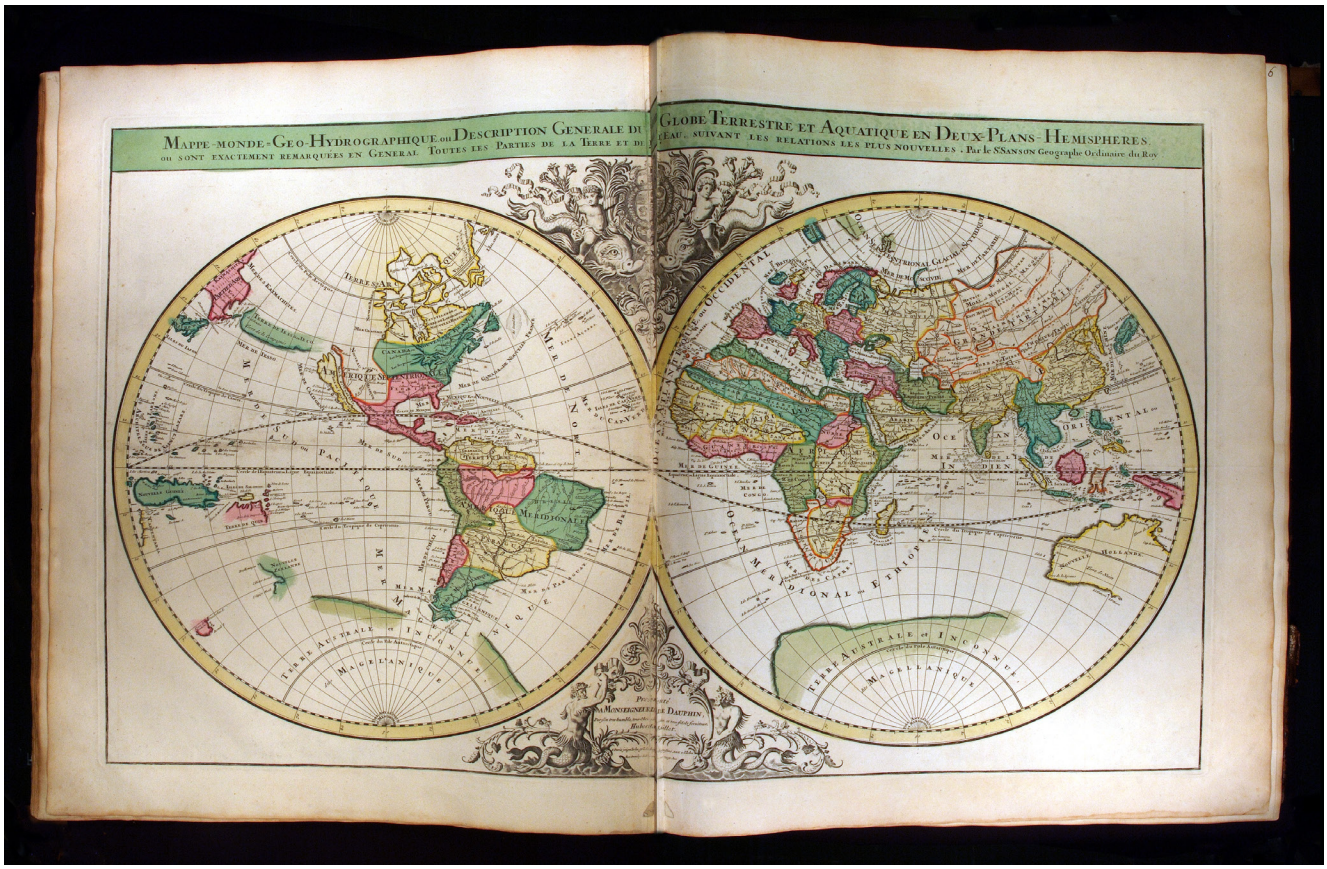


FIG. 6.11. World Map, Sanson, *Atlas nouveau, contenant toutes les parties du monde,* 1705, 53.7 × 90 cm, vol. 1, plate between pages 5 and 6, G 1015. S22 1705 vault. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

between the two maps, the world map of the *Cihannüma* is not a direct copy. A variety of details, such as the shape of the Caspian Sea, the extended eastern point of the Arabian Peninsula, and different islands scattered around the oceans, demonstrate this noticeable divergence. The most blatant difference between the two maps is certainly to be found in the shape of North America, which has a somewhat flattened appearance and what appears to be an extremely prominent St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes system. This particular element of the map is rather crudely drawn when compared to European maps from over a half-century prior, much less to contemporary maps. To suggest that this map is based on a Sanson prototype would make the representation even more curious, as Sanson maps were among the earliest to show five identifiable Great Lakes.[66]

This world map, however, is nearly congruent to the depiction of the world as included in several contemporary manuscript copies of Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma*. Sonja Brentjes discusses manuscripts of the *Cihannüma,* including Katib Çelebi's autograph copy, as well as manuscripts of Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's translation of Blaeu and subsequent abbreviations of this work.[67] Based on cartographic style and relationships between text and image, she finds evidence of at least two different workshops involved in the production of these manuscript maps. One of these workshops is associated with four separate copies of the *Cihannüma,* of which a 1729 copy may serve as a representative example

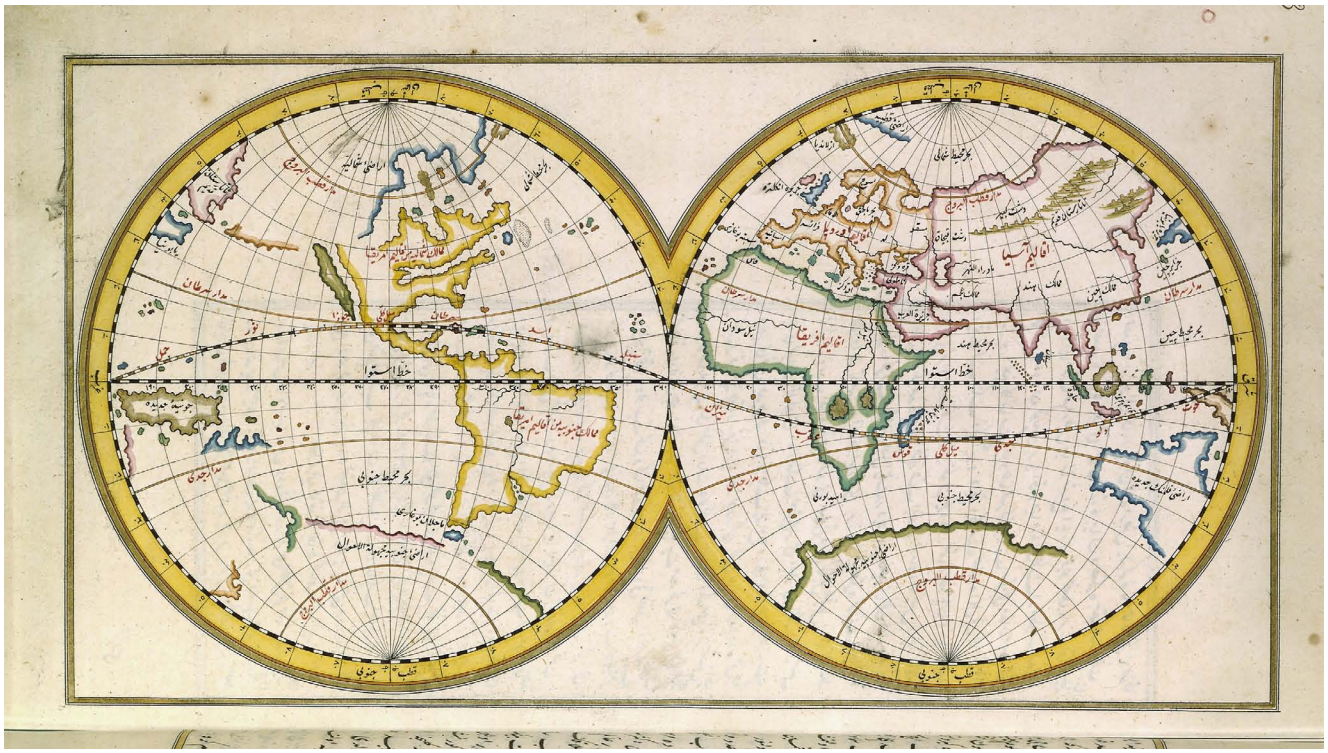


FIG. 6.12. World Map, Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma*, ca. 1729, 15.5 × 28.6 cm, Suppl. turc 215, folio 33. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

(Figure 6.12).[68] Several maps in this manuscript, including those of the Americas, Africa, Europe, and Asia, are also very similar to those of the *Cihannüma* printed by Müteferrika in 1732.

The second workshop identified by Brentjes is associated with the production of three manuscripts of Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's abbreviated version of the Blaeu *Atlas Maior.* These manuscripts' maps do not show close similarities with the maps of İbrahim Müteferrika's *Cihannüma.* As has been mentioned previously, Müteferrika was content to draw on Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's writing for portions of his edition of the *Cihannüma.* Apparently, though, the maps being produced for manuscripts of Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's work did not meet İbrahim Müteferrika's needs as well as those being used in manuscript copies of Katib Çelebi's work did. Müteferrika's marked preference for the Katib Çelebi-Mercator maps, as opposed to the al-Dimashqi-Blaeu maps, is intriguing.[69] The fine copy of al-Dimashqi's Blaeu translation contains over two hundred maps adapted from a grand, large-scale atlas, and among the many abbreviated editions of his works would have appeared dozens of maps from which Müteferrika might have chosen when identifying maps for inclusion in his edition.[70] Perhaps, echoing the earlier hypothesis regarding Piri Re'is's inclusion of the Columbus excerpt in his 1513 world map, İbrahim Müteferrika's selection of cartographic source material was ultimately influenced by a greater regard for the reputation of a particular cartographer (Mercator) or scholar and conduit (Katib Çelebi).

Another contemporary manuscript provides a further glimpse into the world of early eighteenth-century cartographers of Constantinople (Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, H. 444). It contains a southern-

oriented, double-hemisphere world map associated with a manuscript entitled *Kitab-i Cemnüma fi fenn el-coğrafya* (The Book of the Complete View of the World in the Science of Geography), written by "Kayserili Baron" in 1145/1732—the same year as the publication of the *Cihannüma* by İbrahim Müteferrika.[71] The text in which this map appears is a Turkish translation of Jacques Robbes's *La méthode pour apprendre facilement la géographie,* prepared by Bedros Baronian, the Armenian translator for the Dutch embassy in Constantinople.[72] The *Cemnüma* world map is extremely close in appearance to that included in the fine copy of Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's translation of Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* discussed above. It thus appears that the Kayserili Baron/Bedros Baronian manuscript may contain a 1732 reproduction of at least one map sourced from al-Dimashqi's adaptation of the Blaeu atlas, albeit with a different author's name attached to it. Again, we can observe here a map of likely European origin—and possibly by way of an earlier Turkish translation—that has been assigned a southern orientation by its Ottoman importers. Its appearance (or perhaps reappearance, if it is indeed a reissue of the al-Dimashqi-Blaeu world map) in manuscript form in such proximity to the publication of the printed *Cihannüma* is of interest.

In sum, it appears that around the time of the production of İbrahim Müteferrika's *Kitab Cihannüma,* at least two workshops producing manuscript maps were operating in Constantinople. They produced maps for geographical works, several manuscript editions of Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma* among these. Mercator's *Atlas Minor* may have served as a source for at least some of the Americas maps included in manuscript copies of the *Cihannüma,* and a number of these maps are highly reminiscent of those in the *Cihannüma* issued by the Müteferrika press. A world map frequently included in the manuscripts originating from this workshop is also comparable to that of the Müteferrika *Cihannüma,* especially in its similarly rough depiction of the Great Lakes/St. Lawrence River.

As Brentjes observes, there is a close relationship between these manuscript maps and those of the 1732 printed edition of Katib Çelebi's *Cihannüma*.[73] Assuming the Paris manuscript can indeed be dated to 1729, it thus appears possible that the associated *Cihannüma* manuscript workshop was the source of some form of assistance to İbrahim Müteferrika as he prepared the maps for his printed copy of 1732. However, much like the text, which was collated from a number of additional sources, these manuscript-sourced maps were combined with other maps and diagrams, some specifically created for the printed edition itself.

CARTOGRAPHIC CONTEXTS

The overall picture is of a small but active Ottoman cartographic community engaged in a multi-layered debate concerning the depiction of the world around them. Many issues were under consideration, including the appropriate technology for producing these maps and the preference for various cartographic and stylistic traditions, as well as the very shape of the world being depicted. İbrahim Müteferrika's printed

copy of the *Cihannüma* offers only one voice in this dynamic, complex, and evolving field of knowledge. Just as importantly, it provides a vivid portrait of the range of disparate traditions and sources constantly being negotiated by Ottoman cartographers active during the first few decades of the eighteenth century.

It could be argued that the only commonality shared by many of the Ottoman maps produced from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century is that they are essentially translated European works. And to be sure, Ottoman mapmakers relied extensively on imported prototypes during the period under consideration, particularly for geographical information pertaining to the frontiers encountered by western European travelers during the Age of Discovery. However, the reception and application of these sources was neither as passive nor as straightforward as such an assertion would suggest. Ottoman cartographers were visibly wrestling to reconcile this new view of the world with their own knowledge and traditions of mapmaking: from Piri Re'is piecing together twenty maps to create "a unique map such as no one has ever produced"[74] to the Anatolia map looking ever southward. The *Cihannüma* published by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1732 embraces this thriving dialectical tradition in framing the changing world.

APPENDIX 6.1

This appendix provides a complete list of the diagrams and maps included in Katib Çelebi's *Kitab Cihannüma* published by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1732 (DR 403 .M835, Lilly Library). All plates appear on unnumbered pages inserted between numbered pages of text. All plates are printed and hand-colored. When available, the name of the engraver or artist is noted.

Plate	Subject	Single/ Double Page	Location	Map Orientation	Additional Notes
Plate 1	Model of armillary sphere	Single page	Between unnumbered table of contents and p. 1	N/A	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 2	Geometric shapes and patterns of eclipses	Single page	Between pp. 7 and 8	N/A	
Plate 3	The sun, moon, and earth	Single page	Between pp. 19 and 20	N/A	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 4	Geocentric diagram of the heavenly spheres, including orbits of the planets and patterns of the ecliptic and tropics	Double page	Between pp. 21 and 22	N/A	
Plate 5	Enlargement of the heavenly spheres in Plate 4; "according to the theory of Ptolemy"	Double page	Between pp. 25 and 26	N/A	"By the hand of the humble İbrahim the geographer from among the stewards to the Exalted Throne," Constantinople, 1142 AH (1729–1730)
Plate 6	Constellations	Double page	Between pp. 27 and 28	N/A	Mıgırdıç Galatavi
Plate 7	Orbital charts	Single page	Between pp. 33 and 34	N/A	Ahmed Kırımi

Plate	Subject	Single/ Double Page	Location	Map Orientation	Additional Notes
Plate 8	Orbital theories, including those according to Tycho Brahe and Copernicus	Single page	Between pp. 47 and 48	N/A	
Plate 9	Climes	Single page	Between pp. 49 and 50	N/A	
Plate 10	Chart and diagrams of the climes	Double page	Between pp. 51 and 52	N/A	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 11	Table of the climes	Single page	Between pp. 57 and 58	N/A	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 12	A collection of circular diagrams showing cardinal directions and the names of the winds in various languages, including Arabic and roughly transliterated European languages	Single page	Between pp. 59 and 60	N/A	Mıgırdıç Galatavi
Plate 13	Diagram of two magnetic compasses, one each of inclination and declination	Single page	Between pp. 65 and 66	N/A	
Plate 14	Double-hemisphere world map	Double page	Between pp. 71 and 72	N	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 15	Black Sea and Mediterranean	Double page	Between pp. 75 and 76	N	
Plate 16	Adriatic Sea	Double page	Between pp. 75 and 76	N	
Plate 17	Aegean Sea	Double page	Between pp. 75 and 76	N	
Plate 18	World map on oval projection grid	Double page	Between pp. 95 and 96	N	
Plate 19	Europe	Single page	Between pp. 99 and 100	N	
Plate 20	Africa and the Arabian Peninsula	Single page	Between pp. 101 and 102	N	
Plate 21	Asia	Single page	Between pp. 103 and 104	N	
Plate 22	Americas	Single page	Between pp. 113 and 114	N	
Plate 23	Polar regions	Single page	Between pp. 119 and 120	N/A	
Plate 24	Japan	Single page	Between pp. 125 and 126	N	
Plate 25	Guinea	Single page	Between pp. 129 and 130	N	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 26	Indian Ocean	Single page	Between pp. 131 and 132	N	
Plate 27	Malay archipelago	Double page	Between pp. 133 and 134	N	Mıgırdıç Galatavi
Plate 28	Moluccas	Single page	Between pp. 135 and 136	N	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 29	Sumatra, Singapore, Java	Single page	Between pp. 143 and 144	N	
Plate 30	Borneo and surrounding islands	Single page	Between pp. 145 and 146	N	
Plate 31	Coast of China	Single page	Between pp. 152 and 153	N	
Plate 32	Labeled Dasht-i Kabir (Great desert of Iran), but shows portions of China, including a depiction of the Great Wall	Single page	Between pp. 165 and 166	N	Mıgırdıç Galatavi
Plate 33	North Indian subcontinent	Double page	Between pp. 193 and 194	N	Mıgırdıç Galatavi
Plate 34	Iran	Double page	Between pp. 289 and 290	N	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 35	Transoxiana	Double page	Between pp. 347 and 348	N	Mıgırdıç Galatavi
Plate 36	Northwestern Iran	Single page	Between pp. 389 and 390	E	
Plate 37	Caucasus	Double page	Between pp. 431 and 432	N	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 38	Arabian Peninsula	Double page	Between pp. 487 and 488	N	Ahmed Kırımi
Plate 39	Anatolia	Double page	Between pp. 629 and 630	S	Mıgırdıç Galatavi; "Tophaneli İbrahim drew it"
Plate 40	The Bosphorus	Double page	Between pp. 671 and 672	W	

1. William J. Watson, "İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88/3 (July–September 1968): 439–440.

2. For further information on İbrahim Müteferrika and his life, see Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726–1746)* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006). On İbrahim Müteferrika's interest in cartography and his remarks on the importance of geographical knowledge for the Ottoman Empire, see Niyazi Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 42–47. For a discussion of the Müteferrika press, see the chapter by Yasemin Gencer in this volume.

