Power and Protection *Islamic Art and the Supernatural*

FRANCESCA LEONI
with essays by Pierre Lory, Christiane Gruber,
Francesca Leoni and contributions by Farouk Yahya
and Venetia Porter

POWER AND PROTECTION

Islamic Art and the Supernatural

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM
Oxford · 2016

ASHMOLEAN

Power & Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural
20 October 2016 – 15 January 2017

The exhibition has been supported most generously by:
His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah Al Thani
and The Al Thani Collection
His Royal Highness Sultan Nazrin Shah, Ruler of Perak, Malaysia
The Farjam Foundation
The Patrons of the Ashmolean Museum

With additional support for this publication and the research
from the Barakat Trust and the Leverhulme Trust

THE BARAKAT TRUST

The Leverhulme Trust

We are especially grateful to the Nasser D. Khalili Collection
of Islamic Art, who has been extraordinarily generous in supporting
our exhibition with loans.

We thank all our lenders for their support:
The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
The British Library Board
The Trustees of the British Museum
Victoria and Albert Museum
The Wellcome Library
The Farjam Foundation
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford
The Sarikhani Collection
Al Thani Collection
The Syndics of Cambridge University Library
The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art
National Museums of Scotland
Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

British Library Cataloguing in Publications Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

EAN 13: 978-1-910807-09-5

Published by the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

General Editors: Katherine Wodehouse and Declan McCarthy

Designed and typeset in MVB Solitaire and Verdigris by Dalrymple
Printed and bound in TBC

Front cover: Finial in the Shape of the 'Hand of Fatima' [cat.73]

Back cover: Set of Twelve Coins of Emperor Jahangir
with the Zodiac [cat.71]

Cover flaps: details from *The Nativity Book of Iskandar ibn 'Umar Shaykh* [cat.11]

Frontispiece: detail from 'Yusuf Received by the King', from an illustrated copy of *Yusuf and Zuleykha* by Hamdullah Çelebi [cat.25]

For further details of Ashmolean titles please visit:
www.ashmolean.org/shop

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Contents

Fig.1 | Celestial Globe, signed by Ja'far ibn 'Umar ibn Dawlatshah al-Kirmani, Iran, 764 AH/ 1362–3
Brass, inlaid with silver, diam. 16.5 cm
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford (44790)
Cat.4

Director's Foreword

These are challenging times in which to address Islam in a museum setting. Yet it has never been more necessary to discover, or rediscover, the richness of Islam's cultural and intellectual contributions to the world today, nor to highlight the complexity and sophistication of its material culture. *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural* offers an original and unconventional perspective on Islamic culture. Through works of art and objects that range from masterpieces of craftsmanship to the ephemeral, and from the miniature to the monumental, the exhibition investigates a range of divinatory practices –including astrology, bibliomancy – and amulet-making which, as in other religions, have always sat on the margins of acceptability, but which reveal much about the history of popular religion and devotion. Through them, the display opens a window on to possibly unfamiliar dimensions of Islamic spirituality and the variety of popular devotional practices in the Islamic world. The exhibition is one of the outcomes of a larger research project led by Dr Francesca Leoni and funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and is the first major exhibition to explore the supernatural in the Islamic tradition from the Middle Ages onwards.

Every project of this size is a collaborative venture and relies on the support of many individuals and institutions. I would particularly like to acknowledge the support of His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah Al Thani and the Al Thani Collection, His Royal Highness Sultan Nazrin Shah, Ruler of Perak, Malaysia, and the Farjam Foundation and thank them for their generosity and enthusiasm. I am also grateful to the Patrons of the Ashmolean Museum. Among the many lenders to the show I would particularly like to thank Professor Nasser D. Khalili and our colleagues at the Bodleian Libraries, the British Museum, The Al Thani Collection and the Farjam Foundation for their substantial and invaluable loans to the exhibition.

XA STURGIS
Director, Ashmolean Museum

Acknowledgements

Born out of individual curiosity regarding a marginalised topic, this exhibition quickly evolved into a major institutional effort involving numerous individuals and organisations.

Sincere thanks are owed to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting a two-year research project entitled 'Divination and Art in the Medieval and Early Modern Islamic World' whose insights underpin this exhibition. I am equally deeply indebted to His Royal Highness Sultan Nazrin Shah, Ruler of Perak, Malaysia, His Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Abdullah Al Thani, Dr Farhad Farjam and the Patrons of the Ashmolean whose generosity enabled us to present the fruits of this effort to the broader public, as well as to The Barakat Trust for supporting the exhibition catalogue.

One third of the objects on display in the exhibition are drawn from the Khalili Collection. I am therefore especially thankful to Professor David Khalili for his essential contribution and unflagging encouragement from the outset of the project. Essential loans were offered by numerous other lenders and particular gratitude is owed to them and their staff in recognition of their support and collegiality. At the British Library: Emma Denness, Ursula Sims-Williams, and Muhammad Isa Waley; at the British Museum: Ladan Akbarnia, Dean Baylis, Vesta Curtis, Mahmoud Hawari, Jill Maggs, Venetia Porter, and Fahmida Suleman; at the Bodleian Library: Bruce Barker-Benfield, Gillian Evison, Madeline Slaven, and Alasdair Watson; at the Cambridge University Library: Jill Whitelock; at the Chester Beatty Library: Jessica Baldwin, Sinéad Ward and Elaine Wright; at the Farjam Foundation: Farhad Farjam and Alexandra Balmer; at the Khalili Collection: Nahla Nasser; at the Keir Collection: Richard de Unger and Adeela Qureshi; at the Museum of the History of Science: Silke Ackermann, Stephen Johnston, and Lucy Baxland; at the National Museums of Scotland: Lucy Malcolm Clark and Friederike Voigt; at the Pitt Rivers Museum: Laura Peers, Jeremy Coote, and Madeleine Ding; at the Sarikhani Collection: Ina Sarikhani, Ali Sarikhani, and Susan Richarson; at the Victoria and Albert Museum: Behnaz Atighi Moghaddam, Moya Carey, Mariam Rosser-Owen, and Tim Stanley; at the Wellcome Library: Nikolai Serikoff and Bryony Bengett-Abbott. Sincere thanks are extended to those lenders who wished to remain anonymous.

A number of scholars, colleagues and friends have provided expert advice over the years for which I am profoundly grateful: Dionisus Agius, Shabbir Akhtar, Afifi al-Akiti, James Allan, Imam Ahsan Ameen, Hazim Azghari, Sussan Babaie, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Evrim Binbaş, Dominic Parviz Brookshaw, Charles Burnett, Sheila Canby, Denise Çakır Phillip, Stefano Carboni, Paul Collins, Federica Duva, Jas Elsner, Massumeh Farhad, David Farrer, Keramat Fathiniya, Theresa Fitzherbert, Finbarr Barry Flood, Noorah al Gailani, Christiane Gruber, Carole Hillenbrand, Robert Hillenbrand, Iman Monawar Hussain, Qaisra Khan, Amin Jaffer, Jeremy Johns, Ruba Kanaan, Amy Landau, Myfanwy Lloyd, Pierre Lory, Azfar Moin, Mika Natif, Imran Naved, Farhan Nizami, Oliver Ohare, Eva Orthmann, Sara Plumbly, Tariq Ramadan, Sheikh Ramzy, Rosalee Rich, William Robinson, Eugene Rogan, Martina Rugiadi, Liana Saif, Ina Sarikhani, Emilie Savage-Smith, Susan Stronge, Ahmad Sukkar, Luke Treadwell, Frank Villaz, Oliver Watson, Zeynep Yürekli-Görkay.

Last, but not least, heartfelt thanks go to the many colleagues in departments across the Ashmolean Museum who have made invaluable contributions to the organisation of the exhibition, as well as the associated publication, resources, and public programme, for their support, patience, and continual encouragement. Particular gratitude is owed to Farouk Yahya, Leverhulme Research Assistant, for his precious help and kindness.

FRANCESCA LEONI
Yousef Jameel Curator of Islamic Art, Ashmolean Museum

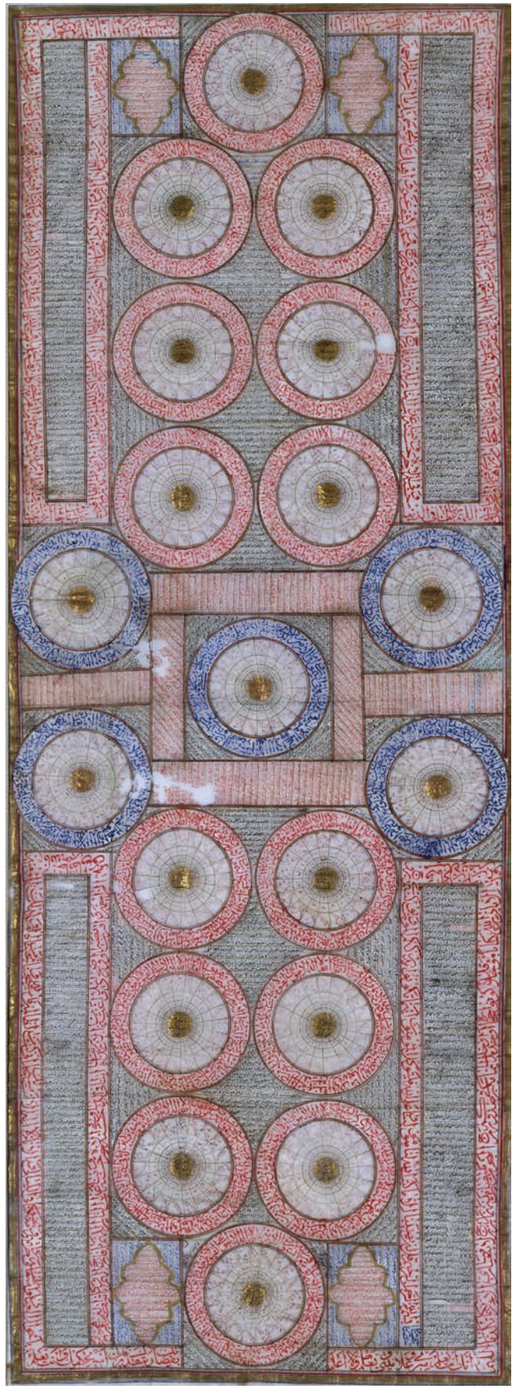


Fig.2 | Talismanic Chart, Iran, c.1900
Coloured inks on parchment, 63 × 24 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS756)
Cat.106

Introduction

Predicting, understanding, and controlling the range of hidden forces believed to influence human existence were constant preoccupations in the pre-modern world and this was no different in the Muslim sphere. Islamic material culture – ranging from humble hard stone amulets inscribed with pious invocations to elaborate talismanic shirts to be worn in battle and sophisticated instruments for astrological and geomantic calculations – suggests widespread and sustained practices which requested supernatural assistance and divine protection. This rich material evidence complements theoretical treatises on various divinatory arts and the abundant narratives, anecdotes, and historical references which reflect both the currency and the controversial nature of these practices through the centuries. While what was considered acceptable varied greatly across periods and geographical areas, sciences such as dream interpretation (*'ilm ta'bir al-ru'ya*), the reading and interpretation of omens (*'ilm al-fa'l*), astrology (*'ilm ahkam al-nujum*), and the practice of divining from marks on the sand (*'ilm al-raml*), were regularly employed for personal, social, political, and ideological reasons at both popular and elite levels. So too were the science of talismans and divination by letters and their numeric values (*'ilm al-huruf*). By examining the material evidence produced by these techniques, *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural* reflects on the implications and cultural significance of divination in the Islamic tradition.

Beginning with the unique qualities of the divinatory arts mentioned above, the exhibition considers their interaction and integration with one another. Astrology is a case in point: in addition to casting horoscopes and identifying propitious times for a range of activities, astrological forecasts – themselves based on mathematical knowledge and astronomical calculations – were also needed to produce and activate amulets, to assist with medical prognoses, and to elucidate dreams and omens. Unsurprisingly diviners, often primarily trained in rational and religious sciences, mastered multiple practices. Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi (d.886), the best-known astrologer of classical Islam, studied *hadith* for most of his adult life before al-Kindi (d.873), a celebrated philosopher and advocate of astrology, encouraged him to study arithmetic and geometry,

through which he subsequently accessed the science of stars. Even Ahmad ibn ʿAli al-Buni (d.1225), the foremost figure of Islamic occultism, was essentially a trained mathematician. Although al-Buni's life remains shrouded in secrecy, his theories about the production of magic squares – one of the most distinctive devices used in Islamic talismanic arts – all rely on solid, rational premises.

Far from being ignorant charlatans or social outcasts, the key practitioners and authors of occult knowledge were often learned advisors. They sought to respond to the appeals of princes and commoners alike, by interpreting the cosmos directly through various intellectual resources or by resorting to other acceptable conduits, including the Qur'an, the Holy Book of Islam. Taking this into account, the fact that historical arguments against divination and some 'magical' practices mostly condemned inappropriate and malicious uses of such powers while admitting their existence and efficacy acquires new significance. Moreover, the crucial question of whether these arts were progressively marginalised because diviners, by foretelling or propitiating the future, essentially posed a challenge to God's control of human destiny is open to re-evaluation. *Power and Protection* hopes to encourage just such a reassessment.

The question of how far divinatory and talismanic arts relied on divine intervention is another essential thread discussed here. As already noticed by scholars, what differentiates the majority of surviving evidence in the Muslim world from comparable examples in other cultural and religious traditions is the reliance on God (and other holy figures) for help and intercession, with references to demons and evil forces occurring more rarely. Appeals are generally formulated through vehicles linked to the divine and saintly spheres, including specific Qur'anic quotations, supererogatory prayers, and prophetic symbols. This sacred vocabulary ultimately confers a pious connotation on several talismanic arts, as well as on activities heavily reliant on God's mediation such as dream interpretation and book divination based on the Qur'an. Moreover, its recurrent use complements rather than contradicts notions of belief traditionally associated with Islamic normative religious acts, effectively expanding their capacity.

This crucial nexus and its fuller implications are of special importance for our understanding of aspects of Muslim spirituality and its daily performance. Its consideration in the context of this exhibition helps to clarify the nature and forms of Islamic popular religious practice versus orthodoxy and abstract theological and legal positions. At the same time this nexus also gives a historical perspective to activities observable in contemporary Islamic societies, such as the making and trading of amulets, consultations of spiritual healers and religious leaders of the North and West African tradition known as *marabouts*, and the visitation of burials and holy sites to obtain saintly intercession (*shafa'a*) and blessing (*baraka*).

The exhibition is organised into three sections, ranging from the theories and principles of the best documented divinatory sciences to their practical applications and the powerful vocabulary used to transform utilitarian objects into instruments able to harness and channel specific powers. Reflecting this division, the essays in this catalogue provide a fresh historical and contextual background to the techniques, tools, and formulas featured in the exhibition. Most of the objects on display were produced in regions ranging from North Africa to India between the twelfth and the twentieth centuries. However, there are also objects from Sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia and China which reveal the continuity and vernacular quality of these same techniques beyond the classical centres of Islamic cultural production and well into modern times.

Fig.3 | Astrolabe, signed by Khalil Muhammad ibn Hasan ʿAli, Iran, c.1700, Brass, engraved, diam. 9.1 cm
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford (42649)
Cat.2

A NOTE TO THE READER

When available, dates in the catalogue are given both in the Islamic and Gregorian calendars. If the Islamic is given, it precedes the Gregorian one and is identified by AH, the year of the *hijra* or migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. This marks year 1 of the Islamic calendar and corresponds to AD 622.

Foreign words and nouns that have a generally recognised English form are anglicized in the text. Diacriticals and vowel marks have been omitted in the text and footnotes, but have been retained in the final bibliography. The letters *ʿayn* (ʿ) and *hamza* (ʾ) have been indicated at the beginning/end of the word as well as in medial position. Arabic and Persian words are largely transliterated following a simplified version of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, while Ottoman names follow a Turkish transliteration system. With a few exceptions, false English plurals have been used for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words.

Divination and Religion in Islamic Medieval Culture

PIERRE LORY

When the Arab armies under the banner of Islam conquered the Near East, Iran, and North Africa in the seventh to eighth centuries, they encountered many ancient religious beliefs and scientific traditions. Divinatory practices were equally numerous and well established. Astrology, for example, the most popular divinatory procedure in antiquity, had become a complete science, endowed with thorough theoretical principles and rules of application. The conquering Arabs also possessed their own divinatory traditions, based on the observation of the rising of stars (*anwa'*), the movements of animals (*zajr*), especially birds (*tira*) and natural events (*fa'l*), and they regularly consulted soothsayers and diviners.[1] At the time of Muhammad, however, pagan soothsaying and divination (*kihana*) came to rival prophecy.[2] The status of divinatory sciences changed, and they came to be reassessed in relation to Islam's view of the world and human destiny.

According to this view, the absolute will of an all-powerful God occupies the very core of human life. He has full control over both present and future events; nothing escapes from His decisions. These may appear mysterious and humanity is often unable to grasp the reasons behind them. However, this is not to say that God is perceived as an arbitrary dominator; Muslims have confidence in His compassion towards them and in His will to guide them to salvation and eternal bliss. God rules the world through the intermediary of His angels or through natural forces, both considered integral to His realm. In fact, there is no real distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' events in the Islamic world-view; humans, animals, and angels are similarly all God's creatures and all owe veneration to Him. By extension, all human acts acquire meaning only as fulfilments of God's will – including practices that enable the prediction of future events for the benefit of individuals and communities alike.

In medieval Islam the idea that some aspects of the future may be either deduced or disclosed by God or His angels was far from uncommon. When this happened, it was to help individuals make the right choices, in agreement with, rather than in opposition to, the tenets and ethics of Islam, thereby improving the chance of gaining eternal life in the hereafter. This led to the recognition of divinatory practices such as dream interpretation as legitimate branches of knowledge, and to their acceptance among the classification of sciences by great Muslim philosophers and thinkers. Among them were the tenth-century Ikhwan al-Safa' ('Brethren of Purity'), Ibn Sina (otherwise known as Avicenna, d.1037), Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d.1209), and Ibn Khaldun (d.1406).

While the efficacy of divination was recognised in learned Muslim circles, very early on theologians and jurists condemned many of its forms as acts that challenged God's power and compromised Islam's strict monotheism.[3] This position reflected the Qur'anic prohibition of invoking entities other than God, such as jinns, angels, and spirits of the planets, and aimed to remind believers that Islam meant obedience to God and respect of His law (*shari'a*).[4] A famous precept, sometimes presented as a *hadith* (a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad), declares: 'Diviners are lying, even when they say the truth.' This point was further emphasised by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d.1111), one of the leading medieval theologians. He admitted to a certain extent the effectiveness of divination and magic, but recommended avoiding them and focusing instead on religious life.[5]

DEDUCTIVE DIVINATION: ASTROLOGY AND GEOMANCY

The divinatory practices used in the Islamic world were many and varied.[6] Among them astrology (*'ilm ahkam al-nujum*) is arguably the most familiar and widespread. Reflecting the impact of Greek science, medieval Islamic thinkers believed all that occurred on earth – that is, in the 'sub-lunar' sphere – was influenced by heavenly bodies, such as the Sun, the Moon, the five known planets, and the stars.[7] Each of these planets orbited around a particular sphere in the sky and exerted a specific influence on the different parts of the earth, which changed over time and in relation to the varying positions of the other planets (fig.4).[8] Astrologers maintained that earthly events were ruled by these heavenly forces, and that men who knew their nature could foretell many occurrences concerning the human condition. Through knowledge of such forces they could predict a range of astronomical and meteorological phenomena (lunar phases, eclipses, rainfall, and droughts) and associated activities (times of prayers, Islamic festivities, and harvesting times),

Detail of cat.11

Fig.4 | The Angel Ruh Holding the Celestial Spheres from an illustrated copy of the *'Aja'ib al-makhluqat wa ghara'ib al-mawjudat* ('The Wonders of Creation and the Oddities of Existence') by al-Qazvini, Iran, second half of the 16th century, ink, colour and gold on paper, 30.4 × 21.2 cm. Gift of Gerald Reitlinger, Ashmolean Museum (EA1978.2573)

Fig.5 | *Ruzname* ('Calendar'), Turkey, 1226 AH / 1812, ink, colours, and gold on paper, 100 × 12.2 cm. Wellcome Library, London (Ottoman Ms.3) cat.6

This calendar contains astronomical tables that allow users to establish correspondences between the lunar (*hijri*) and the solar (*rumi*) years. The former, based on the cycle of the Moon and generally in use in the Islamic world, is essential to determine key Muslim religious duties. Seasonal and economic activities such as agriculture, however, rely on the latter, assimilated from the Byzantine tradition during the Ottoman period.

Fig.6 | Chapter about People Born in the Third Decade of the Sign of Taurus, from a fragmentary illustrated copy of the ***Kitab al-Mawalid*** ('Book of Nativities') by Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi, probably Baghdad (Iraq), late 14th century, ink, colours, and gold on paper, 22.5 × 17.2 cm.
The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art. (III.29–68, fol.8b)
cat.10

Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi (d.886) became involved with astrology at a mature age. Yet his numerous works in support of its validity made him the most authoritative astrologer of medieval Islam. This rare fragmentary manuscript theorises the practice of genethlialogy, or natal astrology. This folio describes the personality of people born in the third decan of the sign of Taurus – a period when Saturn, the black semi-naked man at the top-left corner, is deemed especially influential. Taurus's planetary Lord, Venus, depicted as a lute-player, is also included in the painting.

as documented in surviving calendars (fig.5) and almanacs (cat.7). Furthermore, they could also gain insight regarding collective events, including the results of campaigns and wars, or determine auspicious times for important acts such as the foundation of cities. The foundation of Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258), inaugurated in 762, for instance, was begun in 758 at the precise moment established by a team of astrologers that included a Jew, Masha'allah ibn Athari, and a Zoroastrian (and later Muslim convert), Nawbakht.[9] Last but not least, astrologers could determine what would happen to specific individuals through the casting of personal horoscopes. In the case of nativities, they would calculate the exact position of all the celestial bodies at the moment and place of a person's birth and thus establish the influences, advantages, and impediments he or she would encounter in life (cat.11, overleaf).[10] Additional calculations could be undertaken in relation to other life events, such as weddings, the coming to power of a prince or governor, or at the deathbed.

These beliefs and practices had important political, ideological, and social implications. Rulers and those who could pay for the consultation of private astrologers, who were generally trained as scientists and astronomers, very often sought their advice before taking important decisions (fig.6). As a result, courtly and elite patronage greatly improved the social and intellectual status of these practitioners in the Islamic world, making them instrumental to the exercise

of power. From the astrologers active at the courts of the early Abbasid caliphs to the institutionalised chief astrologers (*munajjim-bashi*) of the Safavid and Ottoman empires, these learned scholars often reached the highest favour, becoming key advisors to Muslim rulers.

It must be noted, however, that astrologers were also consulted by other social classes. The treatise on market inspection (*hisba*) written by Ibn al-Ukhuwah (d.1329) in Mamluk Egypt gives us a vivid insight into the popular status of astrology. This divinatory science, although officially outlawed, was effectively tolerated as long as it was practised publicly in the markets and main streets, in order to prevent private (and potentially compromising) consultations with its most frequent customers, women, in shops. These consultations were cheap, but often offered by poorly trained practitioners and charlatans which explains their dismissal and criticism.[11]

Not all intellectuals believed in the principles of astrology. Firstly, a clear distinction was made between astronomy, with its rigorous calculations and practical applications, and judicial astrology, which used the same methods and tools in order to foretell the destinies of individuals (fig.7).[12] Secondly, debates about the veracity of astrology continued to occur over the centuries. Important scholars such as al-Jahiz (d.869) and the above-mentioned Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali, and Ibn Khaldun denied that astrology could lead to a real knowledge of future events.[13] Moreover, many jurists considered it impious to give such a degree of importance to the stars as the pagans did; they stressed instead that God alone ruled earthly processes according to His will. Among the important

Fig.7 | Astrolabe with Lunar Mansions, signed by 'Abd al-Karim al-Misri, probably Mayyafariqin (Turkey), 625 AH / 1227–8, brass, inlaid with silver and gold, c.27.8 cm.
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford (37148)
cat.3

Made for the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa I (r. 1201–1237), this is the only known astrolabe carrying illustrations of the 28 lunar mansions (*manazil al-qamar*) in addition to the zodiac (*buruj*). The mansions represent the stations of the Moon's yearly journey around the Earth. Owing to its interaction with the zodiac and other stars during its transit, the Moon's movement generated positive or negative influences deemed crucial for useful astrological predictions.

The Nativity Book of Iskandar ibn ʻUmar Shaykh [cat.11]

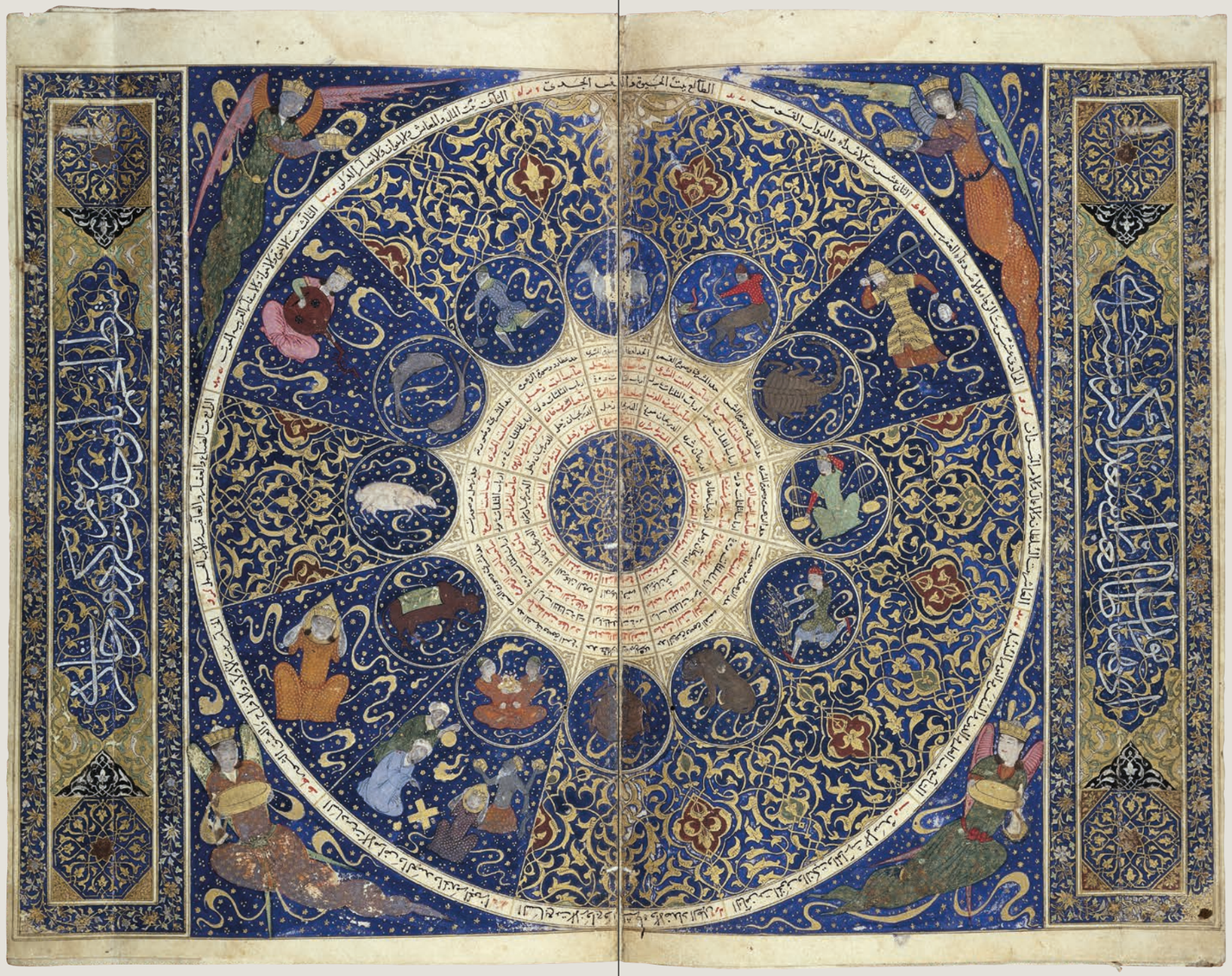
Shiraz (Iran), 22 Dhu'l-Hijja 813 AH / 18 April 1411,
ink, colours, and gold on paper, 26.5 × 16.7 cm.

Wellcome Library, London (Ms. Persian 474, fols 18b–19a and 64b–65a)

One of the most spectacular examples of Timurid book arts to have survived, this fine manuscript contains a remarkably rare document: the nativity book (*kitab-i viladat*) of prince Iskandar ibn ʻUmar Shaykh (1384–1415), the grandson of the Turco-Mongol ruler Timur (Tamerlane, d.1405). Completed in 1411 (813 AH) , it was compiled by the court astrologer Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn al-Hasan al-Kashi.[1]

The text of the horoscope, which stretches over 86 folios, is divided into three sections. Following the opening invocations to God, the heavenly bodies, the Prophet Muhammad, and a reference to the dedicatee, the first part presents the astronomical calculations underpinning it. Among them are the Ascendant and the moment of conception, considered by practitioners more important in determining one's fate than the time of birth. A two-page painting, illustrating the position of the stars at the time of Iskandar's birth (*surat-i tali'*), concludes this theoretical discussion by visualising the results of the observations. The second section expounds the interpretation of the astronomical findings. These predict a long and healthy life, as well as victories in war, but they also mention the challenges and threats posed to the prince's authority. The third and final part of the horoscope forecasts events during Iskandar's subsequent years up to the age of 40, showing his fortunes changing for the worse in his 34th year. In truth, the prince died at the age of 31, executed by his uncle Shahrukh after his final rebellion and attempt to recapture Shiraz.

Although based on astronomical observations made after Iskandar's birth (3rd Rabi' Awwal 786 AH / 25 April 1384), the horoscope concentrates on contemporary and future events, providing an insight into the prince's undertakings and ambitions.[2] Iskandar saw himself as the heir of Tamerlane in spite of the latter's support of his other brothers, above all Pir Muhammad. This is attested in several contemporary historical texts, including an anonymous account of the House of Timur dated 1413. This survives as a fragmentary anthology and is now preserved in the Topkapi Saray Museum.[3] The text in this account presents the prince as 'the finest offspring of this house' and declares that Timur's empire was 'left as a legacy' to him.[4] Conscious of his strength and growing political recognition, a few months after the horoscope was compiled Iskandar conquered



Isfahan, further expanding his territorial control over Iran. The decision to celebrate the support of the stars in an official horoscope, itself a privilege of rulers, could thus be seen as a conscious act further validating his royal aspirations.

This especially appears to be the case if the increased size of three key planets in the chart is considered – the Sun (traditionally connected to royalty), Mars (planet of war and military conquests), and Venus (planet of intellectual and artistic endeavours). Also significant is the half-sign shift from the actual calculations about their positions within the zodiacal houses which allowed to place the Sun in Taurus, Iskandar's zodiacal sign.[5] Moreover, the recourse to an illustrated and illuminated manuscript to authenticate his political goals appropriated yet another royal prerogative and powerful ideological tool – that of artistic patronage, which other, equally ambitious Timurid princes were also exploiting.[6] Thus at the peak of his power Iskandar fully embraced the traditional rhetorical and cultural trappings of royalty in the Turco-Mongol world, in order to communicate his ambitious aspirations to his peers.

Last but not least, the horoscope also reflects Iskandar's intellectual interests, particularly in astronomy and astrology. As demonstrated by Priscilla Soucek, this document was originally included in a large anthology of texts assembled in Shiraz in 1411–12 with the title of *Mawlud-i Humayun ve Taqvim* ('Imperial Nativity and Calendar'), possibly representing the main impetus for the work's assemblage.[7] Today this miscellanea is dispersed across three collections.[8] The section in London (cat.12) contains many of the astronomical and astrological sources listed in the anthology's original index, including those exclusively written for it.[9] Among them are also Ptolemy's *Almagest*, one of the most significant mathematical and astronomical treatise in antiquity, and a geometrical treatise by Euclid, which develops concepts ancillary to astronomy. Both works testify to the range of foreign sources informing the practice of these disciplines in the late medieval and early modern Islamic world. FL

LITERATURE: Akalay (1979); Elwell-Sutton (1984); Keshavarz (1984) and (1986) pp.396–9, no.224; Lentz-Lowry (1989) p.119, no.36; Robinson (1990) p.16, no.6; Savage-Smith (1992) pp.63–5, pl.I; Soucek (1992) pp.126–7; Tourkin (2003) pp.73–4 and (2004); Caiozzo (2005); Pike (2006).

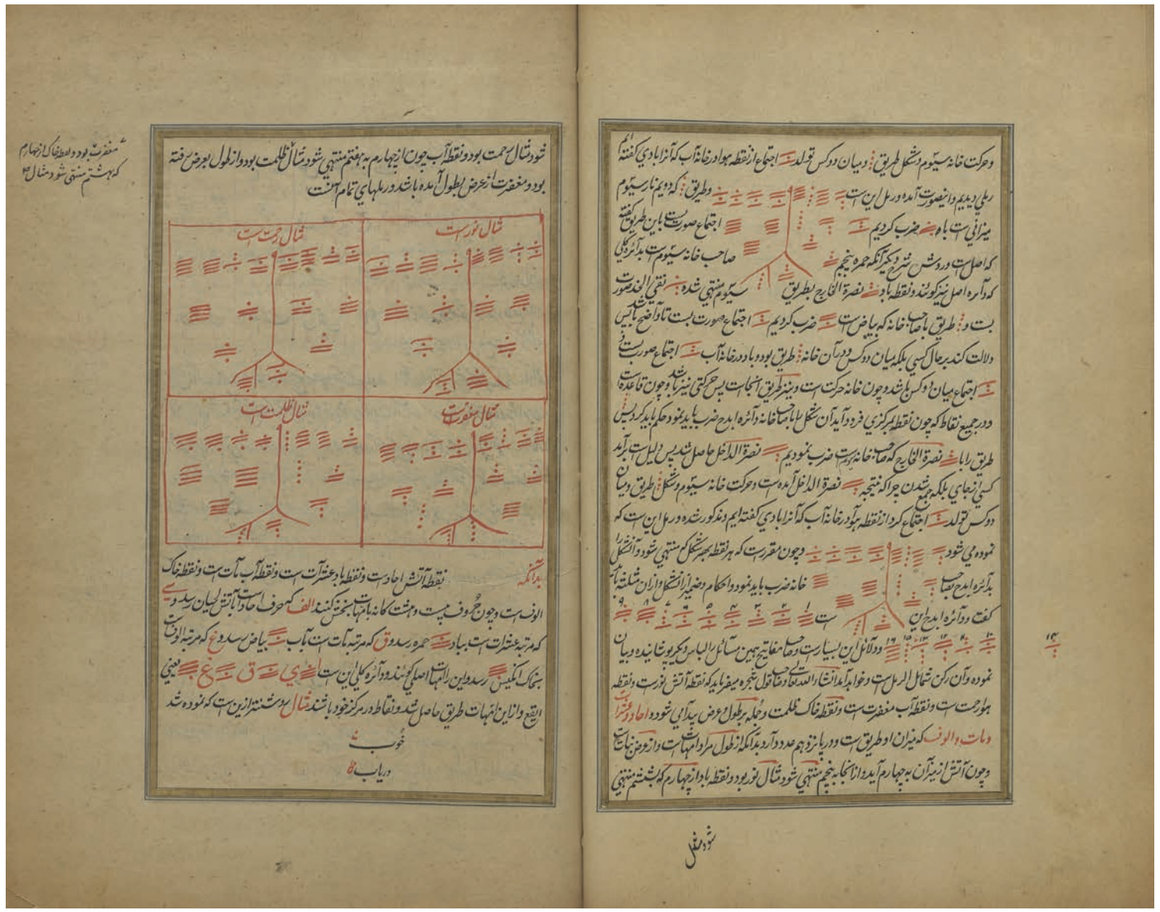


Fig.8 | *Hidayat al-raml* ('Instructions on Sand [Divination]') by Hidayat Allah, India or Iran, 1209 AH /1794, coloured inks and gold on paper, 29.3 × 19.5 cm.
Wellcome Library, London (Ms.466, fols 30b–31a)
cat.15

This manuscript is a late copy of a geomantic manual originally composed for the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r.1556–1605) by Hidayat Allah. Designed as a compendium of geomantic knowledge, it includes references to the range of sources consulted to produce it. It therefore provides valuable insight into the textual tradition that emerged in support of this popular divinatory method.

authorities who instead defended astrology was the twelfth-century Persian philosopher and theologist al-Razi. He maintained that God indeed presides over every event on earth, but through second causes, that is, the laws of nature on earth and in the heavens.[14] The astrologer trying to understand these laws in order to shed light on future events is thus comparable to a physician trying to heal the sick with the help of the same natural principles. Considered in this light, the recourse to astrology could be seen as avoiding any clash with the dogma of God as the only Judge and the true Healer.