3. Günay Alpay Kut, "Matbaʿa. 2. In Turkey," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. (hereafter E.I.[2]), vol. 6, 800, provides the following dates: Marmara map, 1132/1719–1720; Black Sea map, 1137/1724–1725; Iran map, 1142/1729–1730. These maps' ornamental style appears to be similar to that of the *Cihannüma* maps, although they are larger in size and appear to contain significantly more cartographic detail. For images, see Ulla Ehrensvärd, "Two Maps Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1724/5 and 1729/30," *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul Meddelanden* 15 (1990): 46–66.

4. Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 211: "This book contained forty tables and maps, two of them (Azerbaijan and Anatolia) by Abu Bakr [al-Dimashqi], and one (the Bosphorus) [Figure 6.10] probably by İbrahim himself. The other maps were copies, chiefly from Hondius." No further supporting evidence is offered, and I remain uncertain of the basis of the assertion that the Bosphorus map was drafted by İbrahim.

5. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 2, book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies,* ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 209–215. Karamustafa discusses a number of surviving maps that indicate that cartography was undertaken in support of Ottoman military activities as early as the late fifteenth century; these maps generally concentrate on individual military targets, such as towns or fortresses, rather than on larger-scale regional or world views. Various individuals in the court also had a particular interest in maps and an awareness of their value: for example, Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1446–1448, 1451–1481) has been cited as one patron who actively sought out Italian maps in particular, and served as a patron of geographical research. See Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 98–103; Franz Babinger, "An Italian Map of the Balkans, Presumably Owned by Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1452–53)," *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951): 8–15; Andrew C. Hess, "The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453–1525," *American Historical Review* 75/7 (December 1970): 1902–1903; and Benjamin Arbel, "Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions Concerning 'The "Mappamondo" of Hajji Ahmed'," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002): 21–24.

6. Katib Çelebi, *Kitab Cihannüma* (Constantinople: İbrahim Müteferrika, 1145/1732), 31.3 × 20 × 6.5 cm, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, DR 403 .M835.

7. Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 10–11.

8. For an extensive discussion of the theories regarding the origins and development of portolan charts, see Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 1, *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean,* ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 380–390. The technical features described here (the rhumb line systems and wind roses) continued to characterize portolan charts through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Corradino Astengo, "The Renaissance Chart Tradition in the Mediterranean," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 3, part 1, *Cartography in the European Renaissance,* ed. David Woodward [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007], 191). Despite heated debate about the origin of these charts and much focus on their various centers of production, it has been suggested that the portolan genre can be considered an indigenous Mediterranean product, "not unique to any one culture or area but [which] emerged as a result of the diverse range of transactions which took place between these cultures" (Brotton, *Trading Territories,* 106–107).

9. Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," 376–377.

10. On possible navigational practices, see ibid., 441–444; regarding the paucity of surviving examples of charts used for navigation, see ibid., 436–438.

11. Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus,* 30, 84.

12. Ibid., 26, 30.

13. The 1528 fragment, though smaller and of more sober ornamentation, also depicts newly explored territories, including Florida and the coasts of Newfoundland and Greenland. It is intriguing that the only remaining portions of Piri Re'is's world maps, both of which are housed in the Topkapı Palace Library, preserve information about the New World. Both portions also include captions

NOTES

I am indebted to Christiane Gruber, for her support and enthusiasm, and to Sonja Brentjes and Gottfried Hagen, whose expertise and insightful comments on earlier drafts benefited this chapter profoundly. Any errors that remain are my own.

identifying Piri Re'is as the cartographer. No details are known about the map fragments' life between their production and "rediscovery" in the 20th century.

14. Gregory C. McIntosh, *The Piri Reis Map of 1513* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 15–18.

15. In a detailed analysis of the 1513 map, McIntosh demonstrates the manner in which Piri Re'is must have pieced together at least two separate maps for his depiction of the Caribbean (ibid., 77, 111–112, 133–135). Hispaniola is rotated ninety degrees, as it might have appeared on an "official" map that Columbus would have designed to support his belief that he had reached Japan, or on a map by the hand of another cartographer intended to illustrate the explorer's theories (ibid., 88–94).

16. Ibid., 113; for translations of the legends regarding Columbus, see Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus,* 54–60.

17. The isolario genre was closely associated with the portolan; the term refers to "manuscript or printed atlases that—regardless of title, format, or structure, and of whether a work contained text—consist of maps, mostly of islands but also of coastal areas of the mainland, arranged in the form of a thematic encyclopedia" (George Tolias, "*Isolarii,* Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 3, part 1, *Cartography in the European Renaissance,* ed. David Woodward [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007], 264). For a more thorough discussion of the *Kitab-i bahriyye,* see Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus.*

18. Tolias, *"Isolarii,"* 269–270.

19. Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus,* 91.

20. The city views included in certain later presentation manuscripts of the *Kitab-i Bahriyye* preceded the development of topographical illustration in other Ottoman texts, including various imperial chronicles compiled from the mid-16th century onward (J. M. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 2, Book 1: *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies,* ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 228–255). A direct connection between the works of Piri Re'is and these later illustrations, though, is characterized by Rogers as "at best tenuous" (ibid., 234). Both strands of topographical illustration display a willingness to utilize and adapt European source materials and their conventions.

21. Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus,* 91.

22. Ibid., 90.

23. Sonja Brentjes, personal communication, April 2008.

24. For a detailed treatment of each atlas, see Thomas D. Goodrich, "The Earliest Ottoman Maritime Atlas—The Walters *Deniz Atlası,"* *Archivum Ottomanicum* 11 (1986): 25–50; Svat Soucek, "The 'Ali Macar Reis Atlas' and the *Deniz Kitabi:* Their Place in the Genre of Portolan Charts and Atlases," *Imago Mundi* 25 (1971): 17–27; and Thomas D. Goodrich, "*Atlas-i Hümayun:* A Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Maritime Atlas Discovered in 1984," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985): 83–100. A summary of each is presented in Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 263–292.

25. This is in contrast to a contemporary European prototype—the small atlases associated with the Agnese school—in which the maps begin with the far oceans and progress toward and through Europe, ending at the Black Sea/Sea of Marmara, and usually concluding with a world map (Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 281).

26. Goodrich, "The Earliest Ottoman Maritime Atlas," 30–31. Renaissance portolan charts can be described as having been drawn in Italian and Catalan styles, although in actuality practitioners of both styles worked in both regions. The Italian style is characterized by austerity and a concentration on communicating the most necessary of navigational details. The Catalan style is more exuberant in decoration, extending embellishment—such as topographical details, flags identifying local rulers, and textual notes and commentary—within interiors of landmasses, thus expanding outward from the traditional coastal focus of the portolan (Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," 392–394).

27. Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 280; Goodrich, "*Atlas-i Hümayun,*" 89; and Goodrich, "The Earliest Ottoman Maritime Atlas," 28.

28. Throughout this chapter, I use Istanbul's Ottoman name, Constantinople (Kostantiniyye), except in reference to manuscripts belonging to collections located in today's modern city.

29. Soucek, "The 'Ali Macar Reis Atlas' and the *Deniz Kitabi,*" 19.

30. Goodrich, "*Atlas-i Hümayun,*" 91; Goodrich, "The Earliest Ottoman Maritime Atlas," 28; Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 282; and Thomas D. Goodrich, "Old Maps in the Library of Topkapi Palace in Istanbul," *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993): 126. Goodrich suggests that Ottoman mapmakers of this period preferred to copy manuscript maps over printed variants, implying that perhaps a manuscript copy of the Gastaldi map provided the Ottoman source material, but evidence supporting such an assertion is not provided (Goodrich, "*Atlas-i Hümayun,*" 91).

31. An image of the *'Ali Macar Re'is* world map has been published with a northern orientation in E. H. van de Waal, "Manuscript Maps in the Topkapi Saray Library, Istanbul," *Imago Mundi* 23 (1969): 91; and Soucek,

"Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 282. The orientation of the map, if there is one, is not confirmed in either publication.

32. Goodrich, "The Earliest Ottoman Maritime Atlas," 36. It should be noted that the early dating of the atlas is conjectural and based upon the use of this "older" world map.

33. Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Introduction to Islamic Maps," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 2, book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies,* ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 5. Karamustafa considers it productive to view "the relationship between text and image as a spectrum that extends from subservience of the image to the text at one end to its independence from textual control at the other."

34. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography* (Amman: AL al-Bayt University, 1995), xxiii–xxxv.

35. S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Kharita," E.I.^{2}, vol. 4, 1078–1079; and S. Maqbul Ahmad and F. Taeschner, "Djughrafiya," E.I.^{2}, vol. 2, 581. Mecca's placement near the center of these world maps is not by design; in contrast, the city is purposefully assigned the central location on charts specifically created for determining the direction of the *qibla.* For a brief overview of these *qibla* charts, see David A. King and Richard P. Lorch, "Qibla Charts, Qibla Maps, and Related Instruments," in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 2, book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies,* ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 189–205. An extended treatment is provided in David A. King, *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca: Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). For a more detailed overview of Balkhi school practice, as well as other traditions of Islamic cartography—including the significant influence of Ptolemy, which is left unaddressed in this chapter—I refer the reader to Ahmad, "Kharita," ; Ahmad and Taeschner, "Djughrafiya"; and the section "Early Geographical Mapping" in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 2, book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies,* ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 90–205.

36. Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," 221.

37. A world map made in 1595 reconciles certain traditional Islamic mapmaking conventions—using a southern orientation, roughly centered on Mecca, and divided into climes—with new knowledge provided by the European voyages of exploration, including hints of the New World and a known outline of Africa, rather than a vague mass representing terra incognita. (For the world map in question, see ibid., 221.)

38. Van de Waal, "Manuscript Maps in the Topkapi Saray Library, Istanbul," 84.

39. G. J. Halasi-Kun, "The Map of *Şekl-i Yeni Felemenk Maa Ingiliz* in Ebubekir Dimişkî's *Tercüme-i Atlas Mayor,*" *Archivum Ottomanicum* 11 (1986): 52–53.

40. Goodrich, "Old Maps in the Library of Topkapi Palace in Istanbul," 125; and Sonja Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750: A Domain of Painters, Calligraphers or Cartographers?" in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West,* ed. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki, and Rhoads Murphy (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 126. Henceforth, Topkapı Palace Library is referred to as "TSK" (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi).

41. Ehrensvärd, "Two Maps Printed by İbrahim Müteferrika," 56.

42. A portion of the world map from this manuscript (TSK B. 325) is reproduced in Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750," 133.

43. Halasi-Kun, "The Map of *Şekl-i Yeni Felemenk Maa Ingiliz,*" 54.

44. Ibid., 61. The author observes that the coastal regions appear to be drawn more accurately than inland areas, and that the scales of the coastal and inland portions of the map are not the same.

45. Gottfried Hagen, "Katib Çelebi." *Historians of the Ottoman Empire* (http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/html/katibcelebi_en.html, accessed August 21, 2007).

46. G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth by Katib Chelebi: Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1957), 140–141.

47. Hagen, "Katib Çelebi."

48. Ibid.; and Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century," in *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi,* ed. Robert Dankoff (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 229.

49. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth by Katib Chelebi,* 11.

50. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Katib Çelebi," E.I.^{2}, vol. 4, 761.

51. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth by Katib Chelebi,* 144.

52. Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 200; Goodrich, "Old Maps in the Library of Topkapi Palace in Istanbul," 132; and Hagen, "Katib Çelebi."

53. Ahmad and Taeschner, "Djughrafiya," 589; Şaik Gökyay, "Katib Çelebi," 761; and Watson, "İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula," 439–440. For additional sources that Katib Çelebi drew upon to shape his second version, see Hagen, "Katib Çelebi."

54. Sonja Brentjes (personal communication, April 2008) observes that maps from particular regions were favored by the Ottomans

at different times, particularly those from Venice in the 16th century and Dutch maps in the 17th century.

55. Ahmad and Taeschner, "Djughrafiya," 589; and Hagen, "Afterword," 231 n. 51.

56. As the cartographical information on both the oval and double-hemisphere world maps is essentially the same, only the double-hemisphere map will be discussed here. These world maps were also used in two other works from the Müteferrika press, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l-Bihar* (The Gift of the Elders to Naval Campaigns), published in 1141/1729, and the *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi* (The History of the West Indies) of 1142/1730 (Watson, "İbrahim Müteferrika and Turkish Incunabula," 437). Differences in toponymy between the *Cihannüma* maps and relevant European examples will not be addressed due to space constraints.

57. Philip D. Burden, *The Mapping of North America* (Rickmansworth, England: Raleigh Publications, 1996), 187. The image published in Burden is from the 1607 edition of the *Atlas Minor* published in Amsterdam.

58. A comment on coloring schemes for maps is included in the introduction to the printed *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l-Bihar:* "The yellow represents the continent, the little red spots are islands, and the white shows the water" (James Mitchell, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks, Translated from the Turkish of Haji Khalifeh* [London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1831], 4). İbrahim Müteferrika supplied several introductions to his printed works (on the subject, see Yasemin Gencer's chapter in this volume), but portions of this particular introduction suggest the voice of Katib Çelebi rather than İbrahim Müteferrika, as in the expressions, "to the time of the writing of this book, which is 1067 (1656)" (Mitchell, *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks,* 9), and "all its towns and forts are marked in my translation of the *Atlas Minor*" (ibid., 8). This coloring scheme does not appear to have been followed in the printed edition of the *Tuhfetü'l-Kibar fi Esfari'l-Bihar* held in the Lilly Library, nor is it consistently applied in the printed *Cihannüma,* suggesting that these may also be the words of Katib Çelebi rather than İbrahim Müteferrika.

59. Seymour Schwartz, *The Mismapping of America* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 145–146 and 152–153. Dora Beale Polk's *The Island of California: A History of the Myth* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) provides a detailed analysis of the development of this legend, which can be traced to the first Spanish voyages to Baja California in the 1530s. Cartographic uncertainty combined with romanticism and political expediency continued to nurture the myth. It was legally less problematic among the European powers for explorers to lay claim to an island rather than to a portion of a continent (ibid., 108–109). Polk also points out that the name "California" predates the actual discovery of the land. It appears in a Spanish romance and refers to a mythic land entirely populated by *mujeres negras,* presided over by Queen Calafia—as some have remarked, possibly an allusion to a female caliph (ibid., 124–132).

60. Schwartz, *The Mismapping of America,* 143.

61. Such discrepancies occur elsewhere in Ottoman geographical literature. A number of examples of manuscript copies of the *Tarihü'l-Hindi'l-Garbi* from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries collate maps containing different cartographical information and conventions in the same book. A particularly fine example of this is found in a manuscript dated ca. 1600 in the Newberry Library. A rectangular world map (apparently following a derivative of Gastaldi, although a different version from that described in the above discussion of Ottoman portolan atlases) appears alongside a double-hemispherical world map. All are oriented south and show different North American outlines. See Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 43 and 46–47.

62. These two maps raise interesting questions about cartographic sources. They are the last two maps in the *Cihannüma,* contained in the portion of the text in which Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi's writings were used to supplement the unfinished work of Katib Çelebi. These two maps do not appear to have Mercator as a primary source. Whether they were prepared by İbrahim Müteferrika for the volume or sourced from somewhere else is unclear, although see above, n. 4, for reference to remarks ascribing these maps to Ortelius, Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi, and İbrahim Müteferrika. Having not been able to identify an obvious source for either of these maps, the most that I can observe here is that these two maps are notably set apart from the rest of İbrahim Müteferrika's *Cihannüma* maps.
The portolanesque appearance of the Bosphorus map stands in noticeable contrast to most of the other regional maps of the volume, which are generally covered with legends and topographic markings. Early 18th-century Ottoman cartographers surely maintained some level of familiarity with the portolan aesthetic, as at least two copies of the *Kitab-i bahriyye* exist that were copied around 1720 (Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 290). I wonder if an old portolan map provided the basis for the *Cihannüma* Bosphorus map, or if a new map may have been drafted consciously drawing upon these conventions.
The Anatolia map is the only map in the printed *Cihannüma* with a southern orientation. This does not lend itself to statements about a source for the cartographic information, as plenty of European maps seem to have been imported and assigned southern orientations in other Ottoman works, and European maps within the atlases that may have served

as influential source material could themselves have been oriented in any way—see, e.g., the Blaeu map described in Halasi-Kun, "The Map of *Şekl-i Yeni Felemenk Maa Ingiliz.*" However, within the internal context of the *Cihannüma,* it does seem to provide a special distinction for the Ottoman homeland, and one drawn from the traditions of Islamic cartography at that.

63. Hagen, "Katib Çelebi." For a further discussion of Katib Çelebi's autograph manuscript of the *Cihannüma,* see Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750," 126–132.

64. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni,* 125, 349–350. I am grateful to Yasemin Gencer for drawing my attention to this source and providing a translation. In addition, İbrahim Müteferrika is known to have obtained several books from Katib Çelebi's personal library following the latter's death—as did Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi (Hagen, "Katib Çelebi"). One wonders whether Müteferrika's acquisitions included a copy of the *Atlas Minor* that Katib Çelebi had translated in the previous century.

65. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World,* 55.

66. Burden, *The Mapping of North America,* 375.

67. An unfinished double-hemisphere world map included in Katib Çelebi's autograph *Cihannüma* (TSK R. 1624) is also published in Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750," 130. It is not the same map used in either the İbrahim Müteferrika press *Cihannüma* or the *Cihannüma* manuscripts discussed by Brentjes. Several other maps in this autograph copy were left unfinished as well (ibid., 129).

68. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Suppl. Turc 215, cited in Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750," 140.

69. I thank Gottfried Hagen for raising this point.

70. On the maps included in the fine copy (TSK B. 325–333), see Goodrich, "Old Maps in the Library of Topkapi Palace in Istanbul," 125. Regarding some abbreviated versions of al-Dimashqi's translation (TSK R. 1634, 1635, and 1636), see ibid., 132, and Van de Waal, "Manuscript Maps in the Topkapi Saray Library, Istanbul," 84–85.

71. Goodrich, "Old Maps in the Library of Topkapi Palace in Istanbul," 126.

72. Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans* (Paris: G. -P. Maisonneuve, 1939), 136.

73. Brentjes, "Mapmaking in Ottoman Istanbul between 1650 and 1750," 140.

74. Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus,* 50.

بزد چست و شد نیزه او قلم چون نیزه بیلسم شکست دست

به تیغ کرده بهر دو پهلوانان روبرو شد با هر دو کرد تیغ حواله کرد چنانچه

هر دو را عاجز ساخت چون رستم دید که هر دو پهلوان را زبون و پریشان

کرد در دل خود گفت که اینطور کردی دلاور از ترکان برنخاسته

رخش را جهانبین بنزد بیلسم آمد و فریاد کرد که تو رستم را طلب کرده بودی

اکنون رستم آمد و شرط مردی نیست که تنها با تو جنگ نمایم این کسان را بزن

بیلسم گفت که مدد بخواه رستم گفت تا حال از کسی مدد نخواسته ام خدایا

این هر دو تن را کفت بجای خود برگشته رو دید پس بیلسم هشیدستی نموده تیغ بر سر رستم زد

و تیغ او بشکست بیت بزد بیلسم تیغ بر خود او

شکسته شد آن تیغ برخاتن جو از ضرب تیغ او سر رستم بدرد آمد

The Lilly *Shamshir Khani* in a Franco-Sikh Context: A Non-Islamic "Islamic" Manuscript

7

BRITTANY PAYEUR

The *Shahnama* (Book of Kings) has long been one of the staples of Persian civilization. Written by Abu'l-Qasim Hasan Firdawsi (935–1020 CE) in the tenth century, the work recounts the stories of Persian heroes and kings, beginning with Kayumars, believed to have established his rule at the dawn of time, and ending with the Arab conquests in the seventh century. Consisting of about fifty thousand verses, the *Shahnama* includes the tales of the Persian heroes Rustam (Figure 7.1) and Isfandiyar as well as historical events, such as the arrival of Alexander the Great (356–323) in Persia. Written at a time when the Arab-Muslim invasion had reached Iran and almost obliterated both Persian national identity and the Persian language, the *Shahnama,* composed entirely in Persian, was intended to revive both the language and the population's national pride. Interestingly, this cornerstone of Persian, non-Islamic pride was used during subsequent centuries to validate the rulership of various Islamic dynasties throughout the vast areas of the Islamic world.

Frequently, the ruling elites of new dynasties in Persian-speaking lands commissioned spectacular copies of the *Shahnama* in order to insert themselves both literally and figuratively into Persian history and consequently into the "royal" line, thereby validating their sovereignty. For example, the Ilkhanids (1258–1336), a powerful Mongol warrior state whose dynasts ultimately embraced Islam, produced several lavish *Shahnama*s throughout their reign; the volumes include many battle illustrations that bear contemporary overtones.[1] The Mongols' Timurid successors (ca. 1370–1500) also produced many spectacular *Shahnama*s, including the famous luxury manuscript copied for Prince Baysunghur (1397–1434) in 1430.[2] Finally, in the sixteenth century, the so-called Houghton *Shahnama* was produced for Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576). A spectacular book that took many years to produce (ca. 1522–1535), Shah Tahmasp's *Shahnama* was given by Tahmasp to Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574), ruler of the Ottoman Empire, in 1568. Tahmasp's gift highlights the use of manuscripts, including the famed *Shahnama* text, as political gifts.[3] As this chapter aims to demonstrate, even abridged *Shahnama*s produced by non-Islamic dynasties may have fulfilled similar functions.

The Lilly Library at Indiana University is fortunate to have in its possession an abridged text of Firdawsi's *Shahnama,* known as a *Shamshir Khani.* The abridgement is named after Shamshir Khan Tarin, the governor of Ghaznayn,[4] who originally commissioned its composition. In his introduction to the text, the author of the abridgement[5] states that he was asked in the year 1063/1652, the twenty-sixth year of the reign of

FIG. 7.1. Rustam fights Pilasm, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 117r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658), by Shamshir Khan to write the abridgement. The reason for the abridgement, he notes, was that while Firdawsi's *Shahnama* was the best history of Iran available, its purpose was essentially to glorify poetry and, consequently, the work was too lengthy. Furthermore, because the meaning or moral of each tale becomes clear only at the end, listeners, booklovers, and especially members of government tended to get bored and to relinquish reading.[6] The abridgement therefore uses prose to relieve some of the poetic wordiness and tedium, forcing the tales to be briefer and come to the point more quickly, while still retaining the original expressive quality of the narratives themselves.

The Lilly abridgement is bound in a beautifully tooled and decorated leather cover (Figure 7.2) and consists of 271 folios and 70 illustrations.[7] The text begins with an elegantly illuminated frontispiece, consisting of a rectangular chapter heading decorated with a large gold and blue floral rosette with red highlights and a predominantly gold and blue floral border (Figure 7.3).[8] None of the paintings are in a full-page format, the majority being less than half the size of the text blocks (10.5 × 20.5 cm). All illustrations are contained within the text frames, usually with text both above and below each illustration. There are seven instances of paintings facing each other on sequential folios, sometimes illustrating a sequence of events in a particular story (Figure 7.4). Pastel colors dominate, although some patches of dark blue appear in the characters' clothing and a distinctive ruddy orange, often patterned with gold, is used for clothing and tent fabric. The backgrounds are characterized by a very high horizon, marked by a tall, rounded hilltop and a sky typically painted in gold. The hills are almost always painted in pastel colors as well as in shades of pink, blue, and yellow.

Figures are quite stiff and rigid, many with poses that are repeated as if drawn from a restricted selection of figural templates. Architectural details, likewise, are limited mostly to tent compounds and a few structures—often, only the outer walls of buildings or walls with windows are depicted. As in the case of figural depiction, architectural details reveal very little attempt at three-dimensionality. Finally, almost 70 percent of the illustrations in the manuscript depict battles or great feats of heroism—such as a valiant protagonist killing a mythical beast (Figure 7.5)—while the remaining 30 percent represent great moments in history (such as Suhrab's birth) or diplomatic visits.

The Lilly *Shamshir Khani*'s colophon, or signature panel, reads: "The Book of *Shamshir Khani,* which is an abridgement of the *Shahnama,* is completed by the grace of God the Glorious. It was written in the capital (*dar al-sultanat*) of Lahore in the morning (*chasht*) of the month of Rabiʿ II. Thanks be to God" (Figure 7.6). Although the colophon does not record a specific day or year, the reference to Lahore as a capital significantly narrows the manuscript's possible dates of production, as Lahore served as a capital only twice: once from 1584 to 1598 during Akbar's reign (r. 1556–1605),[9] and again during the rule of the Sikh dynasty (1799–1850).[10] Upon a close iconographic examination as well as

FIG. 7.2. Leather cover, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama.* The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 7.3. Double-page opening, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folios 2v–3r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

an analysis of codicological details—including some of those mentioned above—we can date this manuscript to the reign of the Sikh dynasty in the Indian subcontinent.

The manuscript's date of production is borne out by a dedication written in French and located on the manuscript's first folio (Figure 7.7). This note, identifying both the donor and the recipient, helps to place the manuscript's production around 1835. It reads:

> Ce manuscrit a été donné au Lieutenant Général, Comte de Rumigny, aide de camp du Roi Louis Philippe Premier, par le Général Ventura, compagnon du Général Alard, tous deux au service du Roi de Lahore Runget-Sing [Ranjit Singh], mort en 1840.

FIG. 7.4. Rustam kills his brother Shaqad, and Rustam and Rakhsh and Shaqad all die, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folios 239v–240r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Le Général Alard est mort en 1839 après être venu à Paris en 1837. Le Gnl est mort, dit on, empoisonné. Le général Ventura est venu à Paris en 1839; il est retourné à Lahore dans la même année.

Paris, le 4 avril 1841. Lt. Gnl. de Rumigny.[11]

Many *Shahnama*s were given as gifts, often from one member of a royal family to another, to commemorate a special occasion, or from one Muslim ruler to another. In addition to familial gifts, exchanges were often made with political partners, as well as potential allies. Often, the conveyed ideas and symbolic gestures associated with such presentations were more important than the actual gifts exchanged. This manuscript is unusual because, as will be demonstrated, it must have been commissioned purposefully as an official Sikh gift to a French diplomat active in Lahore. However, while foreign exchanges were known, most often it was Christian foreigners who were imitated by Muslim rulers, not vice versa.[12]

FIG. 7.5. (*near right*) Isfandiyar slaughters the Simurgh by hiding in chests, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 210r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 7.6. (*opposite*) Colophon, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 271v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

خدایا توی داور دستگیر | به بخشای تقصیر این مرد پیر
دلم سیر شد زین سرای سپنج | خدایا مرا زود برهان ز رنج

تمام شد کتاب شمشیر خانی که مختصر شاهنامه است بعون الملک الوهاب
در دار السلطنت لاهور بوقت چاشت در ماه ربیع الثانی نوشته شد

بحمد الله

Ce manuscrit a été donné au Lieutenant Général, comte de Rumigny, aide de camp du Roi Louis Philippe Premier, par le Général Ventura, compagnon du Général Allard, tous deux au service du Roi de Lahore Runjeet-Sing mort en 1840.

Le général Allard est mort en 1839 après être venu à Paris en 1837. Le g^al est mort, dit-on, empoisonné.

Le Général Ventura est venu à Paris en 1839; il est retourné à Lahore dans la même année.

Paris le 4 avril 1861.

L^t g^al de Rumigny

In this particular case, the manuscript draws upon previous Islamo-Indian paintings to assert the Sikh right to rule. Historical and codicological details and facts confirm that this manuscript was created in a Sikh "revivalist" style, meant to evoke not only the grandeur of the Indian past but also to celebrate political legitimacy. In addition, the volume was prepared for a French member of the Sikh court, specifically to be used as a political gift to a member of an allied foreign power. Given the political relationship of the two countries involved, as well as the comparative rarity of the chosen text, this copy of the *Shamshir Khani* becomes both an acknowledgement of services rendered and a bold statement of Sikh power in the Indian subcontinent.

FIG. 7.7. Dedication Page, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 1v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

THE RISE OF THE SIKHS

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Mughal Empire in India was in decline. The increased monetary demands on the populace incited resentment, which, when coupled with religious and political rivalries, led to the emergence of popular movements, such as the Sikhs, in the Punjab.[13] During the mid-eighteenth century, Lahore was often threatened by foreign armies, particularly the Iranians and, later, the Afghans. In addition, the Sikhs were gaining control of the surrounding countryside, creating a conflict between metropolitan and rural areas. During this period of decline, Sikh lords occupied Lahore many times, first in 1757 to retaliate for an attack on the Harmandir Sahib, a Sikh shrine at Amritsar. This occupation was short-lived, but in 1764, after another attack on Amritsar, the Sikhs ousted the governor of Lahore and a triumvirate ruled from the city until 1799, at which time Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) founded the Sikh Empire and declared Lahore as its capital (Figure 7.8), where his coronation took place in April of 1801.[14] The Sikh Empire would last until 1850, by which time the Punjab, unable to maintain political unity and strength after the death of Singh in 1839, had fallen to the British, fulfilling Singh's prophecy that all of India would eventually turn red.[15]

During this time of conflict preceding the Sikh rise to power, much of Lahore's population fled. Although high-ranking Muslims and many Hindu tradesmen and bankers left the city, many Muslim artisans remained. Similarly, educational services continued uninterrupted, as evidenced by the number of talented and educated Lahoris who lived and prospered under the reign of Singh.[16] The maharaja used both his position in Lahore and the forces under his command to unite the various Sikh factions in the Punjab into a single Sikh state, which then became a major financial and political power in the Indian subcontinent.[17]

As the Sikhs were expanding their regions of rule, Britain, in the guise of the East India Trading Company, was slowly gaining control over much of the rest of India. In fact, by 1820 the only Indian state that could have possibly posed a threat to British expansion was the Sikh kingdom, thanks in part to Singh's remarkable army, trained according to a western model by European officers in his employ. Recognizing the great might of the British, Singh chose instead to expand to the north

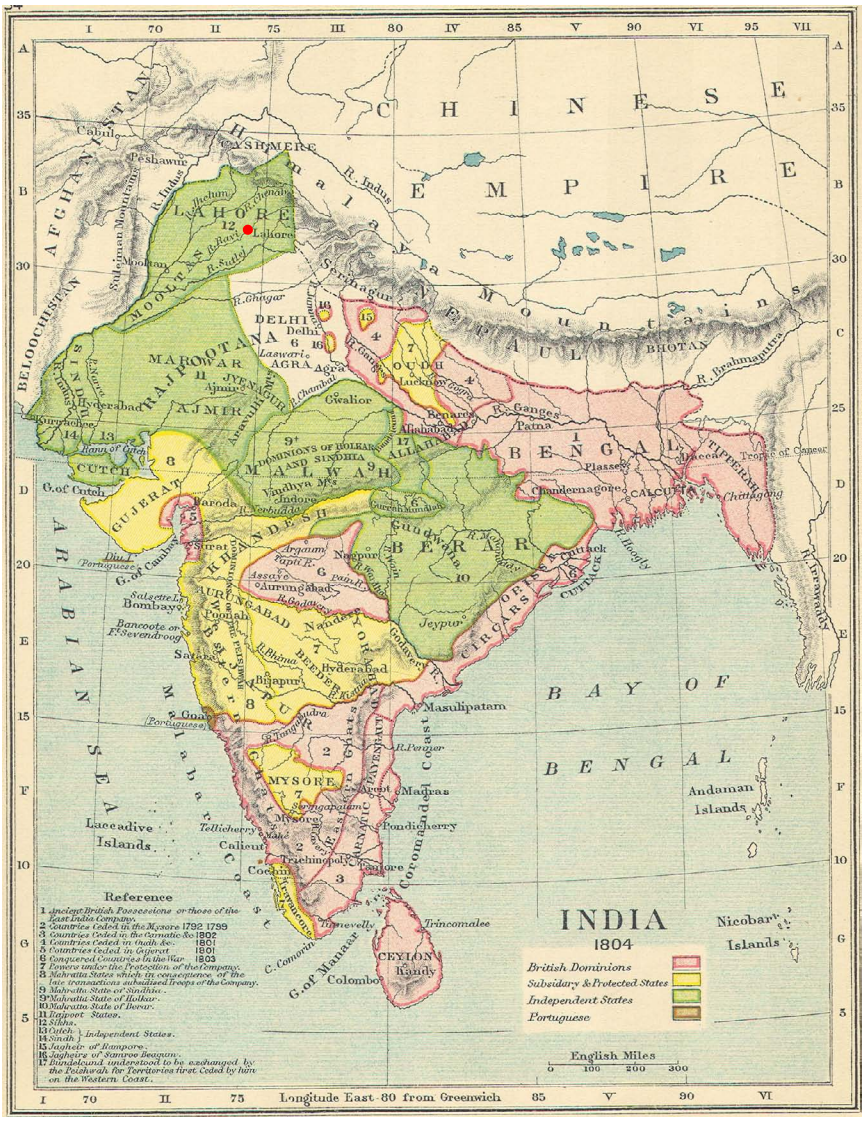


FIG. 7.8. Map of the Indian subcontinent in 1804, showing the location of Lahore (in red) and areas in the region of Lahore (in green, marked 12) under Sikh control.

and west, wisely preferring to enter into negotiations with British India. Likewise, the British, realizing the strength of Singh's army and his unified state, were content to negotiate with the Sikhs, at least until Singh's death in 1839.[18]

RANJIT SINGH AND HIS FOREIGN OFFICERS

Several individuals mentioned in the dedication of the Lilly *Shamshir Khani* played important roles in the politics of the time and in the history of this particular manuscript. The first and most obvious is Ranjit Singh himself. Although originally from a minor Sikh clan, Singh gained power through an advantageous alliance by marriage as well as his prowess in battle. His capture of Lahore in 1799 and subsequent coronation as maharaja in 1801 helped catapult him to the position of supreme Sikh leader. Singh's first encounter with the English and French came in 1801, when the Sikhs successfully prevented the East India Trading Company from conquering the Punjab. Soon thereafter, Singh visited an English camp in disguise, and through this covert operation determined that modernization, in the form of both administrative

reforms and military progress, was necessary for the survival of the Sikh kingdom.[19]

Singh's military concerns are particularly important for the purposes of this chapter because his modernization of the Sikh army was achieved with the help of foreign officers whose names are mentioned in the Lilly *Shamshir Khani*. Many of these officers were Italians or Frenchmen who had served under Napoleon. There were notable exceptions, however: Colonel Josiah Harlan, who served as governor of several regions of the Punjab, was an American,[20] as was Colonel Alexander Gardner, one of Singh's artillery advisers.[21] With the help of these foreign military men, Singh built himself such a large and well-trained army that by 1820 the Punjab was the only remaining Indian state that could have posed any threat to the British. However, the Sikh monarch recognized the futility of confronting the British and instead concentrated on expanding to the north and west. Conversely, the British also realized the futility of trying to wrest Sikh territories from Singh and his impressive army, preferring instead to maintain an uneasy peace through a series of treaties.[22]

In addition to his impressive military and political prowess, Singh seems to have been well respected by the inhabitants of his kingdom. As one scholar notes, he is believed to have had a "kind, personal approach to the people and as much as he could he tried to understand their feelings and always respected their beliefs."[23] As a Sikh, he firmly believed in the right of all people to follow their own religion. Although Sikhism has its own sacred book, the *Granth Sahib,* it is not so much a religion as a way of acting toward others; the emphasis of ethical conduct as opposed to elaborate ritual, social cohesiveness (including the absence of caste divisions or discrimination against women), and compassion are some of its mainstays. In this way Sikhism aims to incorporate the best parts of many religions.

To help achieve the ethical tenets of Sikhism, Singh ensured that representatives from each religion present in his lands were employed at his court, and he allowed the building of places of worship, including Hindu and Sikh temples, as well as mosques for his Muslim subjects. Singh also believed that for a religious institution to function properly it had to be able to disseminate its knowledge and culture, and therefore each institution included some sort of educational program or school. Christians, too, enjoyed freedom of religion. For example, a priest was brought to Lahore specifically to officiate General Ventura's wedding, and General Allard was given two years leave to take his four (Punjabi) children to France for their Christian education. When asked his reasons for being so liberal, Singh reportedly replied (to Allard): "Since you mention religion, I can say nothing more to oppose your wish. It is a matter of conscience. Every person should be free to follow the religion he chooses, and it is his duty to obey its commandments."[24]

Indeed, Singh not only tolerated other religions, he actively supported them. In addition to donating copiously to the Harmandir temple,

he handed over a state-controlled mosque to a Muslim community. At one point he also spent ten thousand rupees on a Qur'an, saying that while he, being a Sikh, had no specific use for the Holy Book of another religion, he believed that "God intended him to look at all religions with one eye. That is why he took away the light from the other."[25] Singh was also known for giving lavish gifts to those he respected, such as foreign emissaries and officers, and for being a patron of the fine arts and archaeology.[26] He even helped the Afghans as recompense for their return of the famed *Kuh-i Nur* (Mountain of Light) diamond, which Singh then wore on special occasions.

The names of Allard and Ventura, both mentioned previously, are worthy of close attention due to their connection with the Lilly *Shamshir Khani*. General Jean Francois Allard, mentioned in the manuscript's dedication as Ventura's companion, was a French artilleryman who trained the Sikh cavalry. General Jean Baptiste Ventura, an Italian, mentioned in the dedication as the donor, trained Singh's infantry.[27] Arriving in Lahore in 1822, after the disbanding of Napoleon's army, both Allard and Ventura were immediately employed by Singh to train special Sikh units to fight against his enemies (especially the British), as well as to pursue conquests to the north and south.