Another divinatory science based on deduction was the 'science of the sand' (*'ilm al-raml*), often translated in English as geomancy. Its origins remain unknown, partly owing to the fact that it was practised more frequently at a popular level and did not rely on the astronomical knowledge and mathematical calculations used by astrology.[15] Geomantic divination is based on the interpretation of tables of figures traced on sand or other surface and known as tetragrams. These are obtained by assembling four lines of dots in up to sixteen possible combinations, with the initial four figures (mothers) used as a basis to determine the remaining twelve (daughters, nephews, witnesses, and judges) (fig.8). The practice attributes a specific meaning to each tetragram according to its position in the various phases of the consultation – a principle similar to astrology, in which every planet acquires a new meaning when occupying a specific position. Not only does the geomancer identify which tetragrams are to be produced and placed in which location (*taskin*), but he also determines their position relative to each other on the final geomantic table or theme, with each position addressing an aspect of the answer (the past, the present, the future, family, friends, and so forth). Once the table is complete, the meaning of each tetragram is considered together with the others, thereby generating a response to the question originally posed (cat.14, overleaf).

The *'ilm al-raml* became widely practised in the Islamic world, from Africa to southwest Asia. Its practitioners attempted to justify this divinatory method by quoting *hadith*s which mentioned the prophet Idris (often identified with the biblical Enoch or the Hellenic Hermes) as its transmitter and declared that he had been initiated into this art by the angel Gabriel himself (cat.24).[16] As such, this practice was seen by its supporters as a kind of sacred discipline, a means to discern God's rules on earth more clearly and to apply them.

DECIPHERING GOD'S MESSAGES: DREAMS, OMENS, AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE UNIVERSE

Other divinatory practices relied not on deduction or computation, but upon the close deciphering of the hidden laws of creation and on the interpretation of ordinary events as omens (*'ilm al-fa'l*). In pre-Islamic Arabic society the term *fa'l* applied to a range of different disciplines that sought to 'read' random events: an animal appearing at a given moment, a coincidence of incidents, or the name of a place or a person, for instance. These practices rested on the idea that all visible (*zahir*) events result from the impulse of invisible (*batin*) realities, and that all aspects of the visible world are secretly tied together by invisible but coherent correspondences. *Fa'l* was a procedure to discern what correspondences had to be considered in relation to a specific event affecting a particular person or community. Prophetic traditions mention that Muhammad often had recourse to omen interpretation, mainly through the names of persons and places, thereby lending credibility to the practice.[17]

Omen interpretation with the aid of texts and letters was especially common. Since the beginning of Islam Muslims utilised the Qur'an itself for this purpose: it was opened randomly and its verses used as a key to answer questions. This technique, part of a divinatory method known as bibliomancy, is traditionally associated with the sixth Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d.765) (fig.9) and developed from the Abbasid period (750–1258) onwards.[18] Over time this practice became so common in areas such as Iran that tables containing keys to interpret verses were inserted into Qur'anic manuscripts to facilitate its use for divinatory purposes (fig.10).[19] The works of celebrated poets could be used for the same purpose, such as the *Divan* of Hafiz, Rumi, or Jami, particularly in the Persian and Turkish-speaking worlds (cats 19–20). Other authoritative texts, such as the *summa* of prophetic traditions compiled by al-Bukhari (d.870), were also used in this way (cat.21).[20]

While foretelling the future with the aid of

Geomantic Tablet [cat.14]

signed by Muhammad ibn Khutlukh al-Mawsili, owned by Muhammad al-Muhtasib al-Najjari,[1] probably Damascus (Syria), 639 AH / 1241–2, brass alloy inlaid with silver and gold, 26.8 × 33.6 cm.

The British Museum, London (1888,0526.1)

'I am the revealer of secrets; in me are marvels of wisdom and strange and hidden things'[2]

This remarkable object was created for the purposes of a popular divinatory science called in Arabic '*ilm al-raml* or 'science of the sand', often translated as geomancy. Its unique form is signed by a known maker of inlaid metalwork, Muhammad ibn Khutlukh al-Mawsili. He was a member of an extended group of metalworkers originally associated with the city of Mosul (Iraq), but also active for over a century from about 1200 in both Damascus and Cairo.[3]

'Ilm al-raml is performed by creating and interpreting a design made up of sixteen figures composed of clusters of dots and lines.[4] The person for whom such a design is made may ask questions on various matters of daily life, for instance the possible infidelity of a spouse, the sex of an unborn child, the safety of a future voyage, or the success or failure of a business deal.[5] In the case of this instrument, once the dials were turned the geomancer could provide answers to such concerns by studying the alignment of the dots within the instrument. His interpretation could also be informed by additional technical manuals, even though none is known in relation to this particular tablet. Wear and repair on some of the knobs suggests extensive use.

This geomantic device is made up of four elements: a front plate with a series of dials and sliding arcs, a back plate covered with inscriptions, a frame, and a triangular openwork projection at the top which allows the object to be suspended. To use the instrument the geomancer first moves each of the slides on the right from a closed to an open position, thus revealing patterns of dots. He then turns the top series of four dials according to the instructions given above the slide. This produces domino-like patterns in the window above the dials. From these four groups of patterns, known as 'mothers' (*ummahat)*, a further twelve patterns are derived to record each stage. The semi-circular panel at the bottom provides the meanings for the final sequence, from which the geomancer is able to answer the questions.[6] The instrument's purpose is described on the frame: 'Examine the tablet (*lawh)* and memorise it, for in it there is meaning from the tablet [of God in heaven] when it was marked by the pen. It [the tablet] shows hidden secrets of the unseen which were determined from time immemorial.'[7]

The inscriptions in *kufic* and *naskh* scripts are a mixture of instructions as to how to use the instrument, poems written in the first person (as though the device is itself speaking), excerpts from geomantic texts, and standard dedicatory inscriptions. The name of the maker, Muhammad ibn Khutlukh al-Mawsili, and an owner, Muhammad al-Muhtasib al-Najjari, are also featured. The maker's name appears on the face below the arcs (on the right) in *naskh*, while that of the owner is squeezed into the central roundel, part of the elaborate strap work inscriptions on the back.[8] This, in addition to the different hand and the fact that it is not inlaid with silver like the remaining texts, seems to suggest that this owner was not contemporary with the making of the object and that his name may have been added at a later date. VP

LITERATURE: Savage-Smith–Smith (1980); Allan (1986) pp.32–3; King (1982) p.42; Porter (2001); Savage-Smith–Smith (2004); Raby (2012) p.27, 53 and table I.I.a.

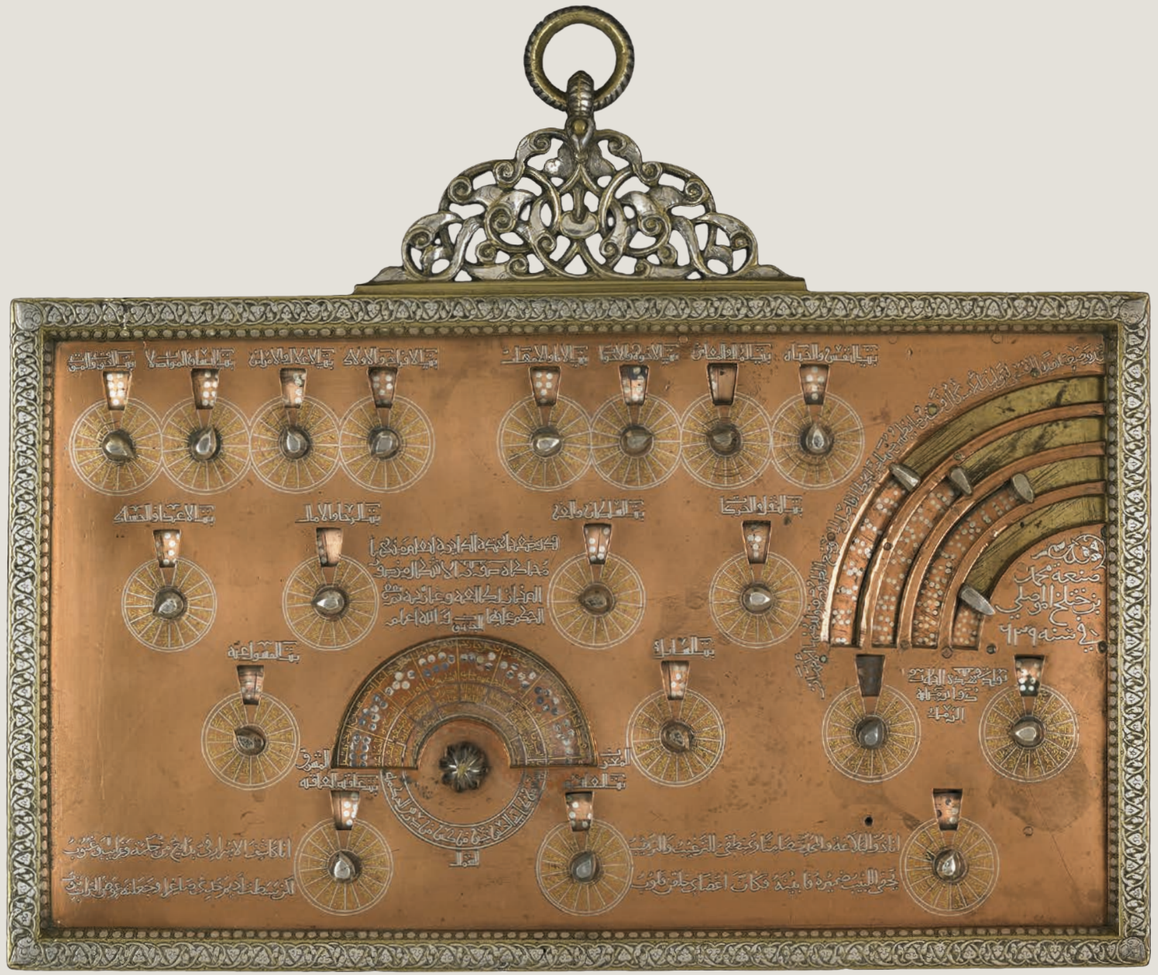


Fig.9 | *Fa'l-i Qur'an* ('Divination by the Qur'an') by Sadr Jahan and Ja'far al-Sadiq, Iran, 884 AH / 1480, ink, colours, and gold on paper, 17.7 × 11.1 cm.
The British Library, London (Add.Or.6591, fols 2b–3a)
cat.17

This booklet is one of the oldest dated texts on Qur'anic divination. The two diagrams presented in this opening are key to obtaining proper guidance. The seeker first choses the area of interest from those listed on the top wheel (marriage, trade, etc.) and then picks a number from the bottom wheel to determine which of the thirty suggested Qur'anic *suras* may help to answer a query. This same number is then used to select the correct interpretation out of the fifteen listed for each Qur'anic chapter in the remaining pages. This text is attributed to the sixth Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq who is traditionally associated with various occult sciences including alchemy, the philosophical and scientific discipline that aimed to transform or improve the properties of material substances.

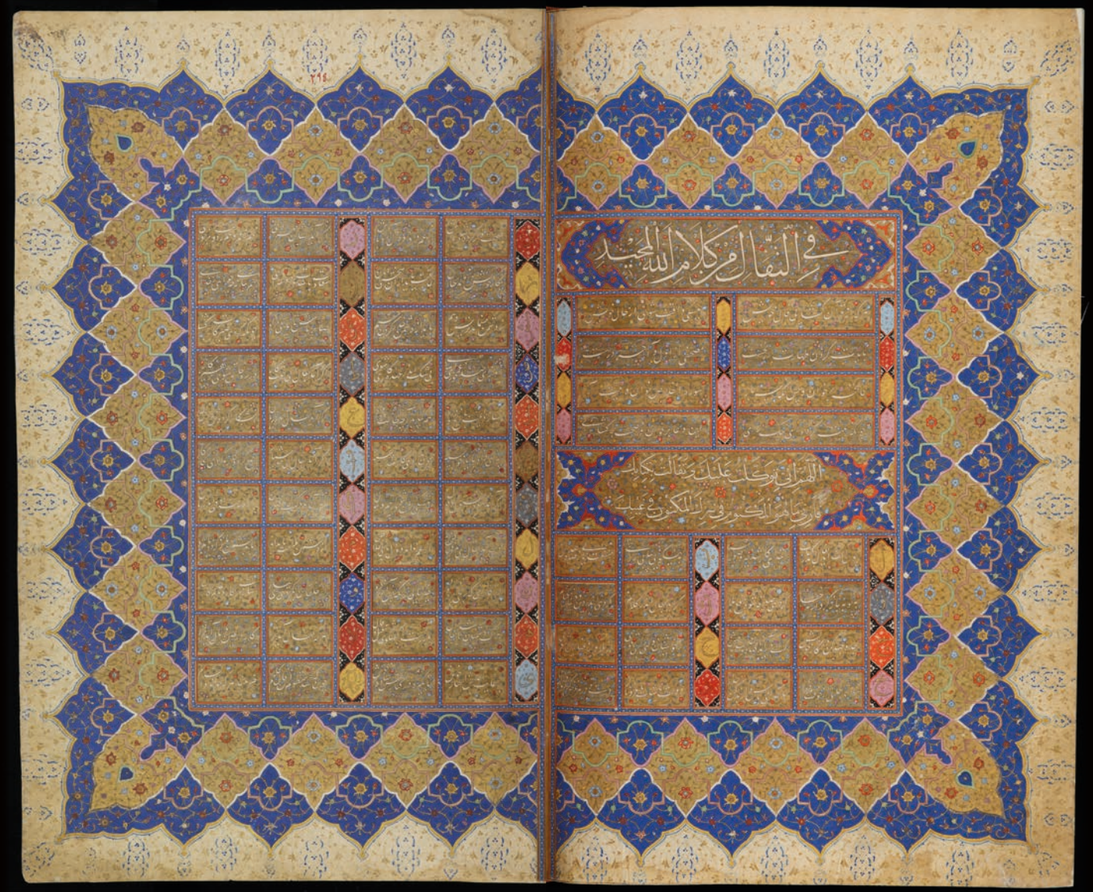


Fig.10 | Qur'an with Table for Prognostication, probably Shiraz (Iran), mid- to second half of the 16th century, ink, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 35 × 25 cm.
Cambridge University Library (Nn.3.75, fols 297b–298a)
cat.18

This sumptuous manuscript bears witness to the practice, which peaked in sixteenth-century Iran, of adding tables for prognostications to Qur'anic codices. These elaborate charts listed specific meanings in relation to the individual letters of the Arabic alphabet. The seeker would open the Qur'an at random, then count seven lines from the top. Next he or she would identify the seventh letter, whose significance, once revealed by the table, would be used to answer the question formulated prior to the consultation.

Fig.11 | 'Ali at the Gates of Khaybar' and Related Augury, from the dispersed *Fa'lnama* ('Book of Omens') of Shah Tahmasp I Safavi (r.1524–76), Qazvin (Iran), mid-1550s–early 1560s, opaque watercolour and gold on paper, 59.5 × 45 cm. The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Ms.395)
cats 22A–B

Originating from a now dispersed monumental *Fa'lnama*, this illustration is inspired by 'Ali's exploit during the attack on the oasis of Khaybar near Medina, which occurred in 629. The famous Muslim historian al-Tabari (d.923) narrates how Muhammad's cousin was able to lift a massive door with his own hands, making the final capture of the fortress possible. In its corresponding augury (cat.22B) the text announces success and relief from all difficulties.

22B

22A

images also seems to have been in use as early as the eleventh century, it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that a specialised genre of illustrated *Fa'lnama*s ('Books of Omens') emerged.[21] Produced in the early modern courts of the Safavids (1501–1736) in Iran and the Ottomans (1299–1918) in Turkey, these imposing books reflected the apocalyptic anxieties of rulers caused by the approach of the year 1000 in the Muslim calendar, corresponding to 1591–92.[22] While none of the few surviving *Fa'lnama*s conform to a fixed text or programme of illustrations, all of them operate in the same way. In each opening a large vivid painting occupies the right-hand side, with corresponding written prognostications placed on the left. The individual seeking guidance would open the book at random and first contemplate the image. Subsequently he or she would read (or hear) its meaning – good, bad, or 'middling' (not good at first but improving afterwards) – in the facing text (fig.11).[23]

The disciplines examined so far are not specific to the Islamic tradition, having been practised in comparable forms across centuries and geographic locations. Other divinatory sciences, however, conform more closely to Islamic principles and ethics. The most important in this respect is oneiromancy (*'ilm ta'bir al-ru'ya*). The interpretation of dreams was widely practised for several reasons. Firstly, the Qur'an mentions the importance of predictive dreams in the narratives of Abraham,[24] Yusuf[25] (fig.12), and the Prophet Muhammad himself.[26] Secondly, Muhammad attached paramount importance to 'sound dreams' (*al-ru'ya al-saliha*, as opposed to 'incoherent dreams', *adghath ahlam*),[27] as recorded

Fig.12 | Yusuf Received by the King, from an illustrated copy of *Yusuf and Zuleykha* by Hamdullah Çelebi, Turkey, 16th–17th century, ink, colours and gold on paper, 20.5 × 12.5 cm. The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL T.428, fol.169a)
cat.25

A paragon of beauty and sincerity, the prophet Yusuf (Joseph) is also known to possess a unique gift, the ability to interpret dreams. This quality, often emphasised in Islamic sources, confirms the proximity of divinely inspired visions and prophecy conferring dreams a very high status. Derived from the Jewish and Christian traditions, the story of Joseph received numerous adaptations in Islamic literature, including the celebrated poem *Yusuf and Zuleykha* by Nizami of Ganja (d. 1209) from which this Turkish adaptation originates.

in many *hadith*s, his own as well as those of his Companions and other believers.[28] He declared that the sound dream was 'a part of prophecy', meaning that every dreamer could find himself in the position of receiving a heavenly message (cat.28, overleaf). Interpreting dreams was thus seen as a continuing revelation in Islamic societies.[29]

The science of dream interpretation evolved into a sophisticated practice in the medieval Islamic world. It relied above all on the Hellenistic tradition, through the translation into Arabic of Artemidorus' *Oneirokritika* ('The Interpretation of Dreams'),[30] as well as on Jewish and Christian imports.[31] The main interpretations of oneirocritical treatises and dictionaries are nevertheless conducted on the basis of instructions found in the Qur'an, the *hadith*s, and Islamic ethical texts.[32] Indeed oneiromancy is not only considered as a way to discern and interpret future events, but also as a means of giving a moral perspective to the believer's acts, in order to vouchsafe him or her eternal life in Paradise. Treatises of oneiromancy supply many predictions for daily situations, including travels, marriages, and investments. These mundane pursuits, however, all bear religious significance, because every instant of a believer's life is a moment of choice and intention, an opportunity to undertake or neglect every action, as it were, 'in the way of God'.