Well educated and fluent in several languages, Ventura achieved great distinction in the Sikh army. In 1831 he was offered a governorship and in 1835 he was publicly acknowledged by the maharaja for the "remarkable work he had done as instructor of the Punjab army staff."[28] By the end of his career, he was considered the commander in chief of the Sikh army and was given the title "Count of Mandi."[29] By then, he had enough influence to help determine who was to be Singh's successor.

Allard, the senior French officer in Singh's employ, served not only as a field commander but also as a diplomatic adviser to the maharaja.[30] He was fully entrenched in Punjabi life, having married a native woman and having had five children with her, as well as living in a lavish compound in Lahore. He became a favorite of the maharaja, and in 1834 he went on leave to France armed with specific diplomatic instructions. He returned as a French ambassador, bringing gifts and letters of greetings to the Sikh ruler from King Louis-Philippe of France (r. 1830–1848).[31]

The Lieutenant General Comte de Rumigny (1789–1860), mentioned as the recipient of the manuscript, was the aide-de-camp of King Louis-Philippe of France. He was never employed under Singh; rather, after having served in the French army with Napoleon, he became a devoted confidant to the family of King Louis-Philippe, and was often charged with protecting various members of the royal family.[32] Based on this evidence, it is clear that the Lilly *Shamshir Khani* was a diplomatic gift from Ventura to Rumigny, given during Ventura's visit to France (1838–1840). As such, the manuscript traded hands not once but twice, and thus served as a versatile diplomatic gift whose course can be traced from Lahore to Paris sometime around 1839.

SIKH ART: A RESTORATION OF MUGHAL GLORY?

Unfortunately, very little is known about Sikh art and artists. Scholarly works treating the arts of India tend to examine only artwork produced until around 1700, almost a full century before the beginning of Sikh rule. However, we can assert that painting thrived, that portraiture was the favored genre of Sikh painting, and that Sikh painting covered a wide variety of techniques and styles. As Susan Stronge notes, "[Ranjit Singh's] tolerance allowed Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs to live and work together, . . . and this harmonious coexistence makes it almost impossible to define a recognizably 'Sikh' art, because there were no rigid restrictions where patronage was concerned."[33]

Most scholarly research has focused on the Sikh arts of metalworking, textiles, and weaponry. The dearth of information about manuscript production and painting in Lahore during the Sikh period hinders systematic research. However, metalwork and other accoutrements provide iconographic analogies to the Lilly *Shamshir Khani,* providing further evidence to support its Sikh provenance. For instance, the round black shields with four gold "buttons" placed centrally, which appear in almost every painting in the manuscript, are very similar to Sikh shields (Figure 7.9). Additionally, the armor represented in the manuscript's paintings reflects military artifacts from the Sikh period, consisting of separate metal chest-plates fastened together, along with a pointed helmet with chain mail hanging down to protect the sides of the head and a plume on top.

Singh also supported the preservation and restoration of historic monuments and buildings throughout his domain and constructed magnificent new monuments all over the Punjab, many of which were highly decorated (Figure 7.10). In fact, under his patronage several distinct artistic schools developed.[34] Singh encouraged his courtiers to patronize the arts and architecture; reports by European travelers describe the homes of the French officers as being lavishly decorated with great frescoes and smaller portraits, some in so-called "native" styles and others using European painting techniques such as shading and perspectival view.[35] For example, the shared residence of Generals Ventura and Allard was a classically columned European building with exquisite paintings and gilded mirrors. On the other hand, the home of General Court, another of Singh's foreign officers, was built in the style of a typical Punjabi farmhouse, with a rich and elegantly decorated interior.[36]

Besides metalworking and architecture, Sikh manuscript painting also flourished. In addition to patronizing large works in the form of frescoes and wall paintings, both the maharaja and his officers commissioned sumptuously illustrated manuscripts. Several painting styles evolved during this time, but two are particularly noteworthy. The first is the almost entirely European mode of painting, which flourished in a workshop of the old Lahori school of painting. Under Imam Bakhsh Lahori, Indian and Punjabi traditions were blended with European painting techniques, resulting in European paintings with some Indian

FIG. 7.9. Rustam kills his brother Shaqad (detail), Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 239v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 7.10. (*opposite*) Siyavush orders the faces of Kovuz, Saan, and Afrasiyab put on the castle wall, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 110r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

influence. This style is most obviously seen in books commissioned by the foreign officers who resided in the Punjab.

The other prominent school of painting developed from a desire to link Ranjit Singh with Mughal rulers, particularly Shah Akbar (r. 1556–1605). Connections with the Mughal Empire can be found in the everyday life of the Sikhs, such as the use of Persian as a prominent court language and the inclusion of archaic formulas on newly minted coins.[37] Singh also deliberately collected jewelry and other items that had either belonged to Jahangir (r. 1605–1627) and Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658) or were somehow related to the Mughal court—an attempt to restore the grandeur of the past (even the famed *Kuh-i Nur* diamond falls into this category, having at one point belonged to Shah Jahan). In a very real sense, the conservation of cultural traditions and artifacts provided the Sikh ruler a strong link to—and perhaps a desired restoration of—a celebrated past.

نه بینی در آن شهر بیمار کس یکی بوستان از بهشت است و بس

سیاوش در آنجا رفته خیمه و سراپرده ها برپا ساخته فرمود که قلعه مستحکم سازید

و در آنجا عمارت خانها طرح دارند مصور از جمع نموده صورت

کاوس و کیقباد و لهراسپ و افراسیاب و سام و زال و رستم وغیره را

در آنجا نگارند الغرض صورت پادشاهان ماضی را باتمام نگار فرموده

افراسیاب و سیاوش ازین معنی خوشحال شد هنرمندان خوب بی در پی

FIG. 7.11. Battle between Borzu and Afrasiyab, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 173r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

In painting, this Sikh interest—if not infatuation—with the Mughal past has been interpreted as forming a "historical" or "revivalist" pictorial style.[38] In many portrait paintings, Singh is portrayed as a Mughal ruler, often on horseback, wearing traditional Mughal garments, and surrounded by a royal retinue. Similarly, several Sikh manuscripts were made in imitation of the Mughal classics, themselves based on earlier Timurid prototypes. Such is the case of the *Ta'rikh-i Nadiri* (History of Nadir Shah), produced in Lahore around 1830, which resembles the famous illustrated *Zafarnama* (Book of Victory) of 1436.[39] Splendid copies of the *Aʿin-i Akbari* (Institutes of Akbar) and the *Akbarnama* (Book of Akbar), often containing juxtapositions of Akbar's and Singh's portraits, further illustrate the symbolic potential of pictorial associations.

There are also several recorded instances in which nineteenth-century Punjabi painters took inspiration from illustrations included in manuscripts held in Sikh libraries. Often, painters did not just blindly imitate the older composition but altered it to reflect a modern context. For example, certain portraits of Singh painted in a Mughal style and setting, as well as Sikh copies of Mughal battle scenes, contain patently modern clothing.

The clearest examples of this kind of pictorial replication consist of *Shahnama* manuscripts. The first, a *Shahnama* produced in Lahore ca. 1830, was inspired by a *Shahnama* produced in 1653 for Shah Jahan by the scribe Tawwakul Beg. The original comprises 400 folios and 65 illustrations and actually carries the seal of Singh's library, giving a rare glimpse of just what kinds of manuscripts were in Lahore during this time.[40] The second is another *Shahnama* manuscript, most likely produced in Lahore in 1838. While containing 464 folios and just 64 illustrations, the layout and illustrations are remarkably similar to the Lilly's *Shamshir Khani.* The "provincial" painting style is like that of the Lilly manuscript, as is the "sloppy cursive" of the text.[41] Just as the *Shahnama* text itself was often used to insert rulers into this glorious history, the use of the historical Mughal style also appears to have helped to add another layer of connection with the past.

There is also evidence that Singh's foreign officers commissioned works of art or sponsored specific artists. Living for so long on the Indian subcontinent, marrying Indian women, and being so enmeshed in Punjabi politics, foreign officers naturally developed interests in the culture, archaeology, and history of the land. As mentioned previously, their residences were decorated in a variety of styles, ranging from completely "native" to combinations of "native" and European styles. Some officers commissioned Punjabi artists to illustrate their memoirs.[42] General Allard commissioned the aforementioned painter Imam Baksh Lahori to illustrate a copy of Jean de la Fontaine's *Fables,* and when the product was incomplete at the time of his death, General Ventura took charge of the project. This exchange provides evidence that both of the officers mentioned in the dedication of the Lilly *Shamshir Khani*

که ترکش خالی شد پس دست بکمر زکرد و خواست که حواله بر زد نماید

هومان درین حین ناخته رسید و گفت ای شاه تو جان خود را ناحق
ضایع میکنی بکمر زبا او بس نخواهی آمد ازین خیال باز آی **نظم**

بیامد بر شاه هومان چو شیر — بدو گفت کای شهریار دلیر
ترا تنگ نامد ز پیکار او — تو با بد بخنجر و شوی جنگ جو
بهومان چنین گفت افراسیاب — که از کینه دارم دو دیده پر آب
مرا درد این بدتر از خسرو است — که در پیش من کینه خواه تو است

که شمشیر شد تیغ کامش نیام ز گردون و از زهرها شد غمی

بزور اندر آمدش لختی کمی برآمد ز صندوق مرد دلیر

بغرید بر اژدها همچو شیر بشمشیر مغزش همی کرد چاک

همی دود زهرش برآمد ز خاک بعد از فرو بردن گردون

چون دهن اژدها چاک چاک شد زهرش تمام فرو ریخت و گردون را

از دهن بیرون انداخت اسفندیار از صندوق برآمد نظرش باژدها

افتاد و متحیر ماند و هم خورد و پناه بخدای بیچون آورد **نظم**

چو اسفندیار آن شگفتی بدید بیزدان پناهید و دم درکشید

were involved in the commissioning of manuscripts. While Allard and Ventura are known to have commissioned manuscripts painted in the more European style, the possibility remains that they also requested manuscripts executed in the more "native" and historical style. The existence of Persian, Sanskrit, and Punjabi manuscripts, old and new, in both generals' libraries suggests that the men were familiar with "native" styles and thus perhaps were likely to request a historicizing pictorial mode, based on manuscripts available in their libraries, for some of their own commissions.

Based on the existence of these other historicizing illustrations, as well as the existence of a very similar *Shahnama* manuscript, there can be little doubt that the paintings in the Lilly *Shamshir Khani* are painted in the revivalist style. However, this revivalist style is remarkably flexible. During Shah Jahan's reign, at which time the 1653 *Shahnama* was produced, figural painting became increasingly formal, with faces and figures drawn from previous studies,[43] which led to increasingly stiff and formal poses (Figure 7.11). There was also an abundance of illustrations depicting court receptions. On the other hand, despite the style's apparent formality, it was seen as a harmonious blending of Indian and European elements. Therefore, this revivalist style, while linking the Sikhs to the glorious past of the Mughals, already contained many hybrid pictorial elements, therefore emphasizing the unique "Indianness" of the painting style.

During the late 1700s and early 1800s, the Kashmiri region of India became known for the production of illustrated manuscripts meant specifically for export to both Europe and Central Asia. Kashmiri manuscripts were produced in a "folk" style, in which Persian figures are presented in three-quarter profile, dress and textiles are often shown in bright orange or red, and recession into space is indicated by a series of colored hills (Figure 7.12).[44] These characteristics marked the revivalist style of Sikh formal painting, too. Book production in Lahore during the early nineteenth century using this style rivaled that of the better-known Kashmiri book production industry, which had a limited repertoire.[45] By the use of this style, the Sikh-period *Shamshir Khani* proclaims its specifically Indian character, while also forging a connection with the Mughal past.

FIG. 7.12. Isfandiyar kills a dragon by hiding in a chest, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 208r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

KINGLY GIFTS AND ROYAL EXCHANGES

Throughout Islamic history, rulers have always presented gifts to their political friends and foes. High-ranking members of the courts and dignitaries who served well benefited from the magnanimous gestures of their rulers. Those who served Ranjit Singh, including his foreign officers, were no exception. They received all kinds of gifts, ranging from "fine garments"[46] to animals, and they were even granted titles. For instance, in his book chronicling Singh's rule, Lala Sohan Lal Suri states that on December 21, 1836, "on account of his well-wishing, faithfulness, service, devotion, sacrifice in rendering meritorious services to the

Maharaja, General Chevalier Ventura Sahib was granted the title of 'Faithful and Devoted' out of great kindness of the Maharaja."[47] All of these gifts were in addition to regular salaries. As a result, foreign officers were rather well off, with large households for which they were able to commission large wall paintings as well as books and other items. This largesse made them excellent patrons of the arts, and while sources tend to highlight works commissioned in the European styles, other pictorial materials were commissioned in either native Punjabi styles or in a revivalist Mughal-Islamic mode.

Another fact that supports the idea that this manuscript was utilized as a gift in a diplomatic exchange is the fact that in 1835 Singh, considering the prospect of having a Punjab empire extending from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, and from the Khyber Pass to the Sutlej River, allowed Allard to take a trip to France.[48] Having to travel through British India in order to reach a seaport, Allard carried no official letters but did deliver a message from Singh to the French court, meeting not only with King Louis-Philippe but also with the French ministers of war, finance, and commerce, all in their official capacities.[49] As a result of this diplomatic exchange, Allard was appointed an Agent de France (French Ambassador) to Lahore and returned with military equipment and experts to help further modernize the Punjab army.[50] This incident shows that diplomatic exchanges, while not easy to arrange, did indeed occur, and it would not be surprising if gifts were exchanged as well, this kind of cultural currency having formed a political custom for centuries.

Unfortunately, the above incident involves Allard, not Ventura. However, Ventura did make at least one trip to France. The manuscript dedication itself states that General Ventura had come to Paris in 1839 and then returned to Lahore in the same year. A chronicle of the Sikh court partially confirms this. An entry for October 7, 1838, states that "thirteen months had passed since the aforesaid person [Ventura] had gone on leave,"[51] while the entry for April 24, 1839, states that "Collins Sahib, the French, had gone to England along with Ventura Sahib and had brought some very effective medicines of tried utility."[52] The first entry confirms that Ventura was on leave from approximately 1837 to 1839, while the second places him somewhere in Europe during his leave. Even more specifically, Ventura's colleague Gardner states in his memoirs that Ventura was indeed on leave in France from 1838 to 1840.[53] These facts show that it is entirely possible that he had indeed visited Paris in 1839, as stated in the manuscript's dedication.

In addition, Lafont states that before Allard's return from France in 1837, Allard had written a letter indicating that he would return from France as both an ambassador of that country and as the bearer of "friendly gifts."[54] The chronicles of the Sikh court state that one of those gifts included a personal letter to Ranjit Singh from King Louis-Philippe, and that Ventura asked to be charged with bringing a response from Singh back to France.[55] However, by this time diplomatic relations between the Sikhs and the British were breaking down, and the British

refused to grant Ventura a passport to travel through British-occupied territories—a necessary route to reach a seaport—if he carried an official reply to France.[56] After some controversy, Singh decided not to send an "official" reply with Ventura.

When Ventura left for France in 1837 (arriving in Paris by 1839), he must have visited the French court. As an important figure in the government of one of France's allies, he could hardly have avoided doing so. It is therefore logical that he would have carried messages to the French court, much as Allard had done two years prior. In addition, as it was standard practice for diplomatic envoys to exchange gifts, he could not have arrived without gifts—even if they were unofficial or in his personal possession.

Several other factors present in the manuscript itself suggest that it was not only given as a gift but actually conceived as a gift. The first is its size: the volume is roughly equivalent to a small modern-day hardback, and therefore is small in comparison to many large-scale royal Islamic manuscripts. The manuscript's size suggests mobility, a useful quality when a gift is intended to be carried across long distances. In addition, the simple fact that the text is an abridgement—and a rather odd form, blending prose and verse narration (Figure 7.13)—suggests that the full text of Firdawsi's *Shahnama* was not needed. If the work was conceived as a gift to a foreigner, there would be no need for a full text since the recipient very likely would not be able to read, or be comfortable reading, the Persian.

Furthermore, the sheer number of illustrations adds to the possibility that the Lilly *Shamshir Khani* was intended as a gift to a foreigner. Many *Shahnama* manuscripts focus on select illustrations or series of illustrations, featuring large sections of text interspersed with the paintings. For example, an illustrated *Shahnama* made in Lahore in 1835, with very similar illustrations, contains approximately forty paintings but comprises the full *Shahnama* text transcribed on almost 600 folios.[57] The Lilly manuscript has only 271 folios, but contains more than twice as many illustrations. In this way a recipient who did not understand the Persian text could still in essence "read" the tales—much as a child can follow a story from a picture book—and appreciate the artistic qualities of the manuscript.