Dreams can take the form of clear and obvious visions or include direct speech. More often, however, the message is enigmatic or symbolic and needs to be deciphered. Interpreting dreams is not straightforward and there are no fixed rules. An event in a dream may signify its opposite (for instance, dreaming about death may symbolise [re]birth. The meaning may be ascertained by allusions to the Qur'an or *hadith* (for example, dreaming of milk could signify religious knowledge) or even by a simple association (such as soldiers symbolising angels). Yet every dream and image has to be interpreted in relation to its specific circumstances, without overly rigid applications of the analogies. The interpreter of dreams should be sufficiently trained in the religious sciences to disclose all the possible secret allusions and associations, as well as being a pious man of excellent morality. Finally he should know the individual consulting him very

Calligram [cat.28]

signed Mustafa Edirnavi, Turkey, 1215 AH / 1800–1, ink and gold on cream and light blue paper mounted on board, 28 × 43.5 cm.

Purchased with the assistance of Richard de Unger and Adeela Qureshi, and the Patrons of the Ashmolean, 2015. Ashmolean Museum (EA2015.12)

According to a legend, 'Ali had a dream foretelling his death. In it a veiled figure was leading a camel, laden with his own corpse, to his final place of burial. When he awoke he shared the vision with his sons Hasan and Husayn, instructing them not to inquire about the man's identity when the time came. Yet the two sons could not restrain themselves from questioning the mysterious envoy, only to find out that he was no other than 'Ali himself.

This fine calligram is one of the visual adaptations of this enigmatic story, widespread amongst the Sufi communities of Bekhtashis and Alevis. The subject, illustrated at least as early as the mid-sixteenth century as seen in the monumental *Fa'lnama* ('Book of Omens') made for Shah Tahmasp I Safavi (cats 22A–B),[1] became especially popular in parts of the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century, the time to which several surviving examples can be dated.[2] This version omits Hasan and Husayn from the picture, however, concentrating on 'Ali himself through both image and words.

The inscriptions, in three languages – Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish – not only identify the main protagonist of the illustration, but also 'depict' him verbally as a paragon of inspiration and devotion by commenting on his military, spiritual, and mystical virtues.[3] The phrase filling the shrouded corpse, itself outlined by the Arabic word for 'Ali, quotes the well-known Sufi saying 'die before dying' (*mutu qabla tamutu*), which exalts the notion of annihilating the self in the quest for God. Sufi ideas also suffuse the large inscription gracing the body of the camel, insisting on the idea of the mystical journey as one of inward discovery. The sword – the mythical double-edged weapon known as *dhu'l-fiqar* and traditionally associated with 'Ali – opens with the maxim '[there is no sword but] *dhu'l-fiqar* and no brave youth except 'Ali' and continues with a quatrain praising his moral stature.[4] Finally, the veiled figure carries a *hadith* attributed to the Prophet Muhammad which declares 'I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali is its gate'. Intended to reinforce 'Ali's spiritual authority, this *hadith* may also reflect the Shi'i belief in Muhammad's investiture of his cousin and son-in-law as leader of the Islamic community. Thus recognition of 'Ali as the gateway to the Prophet's message and experience would indicate acceptance of him as Muhammad's rightful successor.

Calligraphic works such as this one, known as *tekke levha*, were commissioned by mystical orders and exhibited in spaces used for ritual practices, possibly as prompts to devotion. The elegant draughtsmanship and judicious use of gold leaf, modulated to enhance texture and overall visual impact, make this example one of the finest of its kind. FL

LITERATURE: Bonhams (2013) lot. 264; Leoni (2015) pp.24–5.

Fig.13 | Tipu Sultan's Dream Book (*khwabnama*), Mysore (India), 1785–98, ink on paper, 21.8 × 19.3 cm.
The British Library, London (I.O.Islamic 3563, fols 13b–14a)
cat.27

This extraordinary text contains records of the dreams experienced by Tipu Sultan (r.1782–99) towards the final years of his rule. Described as visions sent from God, the autograph notes include the dates on which the dreams occurred, as well as some of Tipu's attempts at interpreting their hidden meaning. Scholars have observed that through his recourse to divinatory arts the ruler sought to gain foreknowledge of events in the context of the growing threats posed by rival neighbours. These included the British, who eventually defeated Tipu Sultan during the siege of Seringapatam in 1799.

well, or at least listen extremely carefully to the narrative of his or her dream, paying attention to even the smallest details.

Like astrology, oneiromancy played a considerable role in Muslim social life and politics.[33] Many rulers and high-ranking officials attached great importance to their dreams and would take key decisions according to them (fig.13). We know that many scholars also paid close attention to their 'sound dreams'. Scholars of the Qur'an and Islamic law asserted to have seen Prophet Muhammad himself in a dream,[34] in which he could confirm a textual variant in the Qur'an, the veracity of a *hadith*, or the condemnation of a 'heretic' opinion.[35]

Lastly a divinatory science specific to the Islamic tradition, known as the 'science of letters' ('*ilm al-huruf*), warrants discussion. This esoteric practice is based on several principles, close to those of the Jewish Kabbala.[36] First, God created the world through His speech; every existing creature is a result of a divine word and the whole history of humanity can be compared to an immense divine discourse or book. Second, human speech, and especially the Arabic language, is not arbitrary; it expresses the essence of what it signifies. Third, an individual who knows the secrets of the Arabic language can access the essence of material things and gain power over them. Fourth, the most important secrets of the universe are enclosed in the Qur'an, its words, and its letters. Fifth and finally, each letter of the Arabic alphabet, as in other Semitic alphabets, possesses a specific numeric value (*alif* = 1, *ba'* = 2, *jim* = 3 and so forth), a correspondence known as *abjad*. Alphanumeric computations were believed to reveal profound – even divine – truths.

Some of the divinatory practices utilising letters and their numeric value are very simple and suitable for popular use; others are more sophisticated. The so-called *za'irja* is the best example of this manner of understanding the world. This highly complex method, mistakenly attributed to the Moroccan Sufi Abu'l-'Abbas al-Sabti (d.1130), is based on a table containing astrological data and procedures for converting words into numbers, and vice versa. A question is asked, whereupon every letter of every word of the question is then changed into numbers, according to the numeric value they have in the Arabic alphabet. The total of these numbers is subsequently linked with the astrological data provided by the *za'irja*. After a long process they are translated back into letters, producing a phrase in Arabic that provides the answer to the question posed.[37]

The '*ilm al-huruf* was the main tool of a well-known divinatory technique known as *jafr*, used to reveal the predetermined destines of individuals, nations, dynasties, empires, and religions. *Jafr* relied on predictions (*malahim*) related to past, current, or future events leading up to the arrival of the Mahdi ('the rightly guided one'), the restorer of the true religion according to Islamic eschatology.[38] The practice was especially meaningful among Shi'ites who expected the fall of the ruling Sunni dynasties and attributed a special knowledge of the events to come to their Imams, above all 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d.661), the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, and Ja'far al-Sadiq, considered a master of esoteric sciences.

During the Abbasid period these ideas circulated in both Shi'i and Sunni contexts and gave way to the development of more complex theories. Letters were linked with natural elements (earth, fire, water, and air), astrological elements (such as planets and lunar phases), angelic creatures, and even with the Ninety-Nine Names of God (*al-asma' al-husna*), and used on a wide range of amuletic material to harness their power and influence. The science of letters became the esoteric discipline *par excellence*, whose most sophisticated expression can be found in the works of Ibn al-'Arabi (d.1240).[39] The most comprehensive texts on divination through letters, however, were compiled by Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Buni (d.1225), the acknowledged medieval authority on Islamic 'magic'.[40]

All the practices considered here expose a recurring paradox in medieval Islam. In spite of Islam's critical position regarding divination, many such techniques were practised during all periods of Islamic history, spanning its geographical territories, and at every social level. For many believers divinatory practices were the means to acquire a kind of private revelation and assisted them in taking appropriate decisions. Documentary testimony of these practices, together with surviving material evidence – including the objects featured in *Power and Protection* – provide strong proof of the cultural relevance that such 'marginal' disciplines held, and continue to hold, in the Muslim world.

Detail of cat.60

From Prayer to Protection: Amulets and Talismans in the Islamic World

CHRISTIANE GRUBER

The enduring search for spiritual blessing and physical protection has yielded a wide range of artworks and objects in Muslim cultures from the seventh century to the present day. Since God and the Qur'an are considered the best of guardians, a devotee may recite prayers, litanies, and Qur'anic verses in order to interact with, and invoke security from, the realm of the sacred. Although such supernatural forces remain intangible and unseen, the belief in their existence and efficacy has produced a significant corpus of artefacts that function as material intermediaries between the visible and invisible worlds. Generally known as amulets and talismans, the primary purposes of these objects include fending off disease, danger, and the evil eye, as well as directing positive energies – for instance inspiring love, devotion, and desire in another individual. Made from a variety of materials and comprising a range of inscriptions, signs, and symbols, amulets and talismans have creatively contributed to the practice of religious life and occult arts in many Islamic traditions across the globe.[1]

While amulets and talismans tend to be consigned to the domain of superstition, especially today, they nevertheless play important roles within practices of 'permitted magic', which is often tinged with, and thus legitimated by, pietistic sentiments and behaviour.[2] Used in daily affairs, these protective and directive devices are carried and worn in various ways, as reflected in the terms that describe them. For instance, an amulet or talisman may be referred to by the Arabic word *tamima*, whose triliteral root (t–m–m) means to complete and perfect. Originally related to a pagan Arab practice of threading a stone on a thong or cord and wearing it around the neck to ward off danger, this type of amulet was rendered more acceptable with the addition of Qur'anic verses and other Islamic prayers and religious expressions (cats 75, 81–2, 93, 95–102). Thus, even though *tamima* are at times censured in the *hadith* literature, a wearer is still understood to be placing himself 'under the protection of God' or *ta'widh*, another common term for an amulet or talisman.[3] As a conduit for divine protection, an amulet or talisman is also called a *hafiz*, or protector, as well as a *himala* (pendant), often affixed to or suspended from the body – for example as a necklace, ring, bracelet, coin-amulet, armband, or talismanic shirt (cats 48–50, 75–82, 85–7, 101–3). Often these suspendable items are carried in containers, including small bags, lockets, boxes, and purses (cats 93, 95–100, 101–4).

Although largely used interchangeably, the terms for amulets and talismans also convey a number of distinctions, some of which are fine but not mutually exclusive. An amulet is most often defined as a small object made of a durable material (such as metal or bone), whereas a talisman comprises less resilient materials (such as paper or parchment).[4] An amulet also tends to be worn on the body for protective purposes, while a talisman (*tilsam*) is often thought to include a greater density of magic inscriptions, signs, and symbols. For these reasons, an amulet is often referred to as a barrier or screen (*hijab*) as well as a sanctuary or refuge (*hirz*) against malignant forces. It functions as a kind of defence system – a symbolic fortification for body and soul. In embodying the spiritual seeking for guidance and safety in God, it also provides a semblance of the desired refuge, albeit in object form.

Both amulets and talismans are interacted with in many diverse ways, including kissing and rubbing. Other objects known as 'philters', however, were meant to be ingested. In its capacity as a potion or drug, the philter is often made up of potent words inscribed on parchment, paper, metal, bone, or stone (fig.14). These words are dissolved (if written on a paper surface) or 'activated' (if inscribed on metal, bone, or stone) by means of a contact liquid that is consumed by the individual seeking protection or cure, sometimes while a folk doctor utters invocations (cats 52–58). By combining prayerful supplications and protective paraphernalia, these many oral, physical, and material practices ultimately seek to harness and guide the spiritual forces believed to inhabit and animate both earthly and heavenly realms.

Amulets and talismans display great richness in their contents, functions, and perceived powers. Their diverse media and designs may endow them with varying apotropaic potential, the power to deflect bad luck or evil, as may their size: large items can convey a sense of overpowering awe while smaller ones evoke an intimacy between the physical and the spiritual. Beyond these formal attributes, the frequent inclusion of letters, words, and phrases attests to the vital importance of writing and reading within Islamic

Fig.14 | Magico-Medicinal Cup, Deccan (India), 1014 AH / 1606, agate, engraved, 7.8 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS6) · cat.57

While the use of specific semi-precious stones for small amulets is broadly attested in the Islamic tradition, the use of agate for magico-medicinal vessels is unique to this example. Inscribed with a combination of invocations and Qur'anic passages proclaiming God as the ultimate refuge and source of assistance, this small cup is likely to have functioned as a provider of protection similar to its more common metal equivalents. Any liquid that touched the sacred words would transfer their blessing to the drinker.

Fig.15 | Amulet, possibly Turkey, 19th century, gold, stamped, 6.4 cm. The British Museum, London, bequeathed by Edward Gilbertson (1994,0915.888) · cat.86

talismanic arts – even though a number of textual elements may be written in pseudo-Arabic script or remain enigmatic in various ways. The legible therefore exists along with the cryptic, although the latter is regularly transcended by strategies of decipherment which enable clarity.[5] Last but not least, some amulets and talismans are intended for open display, while others are meant to remain essentially hidden from view – rolled up, folded in upon themselves, or tucked within a satchel or box. The protective powers of these amulets are enhanced through the sense of mystery engendered by concealing their material presence and magical contents.

An amulet or talisman is largely conceived as a broker enabling human agents to negotiate and steer imperceptible yet energetic forces. As a material channel (*wasila*) and intermediary (*wasita*), these protective objects fulfil mediating roles that echo Muhammad's own position as chief intercessor (*shafi'*) for his community of believers. Both the talismanic arts and the Prophet therefore act as ideal go-betweens, capable of traversing the physical and spiritual realms. As a consequence Muhammad's many names (*asma' al-nabi*), the verbal description of his physical and moral characteristics (*hilya*), and his personal accoutrements and traces (*athar*) stand out as key motifs in the occult arts of Islam – together with Qur'anic verses, prayer formulas, the names of God, angels, magic squares, letters, animals, and seals (cats 42, 44, 46, 50, 59–64, 85, 90, 107–8 and 110).[6] Ultimately the goal of these amuletic objects is to secure intercessory protection and prophetic blessing *(baraka)* for their viewers and wearers, who quite often perceive talismanic practices not as blameworthy innovations – as they may be defined at certain times and places – but rather as constituting and sustaining aspects of the Islamic faith.

AMULETIC MATERIALS AND DESIGNS

The aesthetic appeal of amulets and talismans derives from the materials from which they are made, as well as from the designs that they deploy. The forces

Fig.16 | Gemstone from a Pendant, probably Iran, 17th–19th century, cornelian, engraved, 3.5 × 5.15 cm.
Gift of J. B. Elliott, 1859, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, on loan to the Ashmolean Museum (L11008.46) cat.75

The central field of the stone is engraved with a tree-shaped motif carrying a series of protective inscriptions: *ya rafi' al-darajat* ('O Exalter of Ranks'), *ya mujib al-du'uwat* ('O Thou Who Answers Prayers'), *ya qadi al-hajat* ('O Judge of Necessities'), and *ya qafi al-muhammat* ('O Sufficient in Difficulties'). Coupled with *ayat al-kursi* and the phrase 'victory is from God and conquest is near' (Qur. 61:13), these inscriptions indicate the object's sphere of use: warfare. Furthermore the stone on which these formulas are inscribed is a type of cornelian known as *rutabi* (yellow-red in colour), which medieval sources believed to be capable of controlling fear and anger in battle.

believed to be extracted by or expelled from amulets likewise depend upon both an object's material make-up and graphic content. From the most minute of amulets carved of precious stone to oversize talismanic charts on gazelle skin, both medium and form act as prime signifiers and carriers of meaning for artists and owners alike.

In the Islamic world amulet makers work with a number of preferred materials. The 'intrinsic' protective values of such materials largely hinge upon their natural rarity, monetary value, and symbolic connotations. Among them gold – whose high cost makes its use in amulets relatively scarce – emits a sun-like radiance that produces a shimmering, almost thermal effect. A number of coin-shaped amulets made in Ottoman lands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries make use of gold (fig.15).[7] Shaped as disks and pierced in the upper protrusion, these amulets resemble gold dinars, even though they were clearly meant to be affixed to the body or sewn on to clothing. Placed on vestments, these coin-amulets created encrusted garments that recall Ottoman talismanic shirts decorated with inscriptions and designs inked in gold pigment.[8] Both pierced amulets and talismanic shirts speak clearly of an individual's urge for physical contact with such protective objects – a corporeal intimacy that symbolically provides a secondary, armoured skin.

Amuletic inscriptions and designs often reinforce the material's efficacy while simultaneously directing an individual's attention to the proper use of occult arts, whose effectiveness is based upon God's all-encompassing power. Therefore inscriptions, such as those on the Ottoman coin-amulets, often praise God

Jimat *in Form of a Ship* [cat.105]

signed 'Abdul Wahid ibn al-Haji Muhammad Tahir, Cangking (West Sumatra, Indonesia), 23 Safar 1283 AH / 6 July 1866, coloured inks on paper backed on cloth, 34 × 42.6 cm.

Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms.Arab.e.58)

Calligrams are texts that have been shaped to create images. They may be in the form of human beings, animals, or objects, blurring the lines between the verbal and the figurative (cats 28 and 46–7).[1] Examples are found throughout the Islamic world including Turkey, Iran, India, and Southeast Asia, the latter being the place from which the present example originates. The Malay text at the bottom of the composition gives the exact date and place of production and the name of the calligrapher: 'This calligraphy of a ship was written in the town of Cangking. The one who wrote it is named 'Abdul Wahid.[2] He is from Kota Lawas. This [calligraphic] ship was completed on Friday, 23 Safar 1283 AH [6 July 1866].'[3]

The calligram is shaped as a side-wheel paddle steamer carrying the Dutch flag. Rather than being the simple representation of a commercial vehicle, however, this image was designed to be a talisman (*jimat*), as indicated by the texts from which it is formed. The names of the Four Archangels (Jibra'il, 'Izra'il, Israfil, and Mika'il), common on Islamic amulets, are found on the masts of the ship.[4] Another mast and the hull of the ship bear the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and their dog Qitmir. In this Christian legend, which entered the Islamic tradition through the Qur'an (*surat al-Kahf*, 18:9–26), seven young men sought refuge from religious persecution by hiding in a cave near Ephesus (in modern-day Turkey). There the men and their dog fell into a deep slumber and miraculously woke up centuries later after Christianity had triumphed.

The significance of this tale as a salvation narrative resulted in the use of the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog on various talismans, both for protective purposes and for ensuring the safe arrival of letters.[5] As writing their names on ships was also suggested as a measure to prevent sinking, boat-shaped calligrams became especially popular in areas with strong naval and commercial enterprises such as the Ottoman empire.[6] This Indonesian calligram is therefore probably based on Ottoman examples, which are attested more frequently (fig.17).[7] The talismanic power of the composition is further reinforced by the presence of Qur'anic passages and magic squares on the bottom corners of the paper. On the lower right corner is a 4 × 4 grid containing the numbers 1 to 16 and encircled by Qur. 21:69, which relates how God had commanded fire not to harm Abraham. A similar 4 × 4 square, but without verses, appears on the bottom left corner of the paper, beneath a smaller one filled with dots and the word *batl*.