Despite its relatively high level of artistic achievement, the Lilly *Shahnama* appears to have remained an unfinished manuscript. While the 1835 Lahore *Shahnama* mentioned above reveals the same inconsistencies and some of the sloppiness, there do not seem to be any glaring abnormalities in the illustrations. However, the Lilly manuscript has illustrations of people conversing while seemingly sitting in midair (Figure 7.14). This convention appears in at least three illustrations, each of which are toward the end of the manuscript. Upon closer examination, each such illustration depicts a "kingly" situation, in which a dais, or throne platform, should have been painted in. The figures are present, but the gold dais has not been inserted yet. There are also no daises

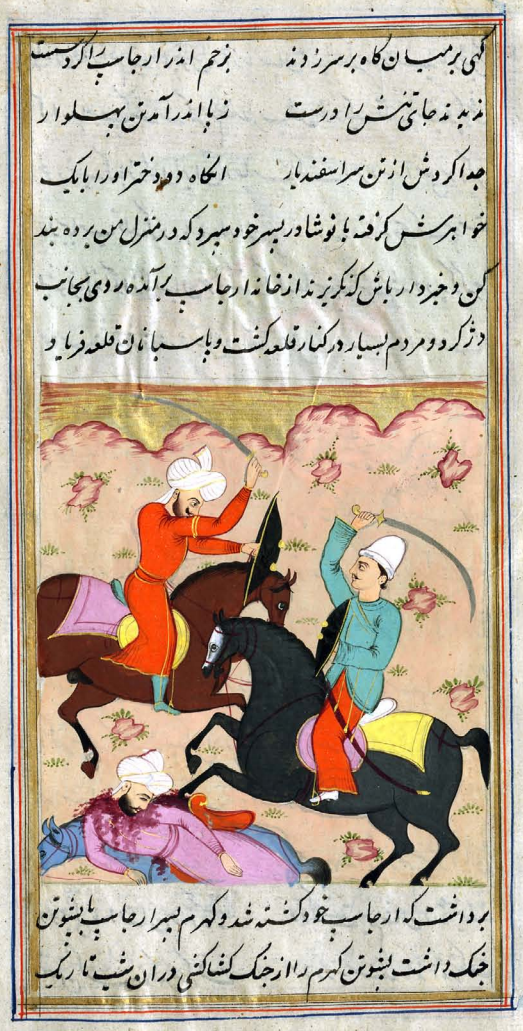


FIG. 7.13. Arjasp killed, and Kahrun fights Pashutan, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folios 216v–217r. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

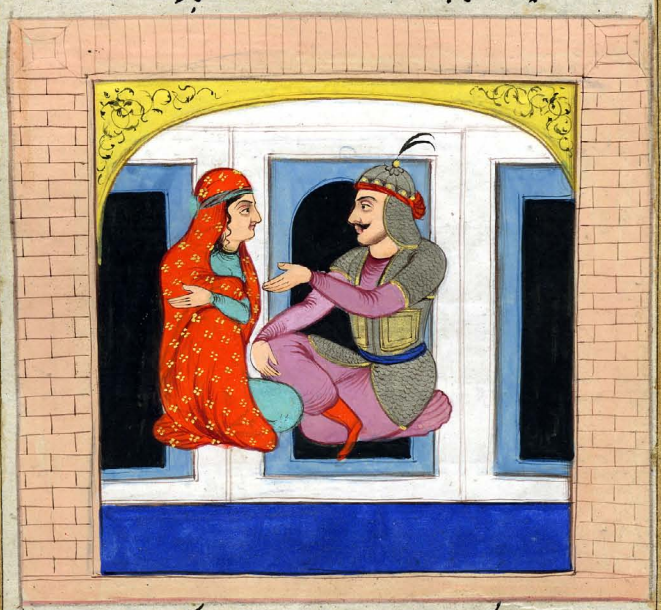
FIG. 7.14. (*opposite*) Mineh and Bijan talking indoors, Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 149v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

painted after these illustrations, suggesting either that the painter ran out of time to finish inserting the thrones, or that the process of gilding, usually reserved for last, was not completed. This incompleteness suggests a commission that was not quite ready on time but still complete enough to be given or sent as a gift.

In summary, the Lilly *Shamshir Khani* was most likely conceived specifically as a gift to Rumigny. As mentioned earlier, similar Kashmiri manuscripts were commonly produced to be exported. Through its connection with the Mughal painting style, this illustrated manuscript emphasizes the legitimacy of Sikh rule, and, by its use of Indian folk styles, the unique Indian heritage of Ventura's employer. In addition, the use of an abridgement and the multitude of illustrations are consistent with the hypothesis that the work was intended as a gift to someone who did not read Persian, such as Rumigny. Unfortunately, the manuscript was

خود داشت بدایه داد و عهد کرد که من چیزهای بسیار بتو میدهم آنچنان
کن که من ساعتی در صحبت پری پیکر بنشینم دایه نزد مینه آمد و حقیقت
یکبیک بعرض رسانید **نظم**

چو پیغام بیژن همه باز گفت — چو گلبرگ روی صنم بر شکفت
بگفتش بیارش بنزدیک من — بیفروز این جان تاریک من
بدیدار او چشم روشن کنم — بدین دشت خرگاه گلشن کنم
دایه آمد و بیژن را بر دگرگین گفت
تو برو من درینجا برای نگهبانی تو استاده ام چون بیژن بجانب
مینه رفت گرگین اسپ بیژن را گرفته بدر رفت دانست که بیژن گرفتار
خواهد شد مینه از آنجا برخاست و در خرگاه آمده بیژن را در کنار گرفت



و خلوت کرد **ابیات**

بپرده در آمد چو سرو بلند

میان

only partially completed at the time of Ventura's departure, and so the few remaining unfinished illustrations simply had to remain as such.

A MANUSCRIPT OF MANY MEANINGS

The choice of this particular manuscript—that is, an Islamicate manuscript given by a Christian envoy to a foreign dignitary—may at first seem odd, but in reality fits in well with the idea of a gift intended for the French court from the Sikh ruler. If the gift had been meant to represent nothing more than a simple acknowledgement of a Franco-Sikh friendship, then any luxury manuscript would have sufficed. However, the *Shahnama* is essentially a martial work, saturated with fighting exploits, feats of conquest, and heroes defending their homeland even against demons (Figure 7.15). Therefore, this particular *Shamshir Khani* manuscript could be seen as a military commemoration, celebrating the Franco-Sikh alliance against the British, mirroring the tales found in the text that describe the Persians joining forces to fight off their outside enemies.

As discussed previously, it was not uncommon for members of the Muslim elite to commission manuscripts for use as gifts. However, such gifts were usually offered to family members or members of the court. The Lilly *Shamshir Khani* is a rare example of an "Islamic" manuscript actually conceived as a gift for a member of a foreign power. Commissioning manuscripts that commemorate the various military exploits of rulers, as in the case of the *Akbarnama,* was not unusual. However, that the Lilly manuscript's commemoration is made in acknowledgement of military help from a foreign country is rare. In addition, while most splendid Islamic manuscripts were probably only seen by a select few, they were meant to be read. In this case, the manuscript was produced as a luxury item for a foreign man, meant to be enjoyed for its aesthetic qualities rather than perused.

For these reasons, the Lilly *Shamshir Khani* crosses disciplinary and transcends cultural boundaries. It abridges a non-Islamic, Persian text that had been appropriated by Muslim rulers and, consequently, came to be seen as an Islamic literary masterpiece. If used as a political gift intended to emphasize, both literally and figuratively, the Sikh right to rule, the manuscript is once again being used for the purposes of political legitimization, much as it had been by previous Ilkhanid, Timurid, and Mughal patrons. Through its use as a diplomatic gift, moreover, this manuscript punctures cultural and religious boundaries as well. It is a Persian Islamic manuscript, produced under Sikh patronage in the Mughal style, given to French Christians. By incorporating so many issues, this illustrated *Shamshir Khani* manuscript provides a fascinating glimpse into the political, cultural, and artistic climate of Sikh rule in the Punjab during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. It also proves that one particular manuscript can carry a myriad of cultural, religious, and political implications.

FIG. 7.15. Rustam kills the black demon (*div*), Firdawsi (d. 428/1020), *Shamshir Khani,* ca. 1835, 29 × 17 cm, Near Eastern Mss., Firdawsi, *Shahnama,* folio 147v. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

دلیر شده بود سوگند از و شنید از غیرت غضبناک شده آمد بار رستم

مقابل شد و گفت تو از جان خود سیر شده — نظم دگر باره اگوان به و باز خورد

نگشتی به و گفت سیر از نبرد — برستی ز دریا و جنگ نهنگ

به دشت آمدی باز غران بجنگ — رستم اول سر دیو را با کمند بند کرد

بعد از ان یکی ز مغز دیو را از هم باشد — تهمتن چو بشنید گفتار دیو

برآورد چون شیر جنگی غریو — ز فتراک بگشاد پیچان کمند

بیفکند و آمد میانش به بند — به پیچید بر زین و گرز گران

برآهیخت چون تیغ آهنگران — بزد بر سر دیو چون پیل مست

بیک زخم مغز سرش کرد پست — رستم سر دیو از تن جدا کرده

بر فتراک اسب بسته نزد کیخسرو آورد کیخسرو با استقبال رستم

برآمد

APPENDIX 7.1. THE SEVENTY PAINTINGS IN THE LILLY *SHAMSHIR KHANI*

1) Folio 6r—Kayumars kills the Black Demon with the help of tiger, lion, bird, and angel
2) Folio 16r—First union of Jamshid and the daughter of King Hurang
3) Folio 18v—Jamshid captured and brought before Zahhak
4) Folio 19v—Jamshid before Zahhak
5) Folio 24v—Kova the blacksmith comes before Firidun
6) Folio 25r—Three blacksmiths come before Firidun
7) Folio 29v—Firidun kills Zahhak with an ox-headed mace
8) Folio 30v—Firidun imprisons Zahhak in a cave
9) Folio 35v—Tur kills his brother, Iraj
10) Folio 38v—Warriors in audience before Manuchihr
11) Folio 41r—Battle between Manuchihr and Silim and Uur
12) Folio 42v—Manuchihr bows to Firidun
13) Folio 43r—Sam and Narimun serve Manuchihr
14) Folio 43v—Zal being taken from Sam's abode
15) Folio 47r—Rustam rides an elephant with a jeweled crown to meet his father, Zal
16) Folio 48v—Rustam kills a white elephant that had broken loose
17) Folio 57v—'Azizat kills his brother Afrasiyab
18) Folio 82r—Rustam and Tahmina alone
19) Folio 83r—Suhrab's birth
20) Folio 85v—Battle between Suhrab and a lady who was taking care of her family
21) Folio 87v—Rustam and warriors before Gudars
22) Folio 93r—Rustam and Suhrab face each other on the battlefield
23) Folio 94r—Suhrab attempts to stab Rustam on the battlefield
24) Folio 95r—Rustam kills Suhrab
25) Folio 98v—Rustam and Tahmina mourn Suhrab in the house of Zal
26) Folio 100v—Siyavash visits his father, Kovuz
27) Folio 110r—Siyavush orders the heads of Kovuz, Sam, and Afrasiyab placed on the castle wall
28) Folio 113r—Kay Khusraw kills Siyavash
29) Folio 117r—Rustam fights Pilasm
30) Folio 117v—Rustam spears Pilasm
31) Folio 118r—Battle between Rustam and Afrasiyab
32) Folio 125r—Tus visits Faribus, son of Kovuz
33) Folio 128v—Faribus (or Tus) visits Kovuz
34) Folio 129r—Rustam and Zal visit Kovuz
35) Folio 131v—Bahram sees Forud's mother cradling his dead body
36) Folio 136r—Afrasiyab, with Kamus and Shangal, his two warriors, visits the Chinese leader
37) Folio 137v—Battle between Rustam and 'Ashkibus
38) Folio 138v—Rustam arrests Kamus
39) Folio 141v—Rustam kills Shangul
40) Folio 142v—Rustam captures the fallen Chinese leader
41) Folio 143r—Battle between Raham and Bijan
42) Folio 147v—Rustam kills a black demon
43) Folio 149v—Mineh and Bijan talking indoors
44) Folio 153v—Rustam and Kay Khusraw
45) Folio 158r—Afrasiyab gives Burzu money to fight Rustam
46) Folio 161r—Rustam and Burzu face each other on a battlefield
47) Folio 166r—Burzu and Rustam wrestle while Burzu's mother watches
48) Folio 166v—Rustam almost kills Burzu
49) Folio 169r—Pilsan and the captured Tus
50) Folio 170r—Rustam and Pilsan fight on a battlefield
51) Folio 173r—Battle between Burzu and Afrasiyab
52) Folio 181r—Kay Khusraw visits Human
53) Folio 190v—Battle between Gushtasp and Ilyas
54) Folio 192v—Luhrasp visits Gushtasp after the coronation of Gushtasp
55) Folio 195v—Battle between Arjasp and Zarir
56) Folio 199v—Isfandiyar in prison
57) Folio 201r—Gushtasp takes three men as prisoners
58) Folio 206r—Isfandiyar battles with two wolves
59) Folio 207r—Meeting of Isfandiyar and Gurgsar
60) Folio 208r—Isfandiyar kills a dragon by hiding in a chest
61) Folio 209v—Meeting between Gurgsar and Isfandiyar
62) Folio 210r—Isfandiyar slaughters Simurgh by hiding in chests
63) Folio 211v—Isfandiyar on the way to his seventh trial
64) Folio 212v—Gurgsar and Isfandiyar in the tent area
65) Folio 217r—Arjasp killed, Kahrun fights Pashutan
66) Folio 218r—Isfandiyar kills Kahrun, son of Arjasp
67) Folio 238v—Rustam and Rakhsh in a pit filled with spears
68) Folio 239v—Rustam kills his brother, Shaqad
69) Folio 240r—The deaths of Rustam, Rakhsh, and Shaqad
70) Folio 243r—King Humay's baby son is placed in a chest to be thrown in the river

NOTES

1. Oleg Grabar and Sheila Canby, *Epic Images and Comtemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

2. Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 126.

3. Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501–1576* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 39.

4. A city in the Ghazni province, located in modern-day Afghanistan.

5. No name is given, but since the author states that he was working with the blessing of the king's son, it is possible that he was Tawwakul Beg, an author and scribe active during the 17th century at Shah Jahan's court. He is known to have copied at least one complete *Shahnama,* which is illustrated in a manner similar to the Lilly *Shamshir Khani.* See Jean-Marie Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh: Lord of the Five Rivers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 162.

6. The author would like to thank Sheida Riahi for her help in identifying the illustrations and Dr. Shahyar Daneshgar and Ms. Riahi for their help with translations.

7. The folio number and theme of each illustration are listed in Appendix 7.1.

8. The Lilly *Shamshir Khani* is bound in a leather cover without an overlapping flap, and the binding is worn at the edges and damaged at the spine. The doublure contains medallions on both the front and back inside covers. At one time both doublures were painted, but only traces of pigment and gold remain. The folios measure 29 × 17 cm. There is one text column per page, consisting of seventeen lines of text when there are no illustrations. Chapter headings are written in red ink, as are the words detailing where the text changes from prose to verse form.

9. Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore: Panjab University Press, 1952), 140.

10. Ibid., 207.

11. "This manuscript was given to the Lieutenant General, Count of Rumigny, aide-de-camp of King Louis–Philippe the First, by the General Ventura, companion to General Alard, both of whom [were] in the service of the King of Lahore, Ranjit Singh, [who] died in 1840. General Alard died in 1839 after coming to Paris in 1837. The General, it is said, died by poisoning. General Ventura came to Paris in 1839; he returned to Lahore in the same year. Paris, 4 April 1841. Lt. General of Rumigny." (Translation courtesy of Dr. Christiane Gruber.)

12. In 1595, the first of several Jesuit missions arrived in Lahore. Almost upon arrival, Mughal rulers insisted that artists working in the book atelier paint scores of small paintings in the "western" style. Many of these paintings depict overtly Christian motifs. Both Akbar and Jahangir commissioned works imitating famous western paintings, such as Michelangelo's *Noah* from the Sistine Chapel. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580–1630* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 9, 20.

13. Douglas M. Peers, *India Under Colonial Rule 1700–1885* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2006), 17.

14. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 33.

15. Ibid., 129.

16. Ibid., 32.

17. Peers, *India Under Colonial Rule,* 19.

18. Ibid., 42. After Singh's death, there was no one leader strong enough to maintain Sikh unity. The British, realizing this weakness, moved their troops to the Punjab border and, through a series of battles, gained control of half of the Punjab lands, becoming custodians of the other half. This peace was short-lived, and soon the British annexed the rest of the Punjab, exiling the current maharaja, Ranjit Singh's youngest son, Dalip, to England (Susan Stronge, ed., *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms* [New York: Weatherhill, 1999], 23–26).

19. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 34.

20. Ibid., 146.

21. Hugh Cook, *The Sikh Wars: The British Army in the Punjab 1845–1849* (London: Leo Cooper Ltd., 1975), 17.

22. Peers, *India Under Colonial Rule,* 42.

23. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 37.

24. Ibid., 81.

25. Ibid., 83. While he showed much religious tolerance, Ranjit Singh did keep a constant watch on extremist elements that could disturb the status quo in the kingdom.

26. Singh was elected an honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Paris in 1836 for his interest and funding of archaeological projects (ibid., 11.)

27. Cook, *The Sikh Wars,* 17.

28. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 145.

29. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs. Vol. 1: 1496–1839* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 259.

30. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 144.

31. Ibid., 259.

32. Gouraud D'Ablancourt, *Souvenirs du Général Comte de Rumigny, Aide de Camp du Roi Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1921), vii.

33. Stronge, *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms,* 10.

34. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 11.

35. Ibid., 109.

36. Ibid., 99.

37. Stronge, *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms,* 63.

38. Ibid., 66.

39. Stronge, *The Arts of the Sikh Kingdoms,* 66.

40. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 162.

41. Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont*

Morgan Library (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 184.

42. Ibid., 110.

43. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 297.

44. Ibid., 301–302.

45. Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts,* 185.

46. Lala Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh: Chronicle of the Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh 1831–1839* (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1961), 13.

47. Ibid., 318.

48. Lafont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 127.

49. Jean-Marie Lafont, *Fauj-i-Khas, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and His French Officers* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 2002), 93.

50. LaFont, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh,* 127–128.

51. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh,* 533.

52. Ibid., 653.

53. Major Hugh Pearse, ed., *Soldier and Traveller: Memoirs of Alexander Gardner, Colonel of Artillery in the Service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1898), 311.

54. Lafont, *Fauj-i-Khas,* 99.

55. Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, 369.

56. Lafont, *Fauj-i-Khas,* 106.

57. Currently held in the Bernisches Historiches Museum in Bern, Switzerland (acc. no. N.B.19).

FIG. 8.1. Pouch (front), al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 10 × 9.5 × 4 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

An Amuletic Manuscript: *Baraka* and *Nyama* in a Sub-Saharan African Prayer Manual

8

KITTY JOHNSON

The Lilly Library is home to a copy of the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), a manual of Sufi litanies (sing. *wird,* pl., *awrad*) written in the fifteenth century by the Moroccan mystic al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), a Berber from Sus, Morocco.[1] The text, historically popular in sub-Saharan Africa, contains a collection of prayers to the Prophet Muhammad arranged according to the days of the week; it also includes a description of the Prophet's tomb and his many names. The manual served to guide adepts into the act of oral remembrance (*dhikr al-salat*) achieved through repetition, whether aloud or silently, alone or collectively. Because versions of the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* often included descriptions of Mecca and Medina, the text also came to be used as a *hajj* guide by pilgrims from throughout the Islamic world. Because the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* is intended as a mnemonic device for recitation, ideally to be memorized, the text likewise is amenable to variation depending on choice and need.[2]

The Lilly copy of the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* is unbound and includes twenty-seven square leaves of paper and sixty bifolia, with the average leaf measuring 6.9 × 7.9 centimeters. The leaves are piled into a stack of folios protected by a leather cover that comprises a flap and its spine. One of the cover's flaps has been replaced with a piece of leather, unattached to the spine, which rests loosely atop the pages. The cover and leaves fit into a custom-made leather pouch with a rich patina (Figures 8.1 and 8.2). Fine strip-work lines the outer edges of the front triangular flap and divides the area into two triangular sections. The leatherworker enhanced the top of the pouch and its back seams with whip-stitched leather in a style often used to stitch amulet packets. The front of the pouch is also incised with a dot-filled diagonal grid pattern, while its bottom and back are each engraved with an X. The pouch once hung from delicate, twisted leather thongs (now severed) that are beautifully knotted and attached to the sides. A lighter-colored area worn into the center indicates where a thong once secured the pouch shut.

The manuscript's text, including catchwords,[3] is written in different hands, indicating that the task of transcription was undertaken by various scribes. The majority of the calligraphy is executed in brown ink. Script in black ink fills the preface and some other folios, which may have been added at a later date. Red ink punctuates the words "God" and "Muhammad," the vocative exclamation "o you," and the first lines of many new sections.[4] The text is written in what has been called the "traditional cursive" style.[5] This calligraphic style is believed to be a variant of *Maghribi* script, employed in a version of *Ajami* particular

FIG. 8.2. Pouch (back), al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 10 × 9.5 × 4 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

to present-day northern Nigeria. The manuscript features brown laid paper of various shades and slightly different sizes, and patterns in red and brown inks compose decorative panels that divide the prayers into days of the week.[6] One panel designates the second third of the text, while two blank spaces of similar size suggest that the artist[7] did not complete the dividers for the first and third sections of this manuscript. The manual's condition points to a production date in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, and the fact that the work is handwritten could indicate that it was executed before widespread importation of Arabic printed material in the 1920s.[8]

Upon acquiring the *Dala'il al-Khayrat,* Ruth E. Adomeit guessed it to be of Bedouin origin,[9] although evidence internal to the manuscript points to sub-Saharan Africa. Like the script, the manuscript's decoration suggests an origin east of the Niger Bend,[10] while the "traditional cursive" style of the script suggests that the work was made in what is now northern Nigeria, in particular from a Hausa area. A conclusive attribution is difficult, however, because the book and pouch feature a program of motifs found widely across west Africa.

Although it is impossible to unravel exactly which visual associations the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat's* artist drew upon, and how the work's intended audience interpreted such local motifs, the manuscript exemplifies a stage in the process of indigenous motifs being transplanted to Islamic devotional texts, as well as the possible affinities of these motifs with Islamic beliefs and designs.[11] Patterns can thus disclose the resulting lexicon of Afro-Islamic motifs at work in a nineteenth-century west African codicological context.[12]

Only rarely have scholars of Islamic art addressed patterns in sub-Saharan Islamic manuscripts.[13] Considerations of geometric motifs have included vague but recurrent comparisons to textiles, with some mention of leatherwork.[14] Qur'anic marginalia have been discussed as recitation aids,[15] and geometric designs as applied to manuscripts and other written arts in the form of abstracted magic squares have also been considered.[16] "Purely decorative" magic squares, devoid of letters or numbers, are cited as adding aesthetic qualities crucial to textual efficacy in northern Nigerian amulets and manuscripts.[17] In amuletic practices, in which texts are frequently used, the many sub-Saharan Islamic manuscript motifs appear adaptable to a diverse array of media.[18] Studies of amulets also reveal a flexible relationship between textual and geometric patterns, demonstrating the ways in which practitioners could use both traditions interchangeably.[19]

On one hand, producers of sub-Saharan written arts are thought to have created west African patterns and painting styles particularly for Islamic manuscript designs.[20] On the other hand, north African roots have also been posited,[21] as have links with Near Eastern sources.[22] Elements of west and north African design intermingled for centuries on ancient trade (and, later, *hajj*) routes, before equally varied influences from the Islamic world joined the sub-Saharan circulation of forms and ideas.[23] Affinities between Islamic and indigenous practices facilitated the interactions and borrowings between both religio-cultural systems, a phenomenon to which the Lilly manuscript certainly bears witness.

In the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat,* west African design elements and Islamic prayers appear to mutually enhance each other. Tapping spiritual resources through indigenous visual channels, the manuscript's powerful sub-Saharan motifs indeed work alongside Arabic script to create what Prussin calls "a double insurance [providing] a new agency through which particular actions can be effected."[24] Such patterns include incisions on the manuscript's pouch, Akan *adinkra* cloth patterns,

and the quincunx (a design with four intersecting lines meeting at a center point, which forms two triangles with touching tips). The checkerboard incised on the pouch can be seen as a Bamana *tiw* (sing. *ti*) graphic sign; it also includes elements that resemble Hausa patterns associated with reptiles. Furthermore, the *adinkra* patterns and the quincunx shape often occur on Akan regalia, as well as on masks, fabrics, amulets, and beaded designs throughout west Africa.

As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the Lilly prayer manual therefore exemplifies a strategic synchronization of indigenous African motifs in an Islamic prayer book, catering to the reader's expectations of symbolic vocabulary and deploying potent patterns that could reiterate and strengthen the Arabic prayers contained within al-Jazuli's text. The manuscript's artist may have selected patterns that maximize the work's ability to marshal the twin Afro-Islamic concepts of *baraka* and *nyama*.[25] In Islamic belief, *baraka* is divine presence, charisma, wisdom, and blessing, while in the thought of Mande and closely related peoples, *nyama* comprises a universal animating force directed by owners of objects and possessors of knowledge.

The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* may have been made or used in areas where both the concepts of *nyama* and *baraka* were relevant. When a devotee uses a book like the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* to intone prayers, he or she probably releases and expends both *nyama* and *baraka,* both nurturing and potent apotropaic forces. Similarly, each time the adept touches or uses these sacred words and powerful motifs, he or she likely accrues further *baraka* through Islamic prayers and *nyama* through the activation of the manuscript's potent Afro-Islamic motifs.[26]

SCRIPT AS WORD AND FORM IN SUB-SAHARAN TRADITIONS

The relationship between amulets and secrecy in west sub-Saharan Africa changed as west African Muslim clerics—and, to some extent, non-Muslim practitioners—increasingly used Arabic writing. Amulet producers were not the only viewers able to understand legible Arabic script. Because Arabic writing was much more accessible than, for example, Mande *kilisi* secret speech, a reader and others allowed to view an amuletic text were able to comprehend it. Perhaps efforts to reconcile this somewhat compromised secrecy with a tradition of highly esoteric talismans have resulted in a tension between the covert secrecy and the overt display of Arabic writing singular to sub-Saharan Africa.

In west Africa, as opposed to the rest of the Islamic world, Arabic script is rarely viewed publicly.[27] Occupying the space between manuscript and amulet, books and other textual objects are instead often worn on the body or carried as talismans, suspended or carried in beautiful pouches and surrounded by west African trappings of amuletic secrecy. The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* is an apt example of secrecy reconciled with accessibility in order to secure dual potency. Working in a land with infrequent Arabic speakers, the book's maker created a text that, because of its legibility, facilitated the flawless recitation of words

seeking blessing and protection, then ensconced it in a leather pouch that radiated and hid this power.

Al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat* was frequently carried as a talisman.[28] Although it does not exemplify amulets that retain power through permanent encasement, the manuscript in its leather pouch reflects the transformative power of legible and unseen writing. The following excerpt, which chronicles Akan practices involving Arabic script, reinforces the fact that the written word itself could carry amuletic qualities:

> The appeal of the written word to the Akan, especially when used in magico-religious contexts, had little to do with its semantic meaning. It was the sacred, the spiritual, dimensions of writing that were of the greatest interest to the Akan. In a purely Akan (i.e., preliterate) setting Arabic script did not function as a vehicle for verbal communication. Rather, it was perceived at a more abstract level as a symbol of man's relationship with God. In this context, the lettering, the epigraphic symbol, ceases to function as a medium of communication and becomes a message in and of itself.[29]

Accordingly, west African clerics[30] incorporated Arabic writing into their practices. Alongside oral communication, Arabic letters constitute potent elements of esoteric knowledge singular to west African Islamic healing practices, in which book arts play an important role.[31] Languages spoken in the Sahel include words that illustrate the frequent conflation of amulets and script. For example, the Tamashek word for an Islamic prayer book worn around the neck is *tcherot,* or amulet,[32] while *téere* in Wolof literally means "a book or writings" and designates the encased papers inscribed with potent texts and worn as talismans.[33] Similarly, the common Mande word for amulet is *sèbèn,* meaning "writing."[34]

Instances of the amuletic serviceability of sacred writing indicate that legible or not, sewn into a packet or not, script serves as an important ingredient for efficacious protection and blessing. In an oft-used remedy, the cleric writes blessed words (usually from the Qur'an) on a slate, washes them from the board, and prepares a sacred liquid. The client can then absorb the words by imbibing them, bathing with them, or using them as a lotion or compress.[35]

According to tradition, Arabic letters are very powerful because God transmitted the Qur'an to Muhammad through the angel Gabriel in the Arabic language. In sub-Saharan Islamic practices, the use of the Qur'an as an amulet allows devotees to access this scriptural source directly, as attested to in cases found in Hausaland and in the Borno area. The devout may store wrapped Qur'ans in their houses for prophylactic purposes, and a family may keep a copy near an expecting mother or a newborn child.[36] Sometimes known as *al-Hisn al-Hasin* (the fortified fortress),[37] and including certain protective Qur'anic chapters (*suras*) alongside other prayers, many of these popular small manuscripts are still available in markets. In fact, some Qur'anic *suras* are considered

FIG. 8.3. Front side, amulet of the Beautiful Names of God, probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 15.5 × 21.5 cm, Miscellaneous Mss. Atiyah Gift 8. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

such potent antidotes to illness that clients frequently request their transcription for amuletic purposes.

Legibility can also increase a book's protective function through its mnemonic role, aiding in recitation and thus acting in essence as an audible amulet. As the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* is a book of litanies in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, and as it is generally believed that the repetition of the Prophet's many names conveys blessings upon the person reciting these praises, the text's purpose of obtaining blessings and protection remains central.[38] Furthermore, African philosophies continent-wide are replete with the importance of the spoken word.[39] Even words that are legible can function within the realm of the supernatural, thereby creating an ambiguity of purpose—attempting to convey information or using script-forms as magical devices.[40]

The very legibility of Arabic script can enhance an amulet's secrecy as well. Because many Sahelians in the nineteenth and early twentieth

FIG. 8.4. Back side, amulet of the Beautiful Names of God, probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 15.5 × 21.5 cm, Miscellaneous Mss. Atiyah Gift 8. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

centuries were not fluent in Arabic, legible script, no matter how meticulously written, was often considered a secret medium of divine knowledge.[41] The instruction, through rote repetition, of a few key phrases, often by teachers who were not fluent Arabic speakers, further emphasized the physical and occult properties of the Arabic script, as well as the perception of each individual word's link to spiritual power. Because writing can be semantically opaque despite its legibility, some Qur'anic chapters and verses may contain subtle, even hidden, meanings. Furthermore, many writings produced and used by west African Sufis emphasize the mystical meaning of single letters. In a system of gematria, each Arabic character has a corresponding number.[42] As a result, clear writing can facilitate clear communication while retaining elements of secrecy. Additionally, scribes may scramble otherwise readable Arabic letters to form meanings that can only be understood by a select few.

FIG. 8.5. Sunday Prayers, al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 6.9 × 7.9 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 8.6. (*opposite*) Monday Prayers, al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 6.9 × 7.9 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Much as the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* captures this tension between concealing and revealing, so does a sub-Saharan amulet also held in the Lilly Library (Figures 8.3 and 8.4). This work contains the "Beautiful Names of God" (*al-asma' al-husna*) and was most likely made in the nineteenth century in present-day northern Nigeria.[43] The amulet is folded onto itself, concealing words—a litany of God's many names, epithets, and attributes—that become unseen but remain powerful. The work also has an abstract geometric design likely meant to remain visible when folded. The Lilly amulet's outer design recalls similar patterns on the Sunday and Monday prayer panels of the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat,* functioning as a decorative "cap" to the folded amulet (Figures 8.5 and 8.6).[44]

The amulet's two dark brown calligraphic outlines surround the nearly square box that is filled in some areas with a light brown wash. A large diamond, divided by an X whose tips reach the outer points of each corner box, fills the central panel. Both lines of this X form one side of a smaller X in each corner square. Emblazoned just above this pattern is the proclamation "Victory is from God, and conquest is imminent" (Qur'an 110:1). This bold declaration guarded the back of the folded amuletic packet and, by consequence, its owner, who may have found the amulet particularly protective in a martial context.

Much like the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat,* this amulet has a dual nature: it is secretive because it contains text stored away, but it remains legible—and therefore accessible—upon need and desire. The Lilly amulet also is embellished with a protective graphic design, much like the pouch of the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat.* As a consequence, both works on paper contain concealed script that is otherwise legible, an amuletic technique that is rather typical of Islamic manuscripts in sub-Saharan Africa.

NYAMA AND *BARAKA:* MULTIPLE POINTS OF ACCESS

Many of the Lilly manuscript's decorative patterns appear to indicate that the work's power is reinforced by the inclusion of *nyama. Nyama* is a potent energy that operates beneath the visible surface of the world to give it structure and make it work.[45] Beautiful objects such as this manual contain significant amounts of *nyama.* Mande often describe *nyama* as a dangerous and negative force that can be turned positive through knowledge and expertise. Such knowledge facilitates *daliluw,* or recipes, used to create *sèbènw* (amulets) and *basiw* (power objects), which help a user harness *nyama* for his own ends.[46]

Only highly trained specialists can work with *nyama.* Artists, who are often called *nyamakalaw* (specialists in handling *nyama*), can orchestrate dramatic transformations during which the artist imbues the final product with his or her own considerable *nyama.* For example, blacksmiths master fire to change iron ore to liquid. *Nyamakalaw* are characterized as "points of access to terrific powers, [which they] rearrange and transmit [through their art]."[47] The Lilly manuscript's scribe, painter, and leatherworker may have exerted *nyama* that had been strengthened through expertise in indigenous practices and combined with Islamic knowledge.[48] Such fusions in the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* could have thus created a tangible power object containing highly volatile *nyama* channeled into a usable form.

In addition to *nyama,* the Islamic concept of *baraka,* or blessing, is frequently at work in books carrying amuletic and devotional qualities, such as al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat.* In Islamic thought, *baraka* is an esoteric (*batin*) force that can be accrued from diverse objects.[49] All *baraka* comes from God, and the text of the Qur'an is thus considered replete with divine grace. The effusion of *baraka* from the Qur'an consequently flows into any Arabic letter or word. Further, handwritten books

such as the Lilly manuscript are often thought to be permeated with the calligrapher's own blessing. In sub-Saharan Africa, for both Muslims and non-Muslims, Arabic writing itself forms a key to understanding God's secrets and the hidden truths of the natural world.[50] One can use writing to communicate with supernatural powers. For example, the writing of certain verses of the Qur'an can establish "a direct link between [the desired outcome] mentioned in the verse as an act of God" and its net result.[51] Thus, the words of the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* contain the esoteric quality of *baraka* believed to be at work in a number of objects and places.

Because of their links to the twin Afro-Islamic concepts of *baraka* and *nyama,* the patterns in the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* provide an opportunity to consider the ways in which pictorial elements can help express universal power within a syncretistic cultural context. Three west African designs in the manuscript are of particular interest here: the incised pattern on the front of the manual's pouch; designs similar to *adinkra* cloth patterns as found in the Saturday prayer panel; and the quincunx motif found in the Thursday prayer panel. Although it is impossible to determine exactly where the artists obtained these designs, or to what extent these were modified, the motifs were chosen not only because they are ubiquitous in west African arts but also, and perhaps more importantly, because they may all be considered to be infused with *nyama.*

THE MANUSCRIPT: USE AND OWNERSHIP

Like other popular prayer manuals, the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* was used to intone Arabic-language litanies and to promote the Islamic faith south of the Sahara. The text's preface, which clearly states that "[memorizing this book] is one of the most important missions in following of God,"[52] illustrates its purpose in Islamic pious education and proselytization. It also suggests that the transmission of knowledge as contained in the text occurred primarily in oral form, buttressed by the written word and its accompanying visual vocabulary.

As noted previously, painted panels divide the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* into halves, thirds, and weekdays. The folio containing the Tuesday prayer panel could indicate the ways in which a devotee may have used this work (Figure 8.7). To the left of the panel, a vertical inscription notes that the manuscript was either "in the possession of" or "used in the presence of" a man named ʿAbd al-Sahil (literally, "Servant of the Sahel"). The latter reading implies that a group of adepts may have held regular prayer meetings in an individual's personal residence, and that a certain ʿAbd al-Sahil may have been both the manuscript's owner and the leader of prayer sessions.[53] His appellation "ʿAbd al-Sahil" provides further confirmation that the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* was probably produced in Sahelian territory.[54]

Meticulous vocalization marks indicate that this work was not meant for native Arabic speakers. Generally, only the Qur'an is fully vocalized because its precise oral recitation has remained of prime

FIG. 8.7. Tuesday Prayers, al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 6.9 × 7.9 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

importance in both Arabic and non-Arabic lands. The fastidious insertion of vocalization marks throughout the manual thus indicates the importance of conveying accurate Arabic-language prayer formulas to an audience composed of non-native Arabic speakers.[55]

Editorial marks appear throughout the text: some marks ask the reader to repeat certain praise phrases for emphasis; others include prescriptions for additional prayer formulas; and still others make available new prayer phrases. This critical apparatus suggests that the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* was used as a guide to teach and perform oral prayers, its pedagogical and performative purposes evident both in its preface and its extra-textual notes.

The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat's* mention of 'Abd al-Sahil on its Tuesday prayer panel suggests a sub-Saharan provenance, and its script specific to the Sahelian region, its array of west African motifs, and its collection of loose-leaf folios contained in a leather satchel are all typical of sub-Saharan manuscripts produced during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such manuscripts are often held in a leather pouch

that is incised or otherwise embellished, closed with a flap held in place by a thong, and frequently comprised of loose leaves that bear distinctive geometric designs rendered in earth tones within rectangular panels. The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* is thus typical of sub-Saharan Islamic manuscripts produced at the turn of the twentieth century.