While this calligram reflects some degree of continuity between Islamic and Southeast Asian talismanic practices, the image of the ship would have also resonated with local ideas. In Southeast Asia boats carry symbolic meaning and are often employed in sacred rituals. One divinatory technique found in Malay and Bugis manuscripts, for instance, uses an image of a ship to determine the compatibility of a couple (fig.18).[8] Similar practices are also found among Buddhist cultures in the region such as the Thai. FY

LITERATURE: Pleyte (1892) p.31, no.48; Ricklefs–Voorhoeve–Gallop (2014) p.292.

Fig.17 | Calligraphic Galleon, by 'Abd al-Qadir Hisari, Turkey, 1180 AH / 1766–7, ink and gold on paper, 48.3 × 43.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (2003.241)

Fig.18 | Ship Diagram for Ascertaining the Compatibility of a Couple, from a book on divination, Singapore, 1325 AH / 1907, coloured inks on paper, 28 × 21.5 cm. National Library of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur (Ms.3429, p.83)

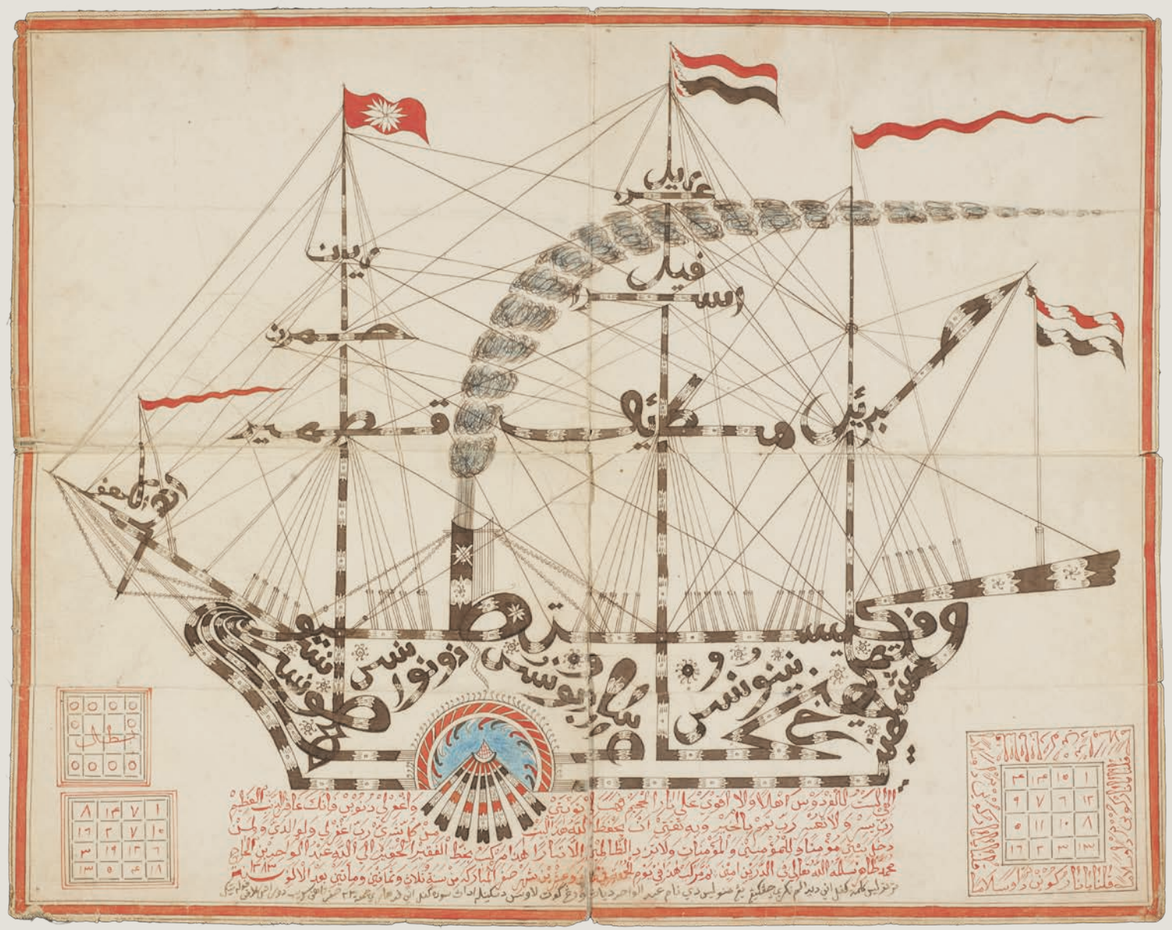


Fig.19 | Amulet, India, late 17th–early 18th century, cornelian, inscribed and jade, inlaid with gold and inset with emeralds and rubies, 3.2 × 4.1 cm.
Presented by J. B. Elliott, 1859, Ashmolean Museum (EA2009.5)
cat.78

This small but dazzling bezel-shaped object combines both cornelian and jade for a doubly protective effect. The two precious stones are suggestive of verdant fertility and embryonic creation. These materials also provide an ideal vehicle for one of the most frequently recurring protective Qur'anic verses – namely the 'Throne Verse' or *ayat al-kursi* (Qur. 2:255), finely inscribed on the central field.

as the ultimate bestower of safety and strength, the provider of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad, and the deliverer on the Day of Judgement. Desires and destinies may be mediated by amulets, but only if 'God wills it' (*mashallah*). Significantly this pivotal expression of Islamic faith is centrally placed on the coin-amulets. Moreover, the expression *mashallah* can be encircled by a six-pointed star reminiscent of the seal of Solomon; in the coin-amulet its points fan out to spell the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and their dog Qitmir. Both the pointed star and the Seven Sleepers are key protective designs found in Islamic occult arts.[9] Thus, while gold may symbolise divine imperishability, these graphic devices further inscribe control over invisible spirits and forces both on land and at sea (cat.105, previous pages).

Although gold and silver jewellery are at times frowned upon and denigrated as 'made of Hellfire' in Islamic textual sources, many amulets employ these and other precious and semi-precious materials (cats 76–7, 81, 83, 85–6 and cat.73, overleaf).[10] Among the latter cornelian (*'aqiq*) is a preferred material because it is considered the stone of the Prophet Muhammad (fig.16).[11] Intriguingly, the brownish-red colour of cornelian resembles blood, the God-given genesis of all human life as praised in the Qur'an (Qur. 96:2). Besides cornelian and agate, jade and jasper have long been considered to carry protective and medicinal properties, including securing victory in combat and curing ailments of the internal organs (fig.19).[12]

In addition to inscriptions, seals, and star-shaped designs, amulets often display magic squares known as *wafq*, *murabba'*, or *buduh*.[13] Magic squares are divided into cells whose number is equal along both horizontal and vertical axes, thereby creating a chequerboard pattern. The most popular in the Islamic world is the 3 × 3 magic square, also known as Plato's Square.[14] Although some cells may be left blank, a number of words, letters, and numbers typically appear. Most often their alphanumerical results remain consistent across the horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines – a computational equilibrium that seeks to represent the harmony of the cosmos.

At times only one magic square may be included, while at others a great number of magic squares dominate. This is the case on a large-scale talismanic chart inscribed on gazelle skin, most likely made in Iran during the nineteenth century (fig.20).[15] On this rather translucent parchment, which shows signs of having been folded and was perhaps habitually carried by its owner, are inscribed a number of Qur'anic verses, the beautiful names of God (*al-asma' al-husna*), Shi'i supplications to 'Ali, and many supererogatory prayers or *du'a*s. The majority of these prayers have their merits or virtues computed, while a magic square that includes a 'prayer of washing' (*du'a-i ghasilat*) may have been intended to purify the believer during ablutions or to protect the deceased upon burial. Indeed, like other oversize talismans that were either folded or affixed to walls, this chart uses both text and pattern to petition God to safeguard its owner from misfortunes, diseases, the evil eye, and the accursed devil.[16] As a consequence these amulets – ranging in size from the miniature to the monumental and in materials from precious gems to cured skin – clearly place Islamic occult arts within a larger landscape of devout Muslim practices.

PORTABLE TALISMANS AND THEIR CASES

Like their owners, amulets tend to enjoy peripatetic lives: they are carried in the hand, nestled in a pocket, sewn on to a robe, dangled around the neck, and

Fig.20 | Talismanic Chart, Iran, 19th century, ink on gazelle skin, 68.5 × 53.5 cm.
Aga Khan Museum, Toronto (AKM536)

Finial in the Shape of the 'Hand of Fatima' [cat.73]

possibly Hyderabad (India), late 18th–early 19th century, gold on a lac core, with rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and pearls, 11.8 cm.

Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (JLY 1923)

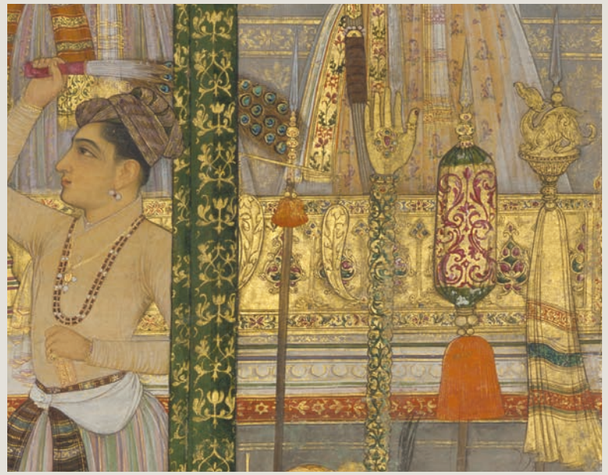
The human hand is one of the most iconic and universal symbols of protection. Images of the open right hand appear prominently in ancient Near Eastern culture, Buddhist iconography, and the Jewish tradition, among others. In Islamic and Berber culture the hand is generally known as *khamsa*, meaning 'five'; it is traditionally considered to be a powerful measure against the evil eye, a belief recognised in the Qur'an and sanctioned in the *hadith* literature. Because of this some versions of the *khamsa* also display a stylised eye at the centre, intended as further protection from the harmful gaze of envious lookers. Similarly, spreading the palm and uttering the formula *khamsa fi 'ayn-ik*, 'five in your eye', is viewed as an effective protective gesture, comparable to displaying versions or designs of the hand. Due to its link to the evil eye, the right palm appears frequently on personal jewellery as well as in relation to private spaces – for instance on door-knockers, on the walls of houses, or above doorways – in order to repel negative influences.

In the Shi'i tradition the *khamsa* is alternatively known as 'hand of Fatima' and 'hand of 'Abbas'.[1] In the first and most common instance it is connected with Muhammad's daughter Fatima, the five fingers representing the members of the Prophet's immediate family or *ahl al-bayt* (Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn). In the second case the hand stands as a reminder of the severed limbs of 'Abbas, half-brother of Husayn and loyal fighter on his side during the battle of Karbala against the armies of the Umayyad caliph Yazid I (r.680–3). The reference to 'Ali's progeny led to the adoption of the *khamsa* as one of the preferred shapes for battle and presentation standards known as *'alam* (cats 44–5), especially after Shi'ism was imposed as state religion in Iran under the Safavid dynasty (1501–1736). *'Alam*s in both the classical drop-shaped and palm-shaped formats are thought to be loosely inspired by similar paraphernalia carried by Husayn and his followers (fig.21). As a consequence they are also associated with the commemoration of Husayn's martyrdom, which occurred in Karbala in 61 AH / 680 and is celebrated every year during the tenth day of the month of Muharram.

This background helps to explain what the original use of this small but precious *khamsa* may have been. This example is in fact made of two parts which could be placed, back to back, at the top of a banner as a finial. Made of gold with a lac core, each is decorated on one side only with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, while small pearls outline the profile of the fingers. Indian historical sources contain references to *'alams* made of precious metals and stones, yet this example is among the few to have survived (fig.22).[2] FL

LITERATURE: Rogers (2010) pp.370–1, cat.445; Carvalho (2010) p.180, cat.91.

Fig.21 | *Dervish Receiving a Visitor*, Bijapur (India), c.1610–20, ink, opaque watercolour, gold, and silver on paper, 26.5 × 19.7 cm. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms.Douce Or.b.2, fol.1a)

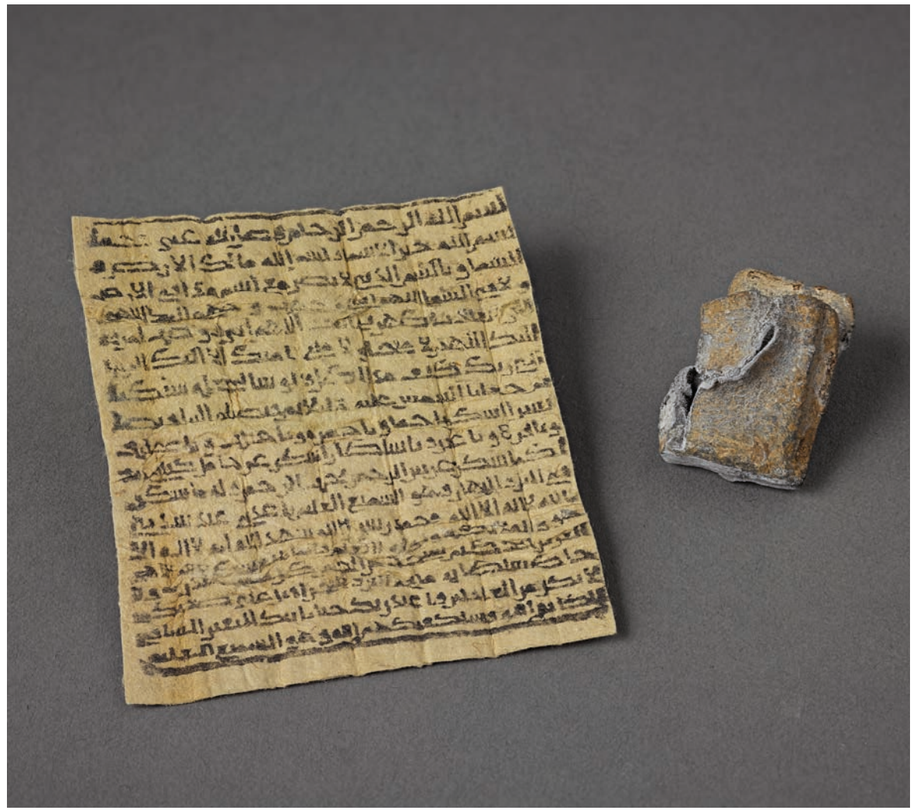


opposite

Fig.22 | *Shah Jahan Honouring Prince Aurangzeb at Agra Before His Wedding*, from *Padshahnama* ('Chronicle of the King of the World'), and detail, India, c.1640, ink, colours, and gold on paper, 58.6 × 36.8 cm. The Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (RCIN 1005025, fol.214b)

Fig.23 | Printed Amulet with Box, Egypt, 10th–11th century, ink on paper, 7.2 × 5.5 cm (amulet), 2.7 × 1.3 cm (case).
Aga Khan Museum, Toronto (AKM 508)

Fig.24 | Talismanic Scroll with Qur'anic Quotations, Prophetic References, and Sacred Symbols, Ottoman Empire, 18th century or later, black and red ink and gold on paper, 3.6 × 136 cm.
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms.Arch.Seld.A.72.6 [2])
cat.90



slipped on to the finger. As portable items their size must remain relatively small and, ideally, they should be protected from wear and tear. The twin goals of portability and preservation prompted amulet-makers to explore a range of creative strategies, chief among them size reduction and encasing. Many amulets and talismans therefore make effective use of miniaturisation, which in turn encourages physical proximity and mobility with the owner (cats 88–95 and 101–2).

While many talismanic objects made on paper display handwritten texts and symbols, a corpus of diminutive amulets made in the medieval Mediterranean include prayers executed with a block print or die (*tarsh*).[17] These miniature paper amulets are reduced in size even further through the process of folding, the crease lines forming a lattice pattern, as can be seen in a minute, block printed amulet made in Egypt during the tenth or eleventh century (fig.23).[18] The amulet was originally nestled within a lead case imprinted with *surat al-Ikhlas* (Qur. 112:1–4), a verse that instructs the worshipper to proclaim God's singularity. As attested by similar extant block printed amulets, the lead case most likely included lugs, now lost, which allowed the amulet to be sewn to the owner's shirt or suspended from the body.[19]

This tiny 'carry-on package' most likely remained sealed shut, its scripted contents invisible to an owner who perhaps was neither literate nor wealthy enough to purchase a non-serialised, handwritten amulet. Even though it may not have been read, the amulet's text nevertheless includes legible Qur'anic verses and calls to God as the supreme intercessor. Its last line addresses the owner with a verse from the Qur'an that proclaims: 'So God will safeguard you from them. He is All-Hearing and All-Knowing' (Qur. 1:137).[20] Here thrives a tension between imagining God as the ultimate Protector and the amulet as a material item that objectifies this otherwise amorphous divine energy. This tension likewise extends to scripted amulets stored within sealed cases, in which legibility and secrecy conjoin in a dynamic relationship to spark a formidable charge emanating from these diminutive containers.

While some large and small amulets on paper and parchment are placed on full display, or else are folded and secreted away, still others in the shape of scrolls are rolled up and contained in cylindrical tubes suspended horizontally (cats 88–90, 95–100 and 104).[21] Eschewing the book and single folio format, amulet scrolls recall the structure of the Torah – from which, according to François Déroche, early Qur'anic codices were visually distinguished through the form of the codex (*mushaf*).[22] The scroll format makes the retrieval of information a rather unwieldy and onerous task, in effect deterring an individual from unfurling the object in order to read or view its contents. Here again, even though an amuletic text may be wholly lucid in its scripted form, its accessibility, and thus legibility, remains relatively impeded by the amulet's construction.

Block printed and handwritten talismanic scrolls have been popular across the Islamic world from the tenth century onwards.[23] Some contain strictly Qur'anic verses, while others include a greater variety of textual and graphic content. For example,

one colourful amuletic scroll contains an armoury of apotropaic words and devices (fig.24). Among them appear Qur'anic verses and the declaration that 'victory is from God and conquest is near' (Qur. 61:13), which bears martial connotations, together with a blessed verbal description of the Prophet inscribed in a grid reminiscent of magic squares. A number of seals further amplify this portable treasury of protective designs. The impressions include Muhammad's 'seal of prophethood' (*muhr al-nubuwwa*, fig.25), the 'seal of Solomon' (*muhr Sulayman*, cat.64), and the seal of the 'spring' (*'ayn*). While this seal is at times rendered as the 'spring of 'Ali' (*'ayn-i 'Ali*), at others it is identified as the 'eye upon [God]' (*'ayn 'ala [Allah]*), the latter enabling a devotee to place his or her trust in God.[24] Intriguingly the Arabic term *'ayn* is doubly suggestive insomuch as a talismanic scroll functions as a wellspring for, as well as a reassurance of, protection and guidance.