THE INCISED LEATHER POUCH

The Lilly prayer manual is nestled in a leather pouch featuring designs that, like the other patterns in the book proper, carry a constellation of meanings in Sahelian arts. The pouch's chiseled motifs are similar to the large number of Bamana graphic signs, or pictographs, called *tiw* (singular *ti*) (Figure 8.8),[56] as well as Hausa patterns used on leather work, embroidery, and other media. Dots fill the lozenge-shaped spaces of the diagonally oriented grid on the pouch's front cover (see Figure 8.1).[57] The flap's spine and back bear X-shaped incisions, as well.[58] According to the Bamana philosophical system from which *tiw* developed, these signs bear weighty cosmological meaning.[59] For instance, a large X usually signifies the four elemental ingredients for fertility. The X can also evoke the universe and humankind, as well as the four cardinal directions.[60]

The grid pattern on the front of the pouch may also be an elaboration of the northern knot design also common in Hausa art, called the *dagi*.[61] The many interstices in this grid form diamond shapes recalling *ti* lozenge signs, and they also recall other Hausa patterns.[62] In Mande thought, the lozenge exemplifies the four celestial directions in a subtle variation of the X (which can represent the four cardinal directions). The lozenge therefore signifies fecundity and universal origins.[63] Mande *cenda* (sand divination) practitioners may also use four marks in a lozenge shape to represent the balance that heralds a positive outcome for the client.[64] Within book arts, a cover for the divination manual *Kitab Moussa* (Book of Moses) made in northern Nigeria carries this pattern.[65] This work may well illustrate that the dot-filled diamond's potential for garnering *nyama,* or a similar power, was deemed appropriate for the book format in particular.[66]

The design on the manuscript's pouch could also suggest reptilian and/or amphibian skin.[67] Several Hausa clans were reported in 1910 to have snake totems, while other clans were protected and aided by lizards, crocodiles, and frogs.[68] Snakes sometimes seem to miraculously scale trees,[69] and crocodiles and frogs can breathe air and live in water. Creatures so able to travel between the realms of sky, land, and water are highly important in many indigenous belief systems, as their liminal abilities are believed to enable communication between humans and supernatural beings. These animals are often rendered with hatched patterns (designating skin) throughout west Africa. Hausa designers have also used patterns likely based on the Islamic *dagi,* or northern knot, but with a hatched effect similar to that of the Lilly pouch, to represent stylized reptiles (Figure 8.9).[70] If the pattern on the front of the Lilly pouch does recall reptile skin, it may have been seen as encoding liminal power. An artist may have used such associations with reptilian

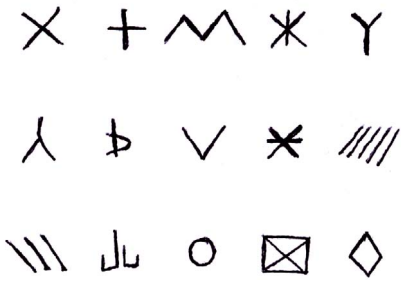


FIG. 8.8. Chart of Bamana *tiw* graphic symbols. *Drawing courtesy of Pascal James Imperato.*

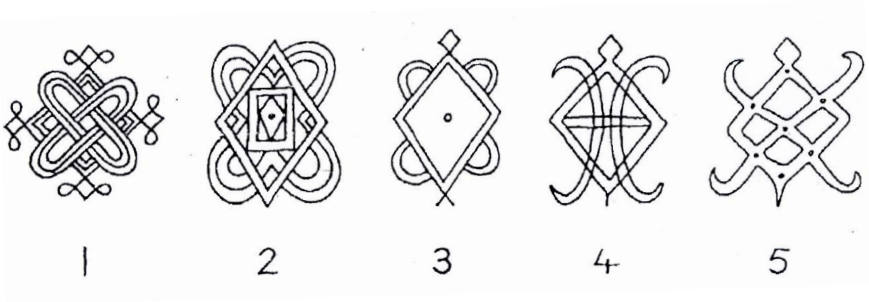


FIG. 8.9. Motifs connected with tortoise and lizard shapes used in house decoration in Zaria, Nigeria. Figure one is a *dagi* (knot) with four patterns called *kai* (head). These are often associated with lizard heads. Figure two was called *kunkuru* (tortoise) by a *malam* of Zaria City, and figure 5 is a possible lizard. *Drawing courtesy of David Heathcote.*

abilities to facilitate supernatural communication between a devotee and the Prophet Muhammad.[71]

Finally, the hatched grid on the front of the pouch closely resembles an Islamic magic square (*murabbaʿ* or *wafk*), although divested of its constituent numbers and letters. Magic squares garner power from the association of each of the twenty-eight Arabic letters with a number. Numbers are often arranged in a sequence that "translates" to a proper name or the words of a sentence on the grid's first row.[72] Frequently seen as small models of the harmonious universe,[73] magic squares often serve as symbolic representations of life in constant flux, perpetually renewed through contact with a divine source at the center of the cosmos. While the image on the front of this pouch may not be a true magic square, it is certainly related to the power represented by its simulations and may well have been designed to invoke that power.[74]

Grids in Afro-Islamic and non-Muslim lexicons serve multiple purposes, here united in a pouch that exemplifies the complexities of west African Islamic imagery. Whether or not one interprets the grid as a reptilian design or a magic square filled with dots, the pouch's latticework patterns seem strategically designed to evoke recognition of and confidence in the power held inside for a viewer conversant in multiple symbolic languages that range from the purely ornamental to the potentially protective.[75]

SANKOFA PATTERNS AND ANCESTRAL WORSHIP

Akan cultures have long been known for rich inventories of proverbs and related figural sculpture, incorporating a dialogue between visual motifs and verbal expressions. Though the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* carries oft-used Akan patterns, the volume's geometric designs are used widely throughout west Africa and have many possible meanings, even among artists of the same city or region. Akan artists have continually incorporated these ideas gleaned through multiple cultural contacts, and have built Arabic script into their existing symbolic systems, including *adinkra* cloth.[76]

Adinkra cloth probably originated as a mourning textile among the Asante. Typical mourning *adinkra* are patterned in numerous squares subdivided by designs that are combed or stamped onto milled cotton cloth. When worn during funerals and in mourning, *adinkra* can protect the living while the nearby spirit of the recently deceased remains influential.[77] Patterns in the Lilly prayer manual are very similar to *adinkra* examples, suggesting possible connections between the forces

FIG. 8.10. Saturday Prayers, al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 6.9 × 7.9 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

present at mourning ceremonies and those that can be marshaled within an amuletic manuscript.

The delicate white curve and dot motif (resembling a heart) that enhances the Saturday Prayer panel in the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* strongly resembles the *sankofa,* or "go back to fetch it," *adinkra* pattern (Figures 8.10 and 8.11).[78] The Saturday prayer panel occupies an entire leaf of the manuscript. Lines of rust red and dark brown separated by white surround the panel. Dark brown gracefully outlines three red dots at each corner of the outer red stripe. These lines surround an elaborately decorated frame. Repeating white forms with delicate, in-turned spirals frame white dots on the border's top and bottom bands. Irregular, interlocking block shapes, whose pulsating rectangles may recall strip woven textiles, embellish the lateral bands. Austere, angular letters, colored pale beige by the exposed paper beneath, proclaim Saturday prayers against a brick red ground.[79]

Sankofa advises viewers to heed past lessons and thus praises ancestral involvement in human affairs. Such interest resonates well with ideas of Muhammad's ancestry, providing an affinity between a visual form indicative of African cults of the ancestors and Sufi devotional practices aimed at praising the primordial figure of the Prophet Muhammad.[80] Hausa *bori* cults also emphasize ancestor worship as present in Islam, which itself stresses the importance of ancestral relationships. Cult members, many considering themselves Muslim, become possessed by helping spirits, some ancestral, for healing purposes. Islamic personages, such as the Prophet Muhammad, are often incorporated in order to sanction the practices.[81] The pattern of ancestral worship in the design of the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* thus appears to reconcile the practice of pleasing ancestors to obtain their intercession with the manual's praises to the Prophet Muhammad, himself a prophetic forerunner capable of interceding on the petitioner's behalf.

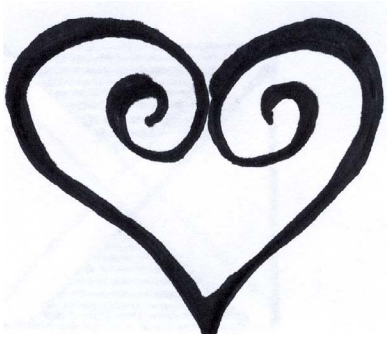


FIG. 8.11. "Sankofa" *adinkra* cloth pattern. Drawing by the author.

POWER AND PROTECTION: THE QUINCUNX PATTERN

Quincunx designs on the Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday prayer panels recall motifs popular across sub-Saharan west Africa (see Figures 8.5, 8.6, 8.7, and 8.12). In Akan design, the quincunx-shaped *adinkra* pattern called *mframadan,* or "wind-resistant house," represents fortitude, social security, excellence, elegance, and preparedness for life's uncertainties (Figure 8.13).[82] This shape is important in sub-Saharan Islamic thought because it represents the center, with a vertical axis and the four cardinal directions present in the orderly universe. Such designs thus help believers to orient themselves in the most advantageous way within the cosmos.

The main leaf that will be considered here is the Thursday prayer panel (Figure 8.12). Two red lines border a dark brown line, the three together framing the pattern's overall rectangular shape with a dark brown dot at each corner. These lines in turn surround two broad bands that sandwich red and brown script designating the Thursday prayers. Net-like patterns enliven these top and bottom bands, while a heavy quincunx anchors the panel on each of this border's sides. Like the grid on the front of the pouch, intersecting lines form diamond-shaped spaces on these top and bottom bands. However, dark brown dots scintillate at the points of intersection while red dots punctuate the lines in between. The lateral quincunx panels repeat these smaller, lacey diamonds, their heavy triangles filled with dark brown ink that evokes the visual weight appropriate for such powerful symbols.

The quincunx provides a center that protects Asante rulers during earthly interactions and allows the king to actuate beneficial cosmic interactions.[83] Throughout the year, the *asantehene* leads periodic community renewals of ancestral relationships in the *adae* ceremony.[84] T. Edward Bowdich, leader of a British trade mission to the Gold Coast in 1817, described an *adae* ceremony that he saw at the Asante capital of Kumasi:

FIG. 8.12. Thursday Prayers, al-Jazuli (d. ca. 869/1465), *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (The Proofs of Good Deeds), probably northern Nigeria, 19th or early 20th century, 6.9 × 7.9 cm, Adomeit ms. C-11. The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.

FIG. 8.13. "Mframadan" *adinkra* cloth pattern. Drawing by the author, after Bruce Willis.

> [The leader danced with] his left forearm and hand pivoting on the axis of his elbow, mak[ing] graceful, grasping movements towards the cardinal points, and as the four directions are gathered in towards his chest, his sword swaths the four winds. In this manner, he signifies that he, as custodian of the state, is capable of, and willing to move in any direction, and at all times, to gather the forces and bounties of the universe into his being, so that he, as intercessor between the ancestors and his people, may place these vital forces at the disposal of the former for the benefit of the latter.[85]

In a performance of strength and generosity, this leader stood at the center of the four directions and ushered forth a harmonious universe. Periodic ceremonies regenerated the ancestral relationships needed to make universal power safe and available to his subjects. In a similarly custodial act, the quincunx *mframadan* pattern also borders a fan wielded by the amulet-laden *Asantehene* Otumfuo Nana Opoku Ware II (Figure 8.14). When held by royalty, this decorative motif displays and amplifies God's shielding presence and ability to provide abundance. The quincunx's power to provide protectiveness and blessing may have been deemed particularly appropriate to decorate the incipits of daily prayers as contained in the Lilly manuscript.

The quincunx shape thus has referents in Bamana *tiw* script, the Akan *adinkra* pattern called *mframadan,* and Islamic amuletic practices related to the magic square. Readers and viewers of the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* thus could have derived multiple meanings from indigenous symbols embedded within the manuscript's decorative program, themselves powerful conveyors of *nyama,* or similarly potent resources, and *baraka* in written practices specific to Islam in sub-Saharan west Africa.

A STRATEGIC SYNCHRONIZATION OF FORM

The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* demonstrates that one can also reap blessings through the display of legible and enactable knowledge, as exemplified in both script and graphic design. In sub-Saharan west Africa, legible script is rarely publicly viewed. Therefore, the bodily display of the Lilly manual's pouch advertised the manuscript's secrecy. Most likely worn around the neck, the beautiful container accordingly heightened the power it concealed. That such sub-Saharan manuscripts were produced in loose leaves, and placed within leather pouches often associated with amulets, highlights such books' hidden protective properties, even if they were meant to be read. As a result, a tension between legibility and amuletic secrecy seems to constitute a primary factor in the work's potency. The designs on the pouch—a cross-hatched grid on the front with dots in its interstices, and the X incised on its bottom and back—all serve to communicate this power.

While we do not know more about the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat*'s original owner (or owners) than the name ʿAbd al-Sahil, we do know that the manual was used to guide him privately, possibly while he led other devotees publicly, in weekly prayers. Because the manual was clearly intended for practical use, the text is fully legible. Moreover, the

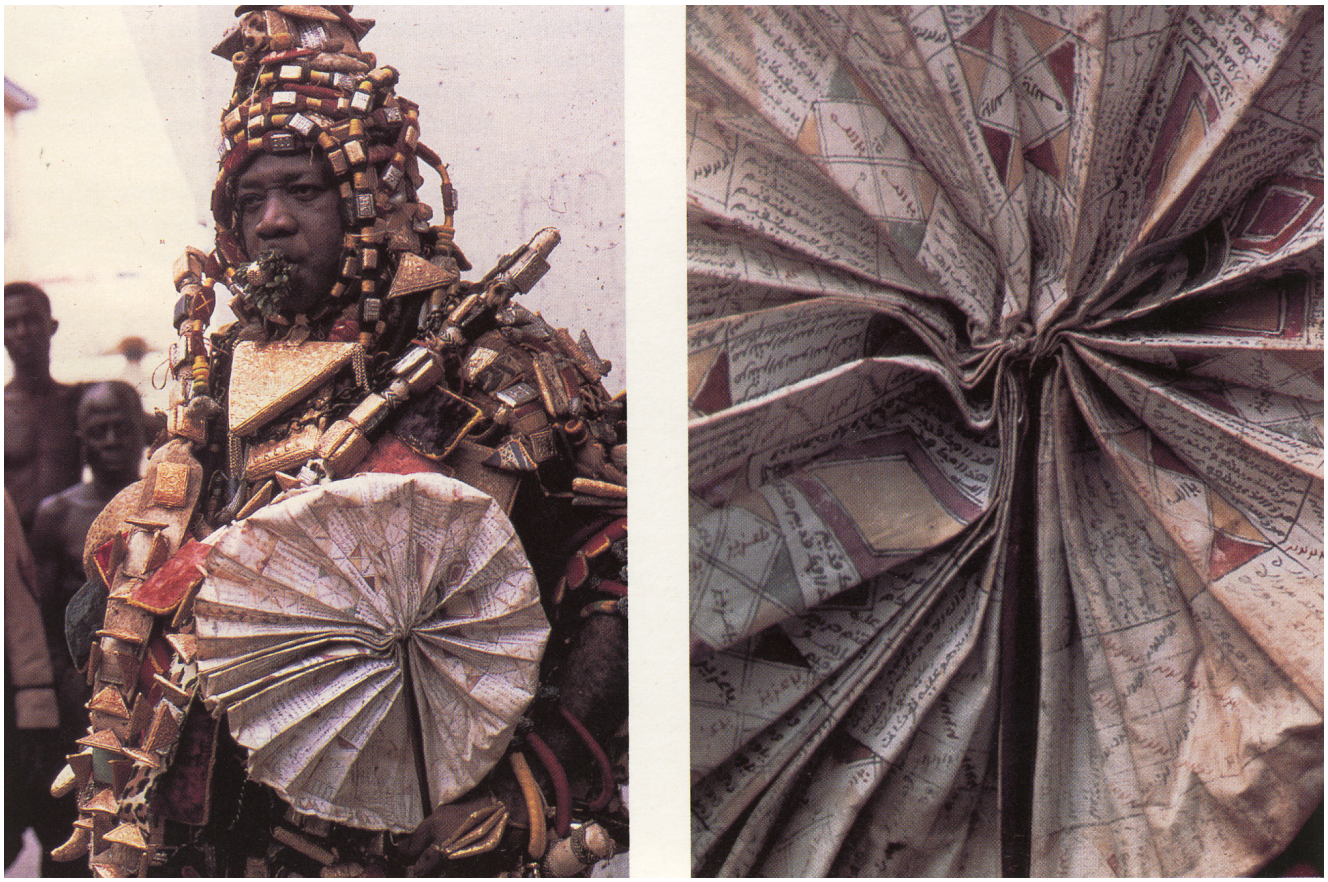


FIG. 8.14. The *Asantehene* Otumfuo Nana Opoku Ware II at his enstoolment, Ghana, 1970. *Photographs courtesy of Labelle Prussin.*

wear on this manual—missing leaves, sheets that seem to have been penned at various times, the severed cover flap—indicates repeated use. Such use indicates that the legible writing was crucial to the Lilly manual's potency, as each recitation likely built its own stores of *nyama* and *baraka*.

Indigenous and Islamic patterns have intermingled over the centuries, and combined *baraka* and *nyama* (or a like power) in ways singular to west Africa. Patterns include the grid pattern on the Lilly pouch, which recalls Bamana *tiw* graphic symbols as well as Islamic magic squares, both of which represent the power of one's proper place in an orderly universe. The design similar to the Akan *adinkra sankofa* pattern on the Saturday prayer panel, which refers to ancestral assistance, could resonate with Sufi practices of venerating the Prophet Muhammad. Lastly, the X shape in the quincunx pattern of Bamana *tiw* graphic signs, and the Akan *mframadan adinkra* pattern combine the benefit of proper orientation within the orderly universe and the blessing, protection, and intercession garnered from ancestors through praise.

The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* seems to combine *nyama* and *baraka* by embedding within its structure recognizable symbols of power, and such patterns certainly helped emphasize the many symbolic meanings and pious contents of the text that they accompanied. The book's artist probably saw it appropriate, in this particular case, to weave Islamic and indigenous resources into a hybrid iconography of protectiveness,

itself forming a series of resources for harnessing apotropaic power and obtaining blessing. These functions were vital in proselytizing to prospective converts, especially those not educated in Islamic tenets and possibly unlettered in Arabic.

Symbols deployed in the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat's* painted panels represented the power of the letters, which in turn could take on an abstract or symbolic meaning. Conversely, the designs also would have helped strengthen the faith of those closely acquainted with Islamic pietistic practices and the Arabic language. Whatever the reader's level of knowledge, the geometric patterns could have worked alongside the Arabic script as conveyors of *nyama* and *baraka,* thereby ushering protection and blessing through an Afro-Islamic fusion of form. The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* therefore represents a particularly intriguing example of the synthesis of indigenous and Islamic philosophies and designs singular to Islamic manuscripts produced in sub-Saharan west Africa during the modern period.

NOTES

I wish to thank Huda Jawdat Fakhreddine for her assistance with reading the Arabic text of the manuscript, as well as Patrick McNaughton, Diane Pelrine, René Bravmann, Alice Burmeister, Labelle Prussin, Christopher Roy, and Raymond Silverman for their comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Charles C. Stewart, Ismaheel A. Jimoh, David Heathcote, Kristyne Loughran Bini, and Susan Rasmussen for discussing the manuscript's script and provenance.