While single-folio amulets may be folded into metal boxes and talismanic scrolls rolled into pendant tubular cases, other protective objects remain fully loyal to the book format. This is particularly the case for miniature Qur'ans, which may contain the entire scripture or else a selection of chapters and verses deemed beneficial in securing protection, health, and victory (cats 91–3). Among them are diminutive Ottoman Qur'ans, known as '*sançak* Qur'ans', famously hung on banners and carried into battle.[25] These diminutive versions of the Holy Book are typically contained in protective metal cases (*muhafaza*) which could be opened and closed when required, as well as provided with chains for suspension.

Some metal cases serve as containers for miniaturised books or sacred excerpts on folded pieces of paper to be affixed to the upper arm. Generally known as *bazuband* – armbands, armlets, or arm amulets – these small Qur'ans and their boxes were made from the eighteenth century onwards in eastern Islamic lands, where they were thought to protect the wearer via their close contact with the body.[26] The miniature *mushaf*s tend to be beautifully illuminated, while their cases are ornamented with textual and decorative devices. An example of an engraved silver *bazuband* case, made in Iran during the nineteenth century, displays various designs and inscriptions (fig.26).[27] The box includes hinges above and below to open and close the box as well as side brackets for affixing or sewing it to the sleeve of a robe. The centre of its lid is inscribed with the *bismillah*, whose vertical and horizontal letter elongations form a magic square of sorts. In its inner and outer circles appear a number of Qur'anic verses (Qur. 9:111 and 68:51–2), while its sides proclaim the typically Shi'i invocation to 'Ali, the 'Manifestor of Miracles' (*mazhar al-'aja'ib*) who aids devotees in securing help in adversity.[28]

In Shi'i sources a sermon attributed to 'Ali stipulates that that he is the one who will explicate the Qur'an, what it contains in the science of the future and cures for illnesses.[29] The evocation of 'Ali in Iranian armlets, seals, and amulets thus reveals the extent to which talismans reflect and reinforce sectarian world-views, while simultaneously reaffirming the central role of the Holy Book in Islamic practices to foretell the future or effect cures. Along with their participation in ideological discourses, such amulets also display a high level of mobility thanks to their reduction in size and storing in protective containers.

MUHAMMAD AS PROTECTIVE INTERCESSOR

Verbal icons and relics of the Prophet – which display a clear preference for the epigraphic arts over the figurative mode – have proved especially popular in some areas of the Islamic world from the seventeenth century onwards. Indeed, amulets and talismans depicting Muhammad's attributes, effects, and traces have functioned as powerful protective devices in various Muslim cultures up to the present day. The Prophet is praised as the archetypal intercessor, a champion speaking on behalf of believers seeking salvation in the afterlife.[30] Moreover, because of his ability to traverse the earthly and celestial realms on his heavenly ascension (*mi'raj*), Muhammad also acts as a channel and go-between – as do amulets. As a result, his spiritual presence permeates Muslim religious life as a 'talismanic force',[31] while his verbal description and relics provide devotees with contemplative and protective devices (cats 59–64, 85, 90, 94, 107–8).

Verbal icons of the Prophet (*hilya*) are a staple of Ottoman and Persian artistic cultures (cats 107–8).[32] Through text rather than image, such icons extoll Muhammad's physical and moral attributes, and from

Fig.25 | Two Versions of the 'Seal of Prophethood' (*muhr al-nubuwwa*) from an illustrated Prayer Book, Turkey, 1212 AH / 1798, ink, colours and gold on paper, 17 × 11 cm. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL T.463, fols 91b–92a) cat.60

Prayer books combining *du'a*s, sacred invocations, paintings, and other designs proliferated in the late Ottoman period. Expressions of individual devotion, they also provided portable protective devices that relied on their contents' spiritual power. This page opening presents two versions of the 'seal of prophethood' (*muhr al-nubuwwa*), a mark that Muhammad bore between his shoulders.

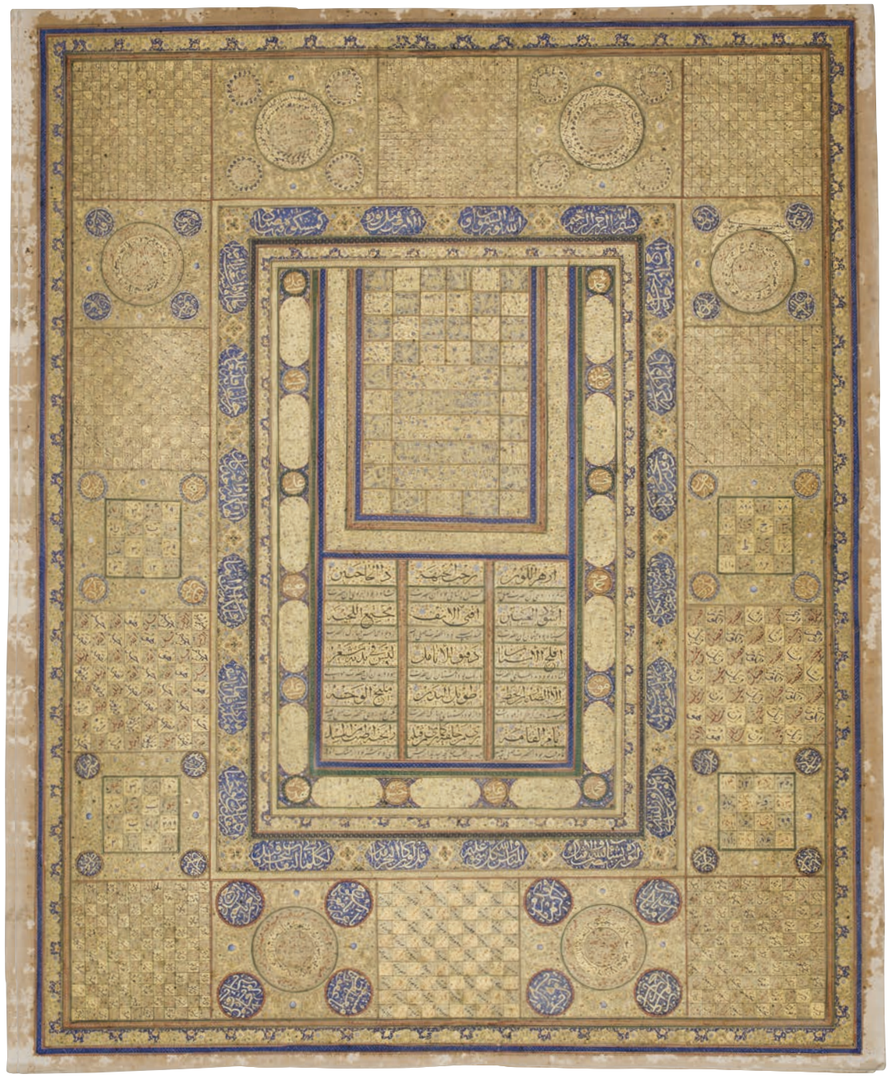
the seventeenth century onwards artists mastered their rendition in diagrammatic form. Originally designed by the Ottoman calligrapher Hafiz Osman (d.1698), *hilya* compositions were attached to the walls of Ottoman private homes and other public and private locations, infusing them with prophetic blessing. On occasion the potential of *hilya*s to prevent evil undergoes a process of multiplication, especially when inscriptions and designs expand the icon into a larger protective device.[33] In addition, when the names of the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*) and the Twelve Imams also appear, as is the case for a nineteenth-century Iranian *hilya* (fig.27), then champions of the Shi'i faith similarly act as safeguards and guides into the realm of the unseen.

Other *hilya*s of Muhammad do not include talismanic devices, but rather depict the Prophet's personal effects (*al-mukhallafat al-nabawiyya*).[34] For instance, a nineteenth-century Ottoman verbal icon includes a variety of scripted and pictorial representations (fig.34). Besides the *hilya* text, the many names of God and the Prophet are included. Furthermore, fanning out from Muhammad's name – executed in gold ink in the centre of the composition – appear his numerous relics, including his banners, signet ring, toothbrush, walking stick, scissors, cloak, rosary, boots, comb, sandals, and ablution ewer. Among these material remains, a number of which are preserved in the Ottoman Palace in Istanbul, Muhammad's cloak , footprints, and sandals achieved talismanic status. The cloak (*burda*) was thought to possess healing powers, as described in al-Busiri's (d.*c.*1294–7) ode of the same name (cat.61, overleaf).[35] While individuals in the Ottoman Palace rubbed and kissed Muhammad's cloak to unleash these properties,[36] verses of al-Busiri's *Qasida al-Burda* ('Mantle Ode') were also dissolved in liquid to create curative philters. These were believed to be especially effective against epilepsy, colic, diarrhoea, and haemorrhoids.[37] A powerful compendium, this combination

Fig.26 | Armlet for Amulet (*bazuband*), Iran, 19th century, silver, engraved, 6 cm. Bequeathed by Christopher T. Gandy, 2012, Ashmolean Museum (EA2012.95) cat.103

Fig.27 | *Hilya* Combined with Magic Squares, Iran, 19th century, ink, colours and gold on paper, 61.5 × 50.3 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (CAL302) cat.107

Surrounded by magic squares and amuletic formulas, which include the *al-asma' al-husna*, the *asma' al-nabi*, and *ayat al-kursi*, this description of Muhammad's moral qualities transforms a device of imaginative representation into an object that overtly embodies protective powers.



of *hilya* and relics exponentially enhances the icon's blessing.

To an even greater extent than Muhammad's mantle and footprint, his sandalprints (*na'l* in the singular, *na'layn* for the pair) became the most pervasive amulets of the Prophet in the Islamic world, stretching from North and Sub-Saharan Africa to Iran and China.[38] The soles of the Prophet's sandals were believed to have been consecrated through touching the soil of Paradise and the throne of God upon his celestial ascension. Moreover, a sandal housed in the Ashrafiyya Madrasa in Damascus came to symbolise *hadith* learning and Sunni orthodoxy. During the medieval period this sandal relic stimulated pilgrimage to Damascus by believers seeking the Prophet's intercession via his footwear to remedy problems and cure ills.[39] Those unable to visit and view the sandal could request 'exact' paper replicas of the original.[40] The blessed relic thus catalysed the production of paper calques from the twelfth century onwards. Such visual copies or 'similitudes' of the Prophet's sandal, especially if based on the original

Al-kawakib al-durriyya fi madh khayr al-barriyya *'The Shining Stars in Praise of the Best of Creation' by Muhammad ibn Sa'id al-Busiri* [cat.61]

Dedicated to Sultan Qayt Bay (r.1468–95), Cairo (Egypt), 1468–95,
ink, colours, and gold on paper, 43 × 29.8 cm.

The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Ms.4168, fols 1b–2a)

When the Mongol ruler Tamerlane threatened to capture Damascus in 1400, the famous historian Ibn Khaldun (d.1406), then chief judge in Cairo, was invited to meet him. As was customary Ibn Khaldun brought gifts with him, among them a lavish manuscript of the Qur'an, a prayer rug, Egyptian sweetmeats, and a copy of al-Busiri's *Qasida al-Burda* ('The Mantle Ode'), a poem honouring the Prophet Muhammad.[1] These presents were very well received and the *Burda*, up to that point unknown to Tamerlane, elicited much curiosity which the historian promptly satisfied.[2] While this episode may suggest that in the early fifteenth century the ode's popularity had yet to cross the boundaries of the Mamluk empire, it certainly demonstrates the high esteem in which the work was already held.

According to a popular tradition, the poem, whose original title is *Al-kawakib al-durriyya fi madh khayr al-barriyya* ('The Shining Stars in Praise of the Best of Creation'), was composed by the Mamluk poet Muhammad ibn Sa'id al-Busiri (d.c.1294–7) after he was paralysed. Designed as a praise of Muhammad after physicians' attempts to cure the author had failed, the poem was probably conceived as an appeal to the Prophet himself, in the hope that he could intercede and provide healing.[3] Following a dream in which the Prophet covered the sick man with his mantle (*burda*), the poet did recover from his infirmity – a miracle that established the *Qasida*'s reputation as a devotional text with restorative properties.[4] Used for personal piety and public recitation alike, especially during the celebration of the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid al-nabi*), the *Qasida al-Burda* eventually became a potent resource for talismanic and curative purposes. The text was sometimes copied on to paper that was washed, the consequently enriched liquid being given to the sick to drink.[5]

This magnificent copy of the poem reflects its status in Mamluk society. The opening frontispiece, which bears a dedication to Sultan Qayt Bay (r.1468–95) and an association with the royal treasury, follows the conventions of the Mamluk religious manuscript production, which remained the primary focus of book arts in this area of the Islamic world. The large format and elaborate illumination, generally found on manuscripts of the Qur'an and replicating the layout of the Holy Book, further demonstrate the importance given to the poem. FL

LITERATURE: Wright (2009) p.45, fig.21.

Fig.28 | Talismanic Sandalprint from a Pilgrimage Certificate of Maymuna bint Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah al-Zardali, possibly Mecca, 836 AH / 1432.
The British Library, London (Add. 27566)

artefact, were believed to form particularly effective talismans (cat.63).[41]

Talismanic sandalprint amulets often include texts and poems inviting owners to kiss and rub the image. For example, on a sandal print amulet from a pilgrimage certificate (fig.28), the verses exhort the viewer as follows: 'O beholder of the image of the Prophet's sandal, accept it without pride. Kiss the image of the Prophet's sandal with piety when you have a request or are facing difficulty. Come to the Prophet when you are travelling or when you are old. Come in admiration.' The text further orders the viewer to 'circumambulate and honour it until you wear out your shoes' and then offers a final congratulation: 'Well done to the one who has touched it with his forehead.' This and other prophetic amulets thus intercede, in a similar way to Muhammad, on behalf of the believer. He or she is encouraged to behold humbly, kiss in devotion, rub in admiration, and even walk around the talismanic image in order to activate its latent power and reap its many blessings.

TAKING REFUGE

In popular practice and textual production, talismanic arts are often compared with seeking assistance and cure, and therefore should be considered as an offshoot of prophetic medicine. On this subject, in his *Tibb al-nabi* ('Medicine of the Prophet') the prolific author Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d.1505) offers the following words of wisdom to his readers: 'Know then that the recital of verses and the wearing of amulets are indeed useful if accepted by the patient and received with his consent as a method of cure. The recitation of charms and the wearing of amulets are a form of taking refuge with God for the purpose of securing health, just as is done in the case of medicine.'[42] Amulets – whether small or large, displayed or hidden, textual or pictorial – therefore provide devotees with allegorical yet tangible strongholds and safe havens.

The occult and talismanic arts have permeated daily life across the Islamic world, even though the making, wearing, and viewing of amulets remained subject to debate, control, and prohibition. Today shops around pilgrimage sites, such as the Shrine of Eyüp in Istanbul, offer many devotional commodities for sale, including blue beads against the evil eye, necklaces with pendants of Muhammad's sandalprint, and prayer books containing apotropaic formulas. They also sell objects as apparently banal as refrigerator magnets (fig.29). However, some of these magnets function as treasuries of amuletic devices, telescoping an entire range of talismanic devices into one single object. This example includes the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and their dog Qitmir, *ayat al-kursi* transcribed in Arabic script and Turkish translation, depictions of the Prophet's blessed 'seal of prophethood' and sandal, and a graphic rendering of 35 *bismillah*s that centrifugally fan out from the name of God. These historical and contemporary objects materially manifest the protective qualities of prayer, God, and his Messenger, which are sought after by the faithful in their ongoing quest for guidance, healing, and protection.

Fig.29 | Magnet with the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, the Throne Verse (*ayat al-kursi*) and Muhammad's 'Seal of Prophethood' (*muhr al-nubuwwa*) and Sandal, Istanbul (Turkey), 2015, laminated paper with magnet backing, 10 × 6.8 cm.
Private collection

Detail of cat.32

Sacred Words, Sacred Power: Qur'anic and Pious Phrases as Sources of Healing and Protection

FRANCESCA LEONI

'And We sent down from the Qur'an that which is healing and mercy for the believers …'
(Qur. 17:82)

The Qur'an (literally 'recitation') is a highly revered text in the Islamic world (fig.30). Gathering together the revelations received by the Prophet Muhammad between 610 and 632, it not only forms the basis of ritual practice, but also represents the primary source of legal and practical advice for Muslims. The Holy Book of Islam is an equally vigorous resource for popular piety and devotion, including practices often relegated to the realms of 'folklore' or 'lower' religion in theological and academic discourse, but which are in fact representative of living, day-to-day spirituality. In addition to occurring in everyday parlance, with phrases such as *bismillah al-rahman al-rahim*[1] or *in sha' Allah*[2] being two of the most familiar, Qur'anic references abound in sacred invocations, verbal charms, and personal prayers performed by believers in a variety of contexts. As demonstrated by many of the objects discussed in this catalogue, the potency of the Revelation is further channelled into amulets and acts of divination which seek assistance through supernatural intercession.

There is substantial evidence of extra-liturgical uses of the Qur'an, and their endorsement by Muslim scholars, through the centuries. Nevertheless, the recourse to its sacred verses for practices lying outside sanctioned Islamic rituals has never been met with full approval.[3] Tolerated as long as the aims pursued fall within the category of permitted acts,[4] and considered efficacious only provided that the individual reciting or touching its holy verses is in a state of ritual purity,[5] the Qur'an's employment in other contexts continues to be far from permissible. This includes practices such as seeking the intercession of deceased saintly figures, rebuked by conservative theologians as *bid'a* or innovation – something extraneous to true Islam and therefore unlawful. This idea continues to resonate in contemporary Islamic societies, particularly those impacted by revivalist movements such as Wahhabism and Salafism.[6] These deem many acts of popular piety unorthodox, rendering their material traces, ceremonies, and sacred sites objects of persecution and destruction.[7]

Nonetheless, historical anecdotes, traditional accounts – especially those relating the acts and deeds of Muhammad (*hadith*) – and the Prophet's own experience and way of life (*sunna*) all record the use of Qur'anic passages to fight evil influences and for healing purposes.[8] An often-quoted episode is that of the Prophet's bewitchment by the Jew Lubaid and his daughter.[9] According to the story, the spell had been performed by tying eleven knots to a cord concealed in a well. Muhammad was able to untie the knots and break the curse by reciting the eleven verses of *surat al-Falaq* (Qur. 113) and *surat al-Nas* (Qur. 114), as instructed by the angel Gabriel (cat.34, overleaf). A tradition transmitted by the Prophet's wife 'Aisha also reports that 'Allah's apostle used to treat various ailments with a *ruqya* (incantation) saying 'O Lord of People! Remove the trouble. The cure is in Your Hands and there is none except You who can remove it'.[10]

In another compelling *hadith* it is narrated that every night the Prophet would lie on his bed, recite the opening verses of the three last chapters of the Qur'an and blow air on his hands, to transfer the blessing, or *baraka*, inherent to the word of God just uttered.[11] He would then repeatedly massage his body, beginning with his head and face to spread the blessing's benign influence.[12] Muhammad's acceptance of and recourse to these procedures, understood as 'extensions' of God's power, are especially significant. They helped to validate apotropaic and prophylactic uses of the Qur'anic word at the very heart of the nascent Islamic community.[13] The Prophet's example also provided a legitimate basis for arguments in support of the lawfulness of such activities, when consensus regarding their status shifted over time.[14]

These conflicting views ultimately point to the pervasiveness of the Qur'an in all facets of Muslim life, providing a framework to investigate and better appreciate some of its less canonical, but no less significant uses. The remaining part of this essay explores the so-called *Fada'il al-Qur'an*, the literary genre that explains the Qur'an's special properties. It also considers the adaptation of these powers, alone or in combination with other expedients, for the elaboration of talismanic formulas and techniques. Finally, it addresses the main pursuits and contexts in which Qur'anic verses, transformed and reconfigured, were employed. By considering phenomena closely

Bifolio from a Monumental Qur'an [cat.34]

Egypt, *c.*1370s, ink, colours, and gold on paper, 74 × 47.5 cm.

The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL IS 1628)

Formidable patrons of architecture, the Mamluk Sultans, who ruled Syria, Egypt, and the region of Hijaz in Saudi Arabia between 1250 and 1517, were also responsible for some of the most impressive copies of the Qur'an ever produced. Like other objects, including glasswork, textiles, and metalwork, Qur'ans often figured amongst the furnishings of Mamluk charitable foundations such as mosques, madrasas, and hospices. Their public dimension and use are therefore key to understanding their production and the amount of resources invested in this. Books served to convey the ethics and social commitment of their patrons, just as buildings and urban facilities did. The public nature of Mamluk art further suggests that the commission and gifting of such luxurious manuscripts was not simply a sign of wealth. It was also an act of profound piety commensurate with the nobility of the reproduced object – the word of God – and the importance of its recipient, the community of believers.[1]

This impressive double-page, measuring a staggering 74 × 95 cm when open, originates from a lavish copy of the Qur'an – a volume which, when still intact, must have weighed hundreds of pounds and have required several men to transport it. The text, executed in a large and elegant script known as *muhaqqaq* and outlined in gold, reproduces the final two chapters of the Revelation, *surat al-Falaq* (Qur. 113) and *surat al-Nas* (Qur. 114). Known as *al-mu'awwidhatan* or 'verses seeking refuge', they are given special visual prominence here due to their terminal position, intended as a fitting conclusion to the Holy Book. Like the opening chapters of the Qur'an, they are thus adorned with elaborate illumination.

Surrounded by a frieze of gold arabesques stretching over both pages, the holy verses are bracketed by two bands with geometric cartouches carrying their titles, the place of revelation, the number of verses comprised in each and verse 115 from *surat al-An'am* proclaiming the incorruptible nature of the Qur'an. Extending from the bands are four drop-shaped finials with stylised peony flowers. These decorate the margin together with two additional equidistant medallions inscribing the Arabic word *khams*, 'five', marking the fifth verse of each chapter as customary in codices of the Qur'an alongside the tenth verse division. Unique to this copy, however, is the use of fluttering Chinese clouds in the background of the text block, a detail which delicately balances the intense blue hues used as a backdrop for the outer frame.

Clearly associated with elite, probably royal patronage, the date and attribution of this impressive *mushaf* is nonetheless far from certain. In the late 1970s[2] it was linked to a massive Qur'anic manuscript housed in the John Rylands University Library (Rylands Arabic Ms.42) and dated to the late fourteenth century.[3] The suggestion that the bifolio could once have been part of this codex was made on the basis of material analysis, as the volume currently lacks the closing chapters and in an early publication it is reproduced implicitly as part of the Rylands Qur'an.[4] However, recent and ongoing studies on the Qur'anic production associated with Ibrahim al-Amidi provide evidence for a dating of *c.*1370.[5] Al-Amidi was a celebrated illuminator of Anatolian origins active during the last third of the fourteenth century,[6] and his distinctive style, featuring a broad palette, floral details, and cross-hatched background, is echoed in the present pages.

A number of large-scale Qur'ans produced during the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'ban (r.1366–77) survive today in the Dar al-Kutub (Egyptian National Library) in Cairo, confirming the popularity of this expanded format for book patronage during the last third of the fourteenth century.[7] It is therefore very likely that the Chester Beatty bifolio was once part of one of the mammoth-Qur'ans produced at this time, but whose entirety awaits rediscovery.[8] FL

LITERATURE: Prisse D'Avenne–Constant (1869–77) vol.3, pls CLXXXIV; James (1977) pp.51–2; James (1988) p.200; Croke et al. (2014) pp.21–3; Fraser (2016 and forthcoming).

Fig.30 | Qur'an, possibly Morocco, 727 AH / 1326, ink, gold, and colours on parchment, 23.4 × 19.7 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR1081, fols 16b–17a) cat.30

Parchment was the initial medium employed to copy the Qur'an in codex format. Replaced by paper around the tenth century, it nonetheless remained the preferred surface for reproducing the Revelation in North Africa and Spain well into the fifteenth century.

tied to the private sphere of individuals – unlike most Muslim rituals which are instead characterised by strong communal and public contexts and expressions– this essay aims to broaden the appreciation of the ways in which Islamic devotion is generally practised and understood.

BEYOND THE BOOK: THE QUR'AN'S MANY POWERS

The Qur'an's special qualities (*khawass*) and beneficial effects (*manafi'*) came to be expounded in the *Fada'il al-Qur'an* ('The Virtues of the Qur'an').[15] This literary genre began to flourish in the medieval period as a reflection of the widespread adoption of Qur'anic verses for everyday pursuits.[16] The different healing practices that developed around these special properties stimulated the production of chapbooks and 'how-to' manuals, designed to guide users in their appreciation and proper application.[17] As the techniques included the preparation of Qur'anic talismans and amulets for healing purposes, the genre soon provided a reference for a range of practices designed to improve the physical life of individuals, including potency, fertility, attractiveness, and fortune. As a consequence, the sacred text was rapidly adopted and adapted beyond the therapeutic sphere. Similarly, widespread knowledge about the powers of the Holy Book contributed to the appearance of marginal glosses and notes on manuscripts of the Qur'an itself, remarking on passages that could be used for talismanic purposes or suggesting methods of divination through God's word.[18]

As the contents of the *Fada'il al-Qur'an* developed, a series of specialised categories emerged within it. These explored practices that used the Qur'an to seek God's advice on specific issues (*istikhara*) or to draw auguries (*tafa"ul*), whose first instance is traditionally associated with the sixth Shi'i Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (fig.9).[19] These subgenres also considered the production of spells and incantations, as discussed in texts such as Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Tamimi's (d.980) *Kitab al-murshid* ('Book of the Guide')[20] and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah's (d.1350) *Kitab al-tibb al-nabawi* ('Book of Prophetic Medicine' cat.51).[21] They might also consider the manipulation of letters from the Revelation or from the divine names of God in order to fabricate amulets and talismans, as detailed in the texts attributed to Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Buni (d.1225), the acknowledged medieval authority the occult'.[22] Finally, they offered guidance in the interpretation of visions and dreams, as explored in dictionaries and treatises on dream symbolism beginning with Ibn Qutaybah (d.889).[23]

FROM THE POCKET TO THE BATTLEFIELD: APOTROPAIC AND PROPHYLACTIC USES OF THE QUR'AN AND OTHER PIOUS FORMULAS

According to the *Fada'il al-Qur'an*, the beneficial properties of the Revelation can be harnessed by transcribing select chapters on objects intended for a variety of purposes. The opening chapter, *surat al-Fatiha* – known as *umm al-Qur'an* ('mother of the Qur'an') because it centres on God's glorification and calls for His assistance – is widely used for healing and to ward off evil (cats 88–9, 94).[24] Equally popular, if not more so, is *ayat al-kursi* ('Throne Verse', Qur. 2:255) from *surat al-Baqara*.[25] The text's celebration of God's immense powers and constant presence made it into the most generic 'cure-all' formula, leading to its broad adoption across diverse media (cats 2, 35, 41, 48, 50, 53–7, 75, 77–8, 100, 106–7, 109).[26] Ideas of divine refuge, protection, and assistance appear in *surat Al 'Imran* (Qur. 3:14), *surat al-Tawba* (Qur. 9:128–9), and *surat Yusuf* (Qur. 12:64), a fact which justifies their use for general guarding purposes.

Above all, however, the chapters of the Qur'an with the strongest protective capacity are the two previously mentioned – *surat al-Falaq* (Qur. 113) and *surat al-Nas* (Qur. 114). These, aptly known as *al-mu'awwidhatan* or 'the verses seeking refuge and protection', are followed by *surat al-Ikhlas* (Qur. 112) which proclaims God as the 'eternal refuge', reiterating the idea of the Almighty as the ultimate source of succour (cats 41, 53, 56–7, 70).

Other Qur'anic passages were also used, but in a different way. Verses from *surat al-Fath* (Qur. 48), *surat al-Saff* (Qur. 61:13), and *surat al-Nasr* (Qur. 110) appear predominantly in conjunction with warfare (cats 45–6, 50, 65, and 83), as they directly invoke success and victory through God's aid (fig.31 and cat.48, overleaf). With their emphasis on healing instead, excerpts from *surat al-Tawba* (Qur. 9:14), *surat Yunus* (Qur. 10:57), *surat al-Nahl* (Qur. 16:69), *surat al-Isra'* (Qur. 17:82 and 89), *surat al-Shu'ara'* (Qur. 26:80), *surat Fussilat* (Qur. 41:44), and *surat al-Hashr* (Qur. 59:22–3) are often found in connection with disease and objects used for medical

Fig.31 | Banner, Iran, 1800–40, silk and metal thread, 263 × 203 cm.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (2318-1876) cat.43

Used in both ceremonial and military contexts, banners often carry supplications to God and other saintly figures for assistance and protection. Here 'Ali – cousin of the Prophet Muhammad, fourth caliph and first Shi'i Imam – is called upon not only as an exemplary and brave warrior, but also as an enlightened spiritual leader. 'Ali is a pivotal figure of Shi'ism, the branch of Islam which in the early sixteenth century became the state religion in modern-day Iran, where this textile was made.

Talismanic Shirt [cat.48]

Ottoman Empire, 17th century, cotton,
inscribed with coloured inks, 108 × 108 cm.

Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT456)

This dazzling object belongs to a corpus of extraordinary garments known in the Islamic tradition as talismanic shirts or *jama*. Although the most authoritative medieval source on the occult, Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Buni (d.1225), mentions the use of shirts or *qamis* as a way to earn the affection of a person,[1] extant examples do not predate the late fifteenth century.[2] In addition to surviving material evidence, later historical references also suggest a range of possible uses.

In an often-quoted letter written in the 1530s Hürrem Sultan urged her husband, the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I (r.1520–66), to wear the shirt she had dispatched to the battlefield as it would 'turn aside bullets' and protect him from death.[3] Fabricated by a holy man inspired by a vision of the Prophet Muhammad himself, this powerful garment was explicitly intended to be worn in the cause of Islam, deriving its efficacy from the sacred names that decorated it.[4] In so doing, the legendary shirt evoked a popular tradition according to which Muhammad received the thousand and one attributes of God from the angel Gabriel as a 'cuirass' designed to protect him during one of his battles.[5] Consequently talismanic shirts have been traditionally associated with martial undertakings (cat.50). At the same time recent studies and close analyses of examples held in public and private collections suggest that they could also be worn during illness, used as protective amulets (especially folded and carried in smaller containers), or simply produced for ceremonial and celebratory purposes (see also cat.49).[6]

The distinctive vocabulary used to decorate these garments – a mixture of Qur'anic quotes, sacred invocations, holy names, and symbols, including magic squares and seal markings – can help to clarify a shirt's intended purpose. This remains so even though the condition of the objects themselves often unworn and sometimes uncut, may occasionally reveal a different fate. Such is the case in this example. The shirt, made of cotton, is medium-size in length; it is open at the front, with flaring sides and short sleeves. Its surface is entirely covered by inscriptions written in four different styles, *kufic*, *thulth*, *naskh*, and *ghubayr*, the micro-script traditionally used for pigeon post. These appear in interlocking or discrete ogival cartouches, arranged symmetrically on both the front and back.[7] Executed in coloured ink and gold, these inscriptions reflect the typical vocabulary of Islamic talismanic objects – a combination of Qur'anic passages and invocations featuring some of the Ninety-Nine Names of God, including *al-hayy al-qayyum* ('the Everlasting', 'the Self-existing') in large gold characters and mirror writing on the back of the garment.

These generic references, recognising God's power and calling for His assistance in times of trouble, coupled with Qur'anic excerpts with universal protective qualities, indicate that this shirt was most likely intended for ceremonial purposes. The fact that it is split also indicates that it was designed to be worn on top of other clothes. It would therefore not have been directly in touch with the body, as expected for those shirts expressly meant to be worn in battle.[8] Finally the lack of physical traces of wear, for instance the sweat stains visible on several other extant examples, is also an indication of how the garment may have been repurposed. The creases running across it indicate that it was folded to fit a squarish container less than one-quarter of its overall size, suggesting that at some point it time it was carried as an amulet or transported to be used in this capacity. FL

purposes.[27] Similarly, pious invocations and prayers infused with Qur'anic citations figure as essential 'ingredients' of the remedies proposed in treatises of prophetic medicine (*al-tibb al-nabawi*) – a tradition fusing the Prophet's own experience and advice on health, medications, and hygiene with popular cures (fig.32).[28]

Based on the similarity in content between the cited verses and the contexts in which the objects that bore them were used, these associations are further enriched by recommendations and recipes contained in associated technical manuals. In his work *Khazinat al-asrar jalilat al-adhkar* ('The Treasury of Secrets, Exalted Prayers'), for instance, al-Nazili notes that Qur. 2:246, Qur. 3:181, Qur. 4:76–7, Qur. 5:31, and Qur. 13:17–8, known as 'the five verses of the Qur'an with the fifty q', must all appear on a single talisman in order to secure success in war.[29] Ibn al-Hajjaj instructs military commanders to inscribe Qur. 54:46 on a cloth with rosewater, musk, and amber when Libra is rising and in the hour of the Sun, and to carry it to the battlefield in order to prevail over oppressors and unbelievers.[30] In a volume concerning the properties of the name of God, al-Buni suggests that in order to avoid injury and gain victory believers should copy the *surat al-Nasr* (Qur. 110) on a blue cloth or paper during the exaltation of the Sun and Mars.[31] At the same time, in his *Luma'at al-nuraniyya* ('Brilliant Lights'), this author prescribes writing the beginning of *surat al-'Alaq* (Qur. 96:1–5) on a piece of ox or elephant skin during the rising of the Moon in the house of Taurus in order to support all intellectual endeavours. Such recommendations confirm that the use of these word-laden devices addressed all spheres of life (fig.33).

The reference in specialist literature to specific astrological conditions as essential for the production and proper functioning of such talismanic objects is noteworthy. It underscores not only the broad scope and relevance of divinatory skills, but also the complex expertise needed to sustain amuletic practices in the Islamic tradition. The prominence of astrology in these procedures can be explained through the impact of Hellenistic knowledge on Islamic thought,[32] evident in key medieval Islamic texts on the topic[33] including the eleventh-century *Ghayat al-Hakim* ('Aim of the Sage').[34] This pivotal work repeatedly mentions the need for astrologically determined times in which to perform amulet-producing rituals. At the same time, it stresses how important it is to have knowledge of celestial bodies and their inhabitants (i.e. angels and spirits), as well as of associated earthly creatures, compounds, and resources, in order to harness their power and direct it to pertinent and compatible aims.[35]

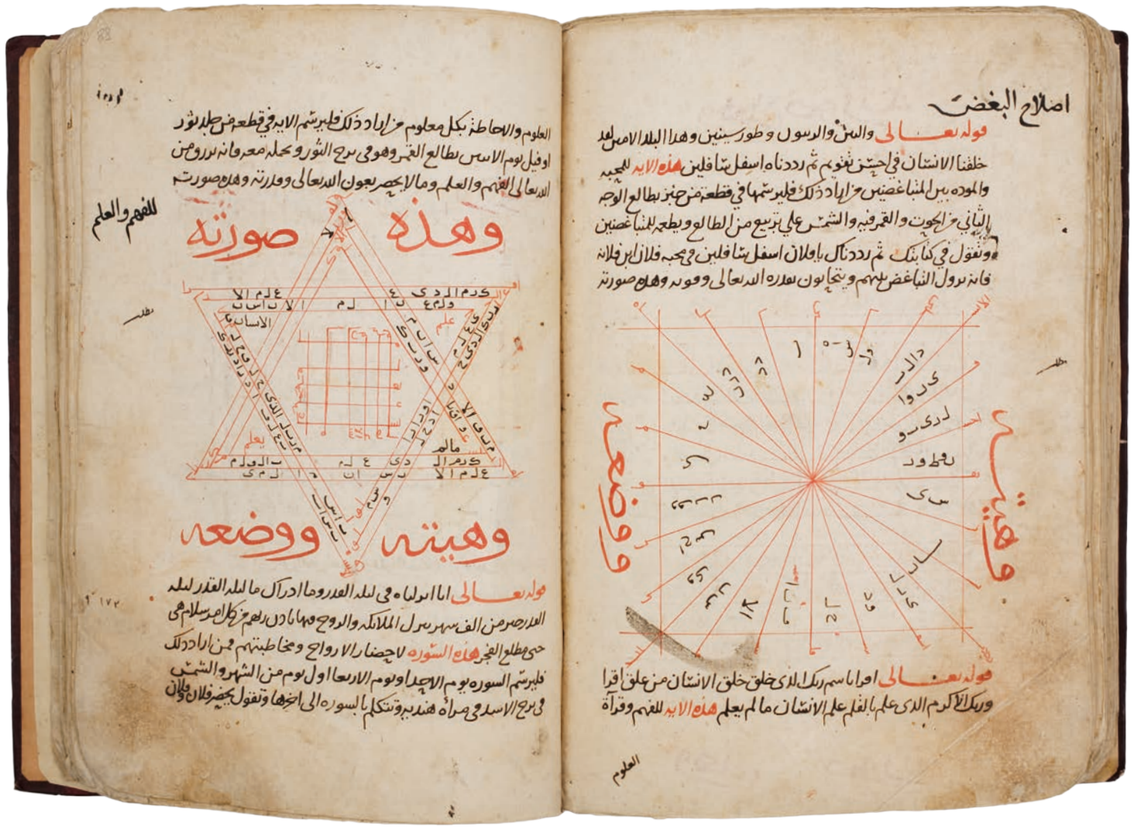
Significant examples of these principles are found

Fig.32 | Magico-Medicinal Bowl, Syria, 565 AH / 1169, copper alloy, cast and incised, 19 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MTW1443)
cat.52

One of the earliest known dated examples, this magico-medicinal bowl gives the user specific information regarding the range of ailments it is able to cure. As the inscription decorating its rim suggests, these include the stings of serpents and scorpions, various types of fever, abdominal pain and colic, migraine and throbbing pain, as well as eye problems. 'If one drinks water or oil or milk from it,' continues the text, 'then one will be cured, by the help of God Almighty', confirming that all recovery is ultimately subject to His will.