1. Al-Jazuli spent nearly forty years in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem after studying in Fez. He returned to Morocco and then entered the *Shadhiliyya* sect, at which time he began fourteen years of worshipful solitude. Afterward, he founded the *Shadhili* sect called *al-Jazuliyya,* and while teaching at Safi he had so many followers that he was expelled. It is believed that he was poisoned to death in 870, 872, or 875 AH. See M. Bencheneb, "Al-Djazuli, Abu ʿAbd Allah Muhammad b. Sulayman B. Abi Bakr al-Djazuli al-Samlali," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. (hereafter E.I.^{2}), vol. 2, 527.

2. In African Islamic practices, portions of the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* were recited at funerals of prominent men and on holy days (see Sam Fogg, *Islam in Africa* [London: Sam Fogg, 2007], 3). The Zara of Burkina Faso contact *jinn* (spirits) using the *Dala'il al-Khayrat* (see René A. Bravmann, "Islamic Spirits and African Artistry in Trans-Saharan Perspective," in *Islamic Art and Culture in Sub-Saharan Africa,* ed. Karin Ådahl and Berit Sahlström [Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1995], 60). Gnaoua adherents, originally brought in slavery from the Niger River Valley to Morocco, blend Islamic and west Sudanic elements in healing ceremonies using *jinn.* These healers view their abilities as partly transmitted through al-Jazuli (Bravmann, "Islamic Spirits and African Artistry," 65, 68). They thus venerate al-Jazuli's tomb (Ibid., 60, 65, 67). For a further discussion of manuscript copies of the *Dala'il al-Khayrat,* see Jan Just Witkam, "The Battle of the Images: Mecca vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat,*" *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 111 (2007): 67–82.

3. A catchword is the first word of the following folio, which is written at the bottom of the preceding page, to aid recitation and help order unbound folios.

4. Regarding Serigne Batch's use of red ink, see Allen F. Roberts and Polly Nooter Roberts, *A Saint in the City: Sufi Arts of Urban Senegal* (Los Angeles, Calif.: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2003), 180–181, fig. 7.17.

5. Hassan calls this style "traditional cursive" and "Malamic." This script is also called *Ajami.* See Salah M. Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 131–133, 143, 177.

6. For discussions of inks in Nigerian written arts, see David Heathcote, "Insight into a Creative Process: A Rare Collection of Embroidery Drawings from Kano," *Savanna* 1/2 (1972): 168; David Heathcote, "Hausa Women's Dress in the Light of Two Recent Finds," *Savanna* 2/2 (1973): 201; Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 151–153; and Ismaheel Akinade Jimoh, "Forms of Qur'anic Manuscripts among the Yoruba Scholars of South-Western Nigeria," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006): 283, 288–289.

7. For consistency, the term "artist" is used in the singular throughout this chapter even though more than one person may have contributed to the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat's* decorative program. It is especially probable that different specialists created the manuscript and its pouch.

8. Bruce Hall and Charles Stewart, "The Historic 'Core Curriculum,' and the Book Market in Islamic West Africa," in *Trans-Saharan Book Trade,* ed. Graziano Kratli and Ghislaine Lydon (forthcoming). Manuscripts continued to be handwritten despite widely

available printing press material. Such time-consuming works are still often considered more prestigious (Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 174).

9. Ruth E. Adomeit, Personal Inventory Sheets, Box 10, f. 15, p. 2, Adomeit mss. II, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington. For a further discussion of Ruth Adomeit, see the chapter by Janet Rauscher in this volume.

10. The Lilly manuscript has more elaborate decoration than many produced west of the Niger Bend.

11. Regarding indigenous elements in Hausa manuscripts, see Joseph H. Greenberg, "Some Aspects of Negro-Mohammedan Culture-Contact among the Hausa," *American Anthropologist,* new series 43/1 (1941): 52.

12. The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat*'s artist used ornamental vocabulary replete with patterns important in Hausa, Mande, and Akan visual vocabularies. The largest concentration of Hausa speakers lives in northern Nigeria and southeastern Niger; many speakers of Mande-related languages have moved from the upper Niger River to settle in Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, and Côte d'Ivoire; and the Akan are a group of Akan language speakers, including the Baule, Asante, and Fante. Many live on west Africa's south-central coast, primarily in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. There are also strong affinities with Tuareg and Fulani leather and metalwork designs.

13. For a discussion of Islamic book arts in west sub-Saharan writing practices, see Sheila S. Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 571–575; Jimoh, "Forms of Qur'anic Manuscripts," 282; and Labelle Prussin, "Architectural Facets of Islam in the Futa-Djallon," in *Islamic Art and Culture in Sub-Saharan Africa,* ed. Karin Ådahl and Berit Sahlström, (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1995), 26.

14. Marianna Shreve Simpson remarks on the practical and aesthetic roles of many west African manuscript designs and their similarities to textile patterns. See her "Expanding Boundaries: A Manuscript of the Qur'an from Sub-Saharan Africa (W.853)," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum: A Catalog of Greek Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum and Essays in Honor of Gary Vikan* 62 (2004): 238. Likewise, Sheila Blair considers that Berber flat-woven rugs from southern Morocco may have influenced sub-Saharan west African geometric designs (see her *Islamic Calligraphy,* 575).

15. Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 178–180. See also the divination manual called the *Kitab Moussa* (Book of Moses) in the private collection of Barbara and Leland Morgan for the use of similar designs in a specifically amuletic context. For illustrations, see René Bravmann, *African Islam* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press; London: Ethnographica, 1983), 22–23.

16. Geometric paintings on permanently decorated Hausa writing boards (*allo zayyana*) are said to allude to Islamic magic squares. Monica Blackmun Visonà et al., *A History of Art in Africa* (New York, N.Y.: Prentice Hall and Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 100.

17. Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy*, 207, 216.

18. For symbols from a Ghanaian *Dala'il al-Khayrat* painted on an amuletic tunic, see Bravmann, *African Islam,* 26–27.

19. Labelle Prussin, *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 77–79.

20. Sam Fogg, introduction to *Islam in Africa,* unpaginated. See also Shreve Simpson, "Expanding Boundaries," 238.

21. Marianna Shreve Simpson discusses possible north African influences on sub-Saharan west African manuscript designs in her "Expanding Boundaries," 238. See also Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 232.

22. Ibid.

23. Ideas moved between Hausa, Nupe, Yoruba, and other artists (David Heathcote, "Aspects of Embroidery in Nigeria," in *The Art of African Textiles: Technology, Tradition and Lurex,* ed. John Picton and Rayda Becker [London: Barbican Art Gallery; Lund Humphries Publishers, 1995], 39). Other regions of heavy traffic in design ideas included Ghana, Senegal, the Gambia, Mali, Cameroon, Mauretania, Morocco, and North Africa (David Heathcote, "Aspects of Style in Hausa Embroidery," *Savanna* 3/1 [1974]: 16, 21).

24. Prussin, *Hatumere,* 85.

25. Many west African cultures have systems analogous to *nyama.* For clarity, this chapter will use the Mande term *nyama* although there are many names for similar philosophies. Hausa speakers have been said to use the noun *bori* to refer to "a sacred and occult force, which resides in matter" (see H. R. Palmer, "'Bori' among the Hausas," *Man* 14 [1914]: 113). *Iyawa* refers to one's capacity, including spiritual capability (Alice R. Burmeister, "Demonstrating *Iyawa:* Hausa Hunters' Arts and Women's Wealth Display," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 2000, 53–54). Masquelier refers to a power similar to *nyama* exploited by *bori* adepts, but does not give it a particular Hausa term (Adeline Masquelier, "Narratives of Power, Images of Wealth: The Ritual Economy of *Bori* in the Market," in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa,* ed. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993], 3–4).

26. See Patrick R. McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, Power, and Art in West Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 134–135; and Bravmann, *African Islam,* 39.

27. Writing boards, however, are often placed in open view near Qur'anic schools. Prussin, *Hatumere,* 91.

28. Bencheheb, "Al-Djazuli," E.I.^{2}, vol. 2, 527; and Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 96. For an example of possible amuletic use of the Qur'an, see Edward W. Blyden, "The Koran in Africa," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 4/14 (1905): 160.

29. Raymond Silverman, "History, Art, and Assimilation: The Impact of Islam on Akan Material Culture," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1983, 231–232.

30. Muslim clerics may be called *marabouts, tiernos, karamokos* (Prussin, *Hatumere,* 47, 77); *alfa* (Prussin, "Facets of Islamic Architecture in the Futa-Djallon," 26); and in Hausa, *malam tsubbu,* if specializing in medicine, or a *malam dubba,* if specializing in divination. These terms are often shortened to *malam* (Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 197).

31. Mende clerics in Sierra Leone used the secrecy inherent in writing to gain power as they stressed the difficulties of learning Arabic (Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 228–229).

32. Bravmann, *African Islam,* 22. Tamashek is the Tuareg language.

33. Roberts, *A Saint in the City,* 179. Wolof is spoken in much of Senegal.

34. *Sèbèn* also refers to the fact that most scripts used by specialists are secret and meant for spiritual use. McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths,* 58. Mande blacksmiths, sorcerers, hunters, and spiritual association leaders use at least two types of non-alphabetic, graphic writing to make amulets. Both of these types are decipherable only to the highly specialized practitioner (ibid., 59).

35. Clients may soak certain possessions in this liquid, as well, and the words can also be burned and inhaled. See Raymond Silverman, "Arabic Writing and the Occult," in *Brocade of the Pen: The Art of Islamic Writing,* ed. Carol Garrett Fisher (East Lansing: Kresge Art Museum, Michigan State University, 1991), 27.

36. See Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 202, 223–224.

37. Hassan illustrates an *al-Hisn al-Hasin* in ibid., fig. no. 8.2.

38. Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger,* 99–100.

39. McNaughton discusses the powerful confluence of *kilisi* secret speech with ingredients over which these words are intoned, and the speaker's "rhythmically implanted" spit (McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths,* 43, 59, 113, 132). See also Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit,* 77, 110–111, 113–115.

40. For a discussion of this theme as it relates to Arabic script, see Sheila Blair, "Legibility versus Decoration in Islamic Epigraphy: The Case of Interlacing," in *World Art, Themes of Unity in Diversity: Acts of the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art,* ed. Irving Lavin (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), vol. 2, 329–334. Regarding the ambiguity of the purpose of the written word in African traditions, see Prussin, *Hatumere,* 91.

41. Prussin writes that, "just as education eventually came to consist of only learning to recite the most important verses of the Koran, so it was no longer essential that a *marabout* read or write fluently. Thus, while the writing of Arabic script was a fundamental part of the equipment of every well-educated Muslim, the quality and literacy of that written word varied considerably" (Prussin, *Hatumere*, 91, 77). See also Louis Brenner, *West African Sufi: The Religious Heritage and Spiritual Search of Cerno Bokar Saalif Taal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 74.

42. This aspect of imagery and symbolism is crucial to understanding patterns painted in Sufi manuscripts as well as their written contents. See Prussin, "Architectural Facets of Islam in the Futa-Djallon," 26.

43. For various kinds of Hausa calligraphic amulets, see Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 208–222.

44. Variations of this design are present in the divination manual in the private Morgan Collection called the *Kitab Moussa* (Book of Moses).

45. See Patrick McNaughton, "The Power Associations," in *Bamana: The Art of Existence in Mali,* ed. Jean-Paul Colleyn (New York: Museum for African Art; Zürich: Museum Rietberg; Ghent: Snoek-Ducaju and Zoon, 2001), 168. See also McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths,* 18–19; Camara, Seydou, *The Songs of Seydou Camara. Volume One: Kambili.* Translated by Charles S. Bird, Mamadou Koita, and Bourama Soumaouro. Bloomington, Ind.: African Studies Center at Indiana University, 1974.

46. McNaughton, "The Power Associations," 246.

47. McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths,* 103.

48. Hassan writes about leatherworkers and/or blacksmiths who produce these amulet covers being literate and working with the *malam* to enhance the amulet's efficacy (by being attractive) and secrecy (Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 201). See also Prussin, *Hatumere,* 88.

49. Roberts, *A Saint in the City,* 47–48.

50. Bravmann, *African Islam,* 32, 35.

51. Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 209.

52. The Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* is unpaginated. This quote occurs on one of the smaller preface leaves written in black script.

53. For an example of such use, see Blyden, "The Koran in Africa," 160.

54. The Sahel is also known as the Sudan.

It is the immense region of grassland between the Sahara Desert to the north and the rain forests to the south and southwest. This area includes sections of these contemporary nations: western Senegal and Guinea; northern Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria; and all of Burkina Faso. The Sahel also comprises areas of the nations of Mali, Mauretania, and Niger south of the Sahara. It then extends east to include northern Chad and northwestern Sudan.

55. As this script style is probably from what is today northern Nigeria, the most common indigenous languages would have included Hausa, Fulani, and Tamashek.

56. Regarding similar patterns, see David Heathcote, "A Leatherworker of Zaria City, Part Two," *Nigerian Field* 39/3 (1974): 115, 116, figs. 83, 92, 93, 94; Bravmann, *African Islam,* 34, fig. 21, and 92, fig. 70; Prussin, *Hatumere,* frontispiece and 90, fig. 4.12d; Roberts, *A Saint in the City,* 182–183, figs. 7.18a and 7.18b; Robert Farris Thompson, *Face of the Gods: Art and Altars of Africa and the African Americas* (New York: Museum for African Art; Munich: Prestel, 1993), 206, pl. 223; Visonà et al., *A History of Art in Africa,* 99, fig. 3.30; and Heathcote, "Hausa Women's Dress," 206, fig. 4.

57. Several painted panels designating weekday prayers in the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* also have a net-like pattern.

58. Prussin, *Hatumere*, 62, figs. 3.16a and 3.16c. The X is also featured throughout west Africa (ibid., 248, fig. 8.18; Bravmann, *African Islam,* 36, fig. 23; Pascal James Imperato, *Legends, Sorcerers, and Enchanted Lizards: Door Locks of the Bamana of Mali* [New York, N.Y.: Africana Publishing Company, 2001], figs. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 24; and Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit,* 116).

59. Imperato, *Legends, Sorcerers, and Enchanted Lizards,* 13, 22.

60. Imperato, *Legends, Sorcerers, and Enchanted Lizards,* 21–22;

61. Anthony Kirk-Greene, "Decorated Houses in Zaria," *Nigeria* 68 (1961): 65, fig. 15. Variations on this pattern may be represented in a much larger interlace pattern, more similar to that on the Lilly pouch. See Heathcote, "Insight into a Creative Process," 171, fig. 4.

62. These are sometimes called *maha'di ido mai kusurwa* (angular eye) or *idon hazbiya* (pigeon's eye). See Heathcote, "A Leatherworker of Zaria City, Part Two," 115, 116, fig. 81.

63. Imperato, *Legends, Sorcerers, and Enchanted Lizards,* 22.

64. McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths,* 55.

65. See the *Kitab Moussa* in the Morgan Collection.

66. Prussin, *Hatumere,* 86. The Akan sandal, one of the most important elements of Akan regalia and considered a protective envelope for the ruler's being, is especially potent at the point of contact with the earth (ibid., 243, fig. 8.13a).

67. Amulets are sometimes covered in monitor lizard or fish skin. See David Heathcote, "A Leatherworker of Zaria City, Part One," *Nigerian Field* 39/1 (1974): 18.

68. H. R. Palmer, "Note on Traces of Totemism and Some Other Customs in Hausaland," *Man* 10 (1910): 75–76.

69. Diamond patterns often associated with snakes in west African art resemble those on the Lilly *Dala'il al-Khayrat* Sunday prayer panel (Figure 8.5). For one example, see Visonà et al., *A History of Art in Africa,* 178, figs. 6–14. For a discussion of Yoruba *àshe* (the Yoruba equivalent to the concept of *nyama*) in relation to snakes, see Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit,* 5. Rainbow serpent deities are also important in Hausa, Yoruba, and Dahomean pantheons.

70. Drawing courtesy of David Heathcote, "Aspects of Style," 31, fig. 20.

71. It is important to note that sculptors and other artists throughout west and central Africa at the turn of the 20th century often used this guilloche pattern to indicate hair styles, scarification patterns, for birds and mammals, and for more general decorative passages as well, thus diversifying their symbolic significance. See Visonà et al., *A History of Art in Africa,* 98, 116, 149, 170, and 404.

72. J. Sesiano, "Wafk," E.I.^{2}, vol. 11, 28.

73. Schuyler Cammann, "Islamic and Indian Magic Squares. Part I," *History of Religions* 8/3 (1969): 203; and McNaughton, *The Mande Blacksmiths,* 103.

74. Heathcote, "Insight into a Creative Process," 173.

75. Geometric patterns reinforce the amulet's "magical attraction," rendering the amulet's appearance ornamental as well as protective (Hassan, *Art and Islamic Literacy,* 201).

76. Silverman, "History, Art, and Assimilation," 231–232.

77. Ibid., 233–234.

78. Bruce Willis, *The Adinkra Dictionary: A Visual Primer on the Language of Adinkra* (Washington, D.C.: Pyramid Co., 1998), 80–81, 96–97, 188–189.

79. Most of the Lilly manuscript's calligraphy was formed by ink laid down directly on the paper in freehand strokes. The scribe formed this Saturday prayer panel's script by painting the space surrounding the letters, leaving the exposed paper to color the characters. This difference in writing technique produces an intriguing contrast between this panel's angular script and the cursive style of calligraphy that is dominant in the Lilly manual.

80. The reciting of blessings to Muhammad, such as those found in the *Dala'il al-Khayrat,* is central to many Tijaniyya Sufi *dhikr* meetings. See Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger,* 79.

81. Moroccan Gnaoua healers, highly influenced by their Sahelian roots, petition powerful family members of the Prophet. See Bravmann, "Islamic Spirits and African Artistry," 68.

82. Willis, *The Adinkra Dictionary,* 130.

83. Prussin, *Hatumere,* 94–95.

84. T. C. McCaskie, "Time and the Calendar in Nineteenth-Century Asante: An Exploratory Essay," *History in Africa* 7 (1980): 190–191.

85. George Nelson Preston, "Twifo-Heman and the Akan Art-Leadership Complex of Ghana," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973, 86.

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This book was designed by Jamison Cockerham and set in type by Tony Brewer at Indiana University Press and printed by Sheridan Books. The sponsoring editor was Robert Sloan and the project editor was June Silay.

The text face is Minion Pro, designed by Robert Slimbach, and the display face is Centaur, designed by Bruce Rogers, both issued by Adobe Systems.