Fig.33 | *Luma'at al-nuraniyya* ('Brilliant Lights') by Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Buni, possibly North Africa, 16 Dhu'l Qa'da 828 AH / 24 September 1425, ink and colours on paper, 26 × 17.6 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS300, fols 87b–88a)
cat.35

Although little is known about his life, Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Buni (d.1225) is generally acknowledged as the Muslim authority on Islamic 'magic' due to the wide reception of his works through to the present day. In this enigmatic text, one of the few securely attributed to him, al-Buni explores the occult properties of the Ninety-Nine Names of God (*al-asma' al-husna*). Through a combination of verbal recipes and diagrams, he also offers instructions to harness and channel their powers through amulets and talismans.



on amulets and vessels designed to protect from the sting of scorpions or serpents, and therefore engraved with the creature's image. The same can be said for the inscription of phrases such as *ya kabikaj*, 'O buttercup', on the first page of manuscripts (cat.30). Invoking a poisonous plant deemed effective against insects, *ya kabikaj* was considered a useful method of keeping bookworms and other harmful insects at bay.[36] The sympathies existing between the celestial and sub-lunar worlds, combined with the correspondences drawn between their respective elements and substances, provide, according to the *Ghayat al-hakim*, the elusive yet necessary conditions required to create talismanic devices of guaranteed efficacy.

Surviving material evidence adds to the selections of Qur'anic passages deemed effective against life's tribulations, often providing alternative combinations of potent formulas. This begs the question of how, or to what extent, this specialised literary corpus was in fact consulted in the fabrication of amulets and talismans – and how much was instead informed by personal and local knowledge, transmitted orally or

Fig.34 | *Hilya* Combined with the Relics of the Prophet, Turkey, 19th century, ink and gold on paper, 47 × 29.4 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (CAL441)
cat.59

Unlike traditional *hilya*s, which verbally describe the physical and moral qualities of the Prophet Muhammad, this example enhances the figurative quality of the composition by adding images of his personal effects (*al-mukhallafat al-nabawiyya*). Like other aspects of the Prophet, these attributes were considered to carry blessing.

Fig.35 | Finial in the Shape of a Falcon, Golconda (India), 17th century, perforated gilt copper, 38 × 20.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IM.163-1913)
cat.47

Possibly used as a finial on an *'alam*, this falcon is composed of the *nad-i 'Ali*, a classical Shi'i prayer which recites: 'Call upon 'Ali, the revealer of miracles, you will find him a comfort to you in times of misfortune. All grief and sorrow will disappear through your companionship, O 'Ali, O 'Ali, O 'Ali!'

Fig.36 | The 'Seal of Solomon' and the 'Seal of Prophethood' from a Collection of Qur'anic Passages, Prayers, and Diagrams, Turkey, mid-18th century, ink, colours, and gold on paper, leather flap binding with stamped, gilt, and lacquered decoration, 15.6 × 10.7 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS158, fols 124b–125a)
cat.64

Contained in a miscellanea of pious and protective formulas and diagrams, these glistening pages illustrate two well-known seal motifs, the 'seal of prophethood' (cats 60 and 62) and the 'seal of Solomon' (cats 65–6 and 86). The latter, generally presented as a five- or six-pointed star, is a quintessential magical motif linked to the Jewish tradition. It decorated a signet ring which allegedly gave King Solomon power over demons and spirits – an idea that inspired its subsequent adoption in occult practices across the Middle East and beyond.

through practice.[37] On amulets and talismans alike the Qur'an is thus found in combination with the Ninety-Nine Names of God (cats 40, 42, 48–50, 54–5, 59, 62, 77, 88, 110);[38] the names of Muhammad and/or his attributes (cats 42, 44, 46, 50, 59–64, 85, 90, 107–8, 110–11, fig.34);[39] references to members of the *ahl al-bayt* and Shi'i Imams (cats 42–44, 53, 55, 66, 79–80, 110–11, fig.35); and the names of angels (cats 84, 87, 90, 105, 110).[40] They are joined by a plethora of symbols drawn from pre-Islamic traditions and classical antiquity including a five – or six-pointed star, generally referred to as the 'seal of Solomon' (cats 64–6, fig.36),[41] the so-called 'lunette script' (cats 35, 83, fig.38),[42] and pseudo-writing using alphabets of other cultures or combinations of letters and numbers.[43] Last but not least, the Qur'an is also used in 'deconstructed' form[44] by using its 'mysterious letters' – *kaf ha' ya' 'ayn sad* (Qur. 19) and *ha' mim 'ayn sin qaf* (Qur. 42)[45] (cat.109) – or by breaking down verses and words into individual letters or their equivalent numeric value (*abjad*).[46]

Such sacred units are often used to fill squares of

Fig.38 | Talismanic Disc, India or Iran, 19th century, silver, incised, 15.3 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (SCI118)
cat.83

Among the wide range of talismanic devices developed in the Islamic traditions are plaques of various media and dimensions. In addition to displaying a magical vocabulary, which draws on astrological imagery and alphanumerical combinations, these discs are generally pierced, suggesting that they were meant to be either suspended or fastened. This example is engraved with nine concentric bands merging Qur'anic passages and lunette script.

Fig.37 | Amulet, possibly Turkey, 19th century, brass, engraved, diam. 7 cm.
The British Museum, London (1893,0215.1)
cat.87

3 × 3 (or more) cells known as 'magic-squares' (*wafq*), a ubiquitous device found across numerous media (cats 39, 42, 50, 54, 68, 87 and 107).[47] These are squares in which the sum of the numbers on each row, column or diagonal is the same. The terms 'Latin squares' or 'verse squares' refer to grids in which the numbers do not add up, or which are filled with words extracted from specific verses or chapters of the Qur'an (cats 53–4, 74, 84, 105, 107).[48] The 3 × 3 square received the name of *buduh*, based on the four numerals or letters placed in the corner cells.[49] It became so common that transcribing or invoking its name – *ya buduh*, 'O buduh' – was believed to be enough to invoke its powers (fig.37).[50]

The way in which these verbal and visual resources were employed demonstrates an emphasis on repetition and visual accumulation, as if the reiteration of specific passages and words, along with their spatial juxtaposition, improved their potency and effectiveness. While this is present on small objects, larger items clearly provide the context for more complex and extensive configurations; variations in scale and additional effects such as mirror-writing are deployed to augment the magical potential of the formulas (cat.42, overleaf). More interestingly, these objects appear to perform a kind of 'visual *dhikr*' (literally 'remembrance'), with their rhythmic iterations, emphasised by the geometric distribution of their sacred vocabulary.[51] In this way they offer users a powerful reminder of the value traditionally attributed by Islam to sustained supplication and remembrance of God: 'And remember your Lord within yourself in humility and in fear without being apparent in speech, in the mornings and in the evenings.'[52] By adopting a well-established *modus operandi* many of these artefacts thus parallel more established devotional acts – drawing their power and effectiveness, in the words of Michael Dols, from the 'supercharged prayer(s)' they ultimately incarnate.[53]

Banner [cat.42]

probably Deccan (India), 17th century or later, cotton, inscribed in coloured inks, 270 × 340 cm.

Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT233)

This exceptional banner exhibits a veritable verbal and visual *tour de force*, carefully orchestrated to magnify its aesthetic appeal and talismanic potential. Measuring almost 3.5 metres in length, it was probably attached to a pole on its short side – although the distribution of the text, which rotates along the three sides, and the associated graphic elements allow viewers to read it even when hung vertically.

The outer edge of the banner is occupied by a double row of lobed 3 × 3 and 5 × 5 magic and Latin squares, set against a silver background. These also include a classical *buduh* square located at the very tip of the flag, made up of the first nine letters (and equivalent numbers) of the Arabic alphabet and showing the letters *ba'*, *waw*, *dal*, and *ha'* at its corners. Between them runs a large inscription which reproduces the first sixteen verses of chapter 48 of the Qur'an, *surat al-Fath* or 'The Victory'. Possibly more than any other section of the Qur'an, this is the chapter that stresses God's assistance of believers fighting in His cause, as well as the rewards for those honouring Him and 'leading a life on the straight path'. Unsurprisingly this verse features prominently on other objects associated with military undertakings (see also cat.43).

The Qur'anic reference follows the outer profile of the flag and continues at its centre around the larger of the two squares filled with numbers. Here sequences of figures between 1 and 10,056 fill the red grid, the single or multiple numbers creating a striking optical effect. A smaller sequence of numbers appears in the second square beneath. The interstitial spaces surrounding them offer well-known selections of verses and invocations addressing God, Muhammad, and 'Ali. Starting from the tip of the flag and alternating with red cartouches with the *basmala*, the larger medallions include the expression *ya qafi al-muhammat* ('O Sufficient in Difficulties'), another Qur'anic excerpt declaring 'victory is from God and the conquest is near' (Qur. 61:13), the Muslim profession of faith (*shahada*), one of the Ninety-Nine Names of God, *al-fattah* ('O Opener'), whose vertical strokes meet at the centre to create a 3 × 3 square, and a design formed by the name of 'Ali rotated and repeated four times and inscribing the name of Muhammad and 'Ali. Moving on to the spaces on the outer sides of the larger numeric square, the sequence of cartouches opens with a representation of *dhu'l-fiqar*, 'Ali's double-edged sword, followed by another *basmala* and a further invocation to God, *ya rafi' al-darajat* ('O Exalter of Ranks'). There is also a sunburst medallion in which the names of 'Ali and Muhammad are reproduced in mirror writing, thereby producing a human face, another large medallion with the *nad-i 'Ali*, and a final lobed roundel repeating 'in the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate'.

The choice of textual references, combined with the typical vocabulary of talismanic objects and its cumulative mode, leave little doubt about the intended military use of this impressive textile. Triangular banners invoking God's help appear in many illustrated manuscripts (cat.1), reinforcing the idea that these textiles were an integral part of the equipment of Muslim armies.

Exhibition Checklist

Dimensions are provided in the following sequence: height precedes width. Single measurements refer to height or length, unless otherwise stated, depending on the type of object. For manuscripts the measurements refer to the overall page size.

1 *The Battle between Khusraw Parvis and Bahram Chubina*

From an illustrated copy of the *Khamsa* ('Quintet') by Nizami, made for Shah Tahmasp I Safavi (r.1524–76)
Copied by Shah Mahmud al-Nishapuri
Tabriz (Iran), 946–9 AH / 1539–43
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
36.8 × 25.4 cm
National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh (A.1896.70)

2 *Astrolabe*

Signed by Khalil Muhammad ibn Hasan 'Ali
Iran, c.1700
Brass, engraved
Diam. 9.1 cm
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford (42649)

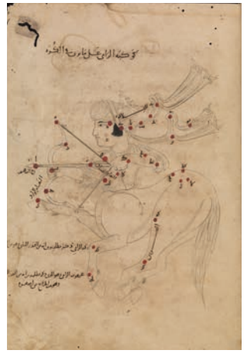
3 *Astrolabe with Lunar Mansions*

Signed by 'Abd al-Karim al-Misri
Probably Mayyafariqin (Turkey), 625 AH / 1227–8
Brass, inlaid with silver and gold
Diam. c.27.8 cm
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford (37148)

4 *Celestial Globe*

Signed by Ja'far ibn 'Umar ibn Dawlatshah al-Kirmani
Iran, 764 AH / 1362–3
Brass, inlaid with silver
Diam. 16.5 cm
Museum of the History of Science, University of Oxford (44790)

Detail of Cat.39



5 *The Constellation of Sagittarius*

From an illustrated copy of the *Kitab suwar al-kawakib al-thabitah* ('Book of the Fixed Stars, or Constellations') by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi
Iran, probably end of the 12th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
26.5 × 17.8 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms. Marsh 144, fol.272a)

6 Ruzname *('Calendar')*

Turkey, 1226 AH / 1812
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
100 × 12.2 cm
Wellcome Library, London (Ottoman Ms.3)

7 Al-taqwim al-kamil *('The Perfect Calendar') by Yusuf ibn Hasan al-Husayni*

Dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r.1481–1512)
Turkey, 913 AH / 1507
Ink, gold, and silver on parchment; leather binding
25.7 × 19.3 cm
The British Library, London (Or.6432, fols 4b–5a)

8 *The Phases of the Moon*

From an illustrated copy of the *Acaibü'l-mahlukat* ('Wonders of Creation') by Muslih al-Din al-Süruri
Turkey, 16th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
25.7 × 15.2 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms.Turk d.2, fols 12b–13a)

9 *The Divinatory Practices Known as* 'Ilm al-Ghalib wa al-Maghlub *(right) and* La'bat al-Ikhtilaj *(left)*

From an illustrated copy of the *Kitab al-bulhan* ('Book of Wonderment')
Probably Baghdad (Iraq), 1382–1410
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
25.3 × 17.6 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms. Bodl.Or.133, fols 50b–51a)

10 *Chapter about People Born in the Third Decade of the Sign of Taurus*

From a fragmentary illustrated copy of the *Kitab al-mawalid* ('Book of Nativities') by Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi
Probably Baghdad (Iraq), late 14th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
22.5 × 17.2 cm
The Keir Collection of Islamic Art on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art (III.29–68, fol.8b–9a)

11 *The Nativity Book of Iskandar ibn 'Umar Shaykh*

Shiraz (Iran), 22 Dhu'l-Hijja 813 AH / 18 April 1411
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
26.5 × 16.7 cm
Wellcome Library, London (Ms.Persian 474, fols 18b–19a and 64b–65a)

12 *Anthology*

Dedicated to Iskandar ibn 'Umar Shaykh
Shiraz (Iran), 813–14 AH / 1410–11
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
18.1 × 12.5 cm
The British Library, London (Add.27261, fols 403b–404a)

13 *A Compendium on Astrology and Geomancy*

India, 18th century
Ink and opaque watercolours on cotton
111.5 × 97.5 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT225)

14 *Geomantic Tablet*

Signed by Muhammad ibn Khutlukh al-Mawsili
Owned by Muhammad al-Muhtasib al-Najjari
Probably Damascus (Syria), 639 AH / 1241–2
Brass alloy, inlaid with silver and gold
26.8 × 33.6 cm
The British Museum, London (1888,0526.1)

15 Hidayat al-raml *('Instructions on Sand [Divination]') by Hidayat Allah*

India or Iran, 1209 AH / 1794
Coloured inks and gold on paper
29.3 × 19.5 cm
Wellcome Library, London (Ms.466, fols 30b–31a)

16A–D *Four Sets of Geomantic Dice*

Possibly India, 18th–20th century
Brass
(a) 12.5 cm (b) 7.2 cm (c) 5.9 cm (d) 5.9 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (SCI135a, d, I–m)

17 Fa'l-i Qur'an *('Divination by the Qur'an') by Sadr Jahan and Ja'far al-Sadiq*

Iran, 884 AH / 1480
Ink, colours, and gold on paper; green modern leather binding
17.7 × 11.1 cm
The British Library, London (Add.Or.6591, fols 2b–3a)

18 *Qur'an with Table for Prognostication*

Probably Shiraz (Iran), mid- to second half of the 16th century
Ink, opaque watercolour, and gold on paper
35 × 25 cm
Cambridge University Library (Nn.3.75, fols 297b–298a)

19 Masnavi-yi Ma'navi *('Spiritual Couplets') by Jalal al-Din Rumi*

Probably Herat (Afghanistan), late 15th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
29.8 × 20.5 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms. Elliot 251, fols 2b–3a)

20 Divan *by Hafiz*

Copied by Sulayman al-Fushanji
Probably Herat (Afghanistan), 855 AH / 1451
Ink, colours, and gold on Chinese paper
17 × 10 cm
The British Library, London (Add.7759, fol. 20a)

21 Sahih *of al-Bukhari*

India, or possibly Mecca, 4 Ramadan 1268 and 7 Rajab 1271 AH / 22 June 1852 and 26 March 1855
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
31.8 × 23.2 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS360, fols 2b–3a)

22A *'Ali at the Gates of Khaybar*

From the dispersed *Fa'lnama* ('Book of Omens') of Shah Tahmasp I Safavi (r.1524–76)
Qazvin (Iran), mid-1550s–early 1560s
Opaque watercolour and gold on paper
59.5 × 45 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Ms.395)

22B *Augury of 'Ali at the Gates of Khaybar*

From the dispersed *Fa'lnama* ('Book of Omens') of Shah Tahmasp I Safavi (r.1524–76)
Qazvin (Iran), mid-1550s–early 1560s
Opaque watercolour and gold on paper
59 × 44.5 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Ms.395)

23A–C *The Cupbearer of Kawthar Gives Water to the Dwellers of Paradise; Judgement Day; Karkhi Porter at the Tomb of Imam Riza and Related Auguries*

From an illustrated copy of a *Fa'lnama* ('Book of Omens')
Probably Golconda (India), c.1610–30
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
41 × 28.4 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS979, fols 2b–3a; 10b–11a, and 24b–25a)

24 *The Prophet Idris*

From an illustrated copy of the *Qisas al-anbiya'* ('Stories of the Prophets') by Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Nishapuri
Iran, *c.*1570–80
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
31.7 × 19.9 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Per.231, fols 21b–22a)

25 *Yusuf Received by the King*

From an illustrated copy of *Yusuf and Zuleykha* by Hamdullah Çelebi
Turkey, 16th–17th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
20.5 × 12.5 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL T.428 fol.169a)

26 *Dictionary for Dream Interpretation*

Iran, 17th century or later
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
29 × 17.5 cm
The British Library, London (Or.5851, fols 79b–80a)

27 *Tipu Sultan's Dream Book* (khwabnama)

Mysore (India), 1785–98
Ink on paper
21.8 × 19.3 cm
The British Library, London (I.O.Islamic 3563, fols 13b–14a)

28 *Calligram*

Signed Mustafa Edirnavi
Turkey, 1215 AH / 1800–1
Ink and gold on cream and light blue paper, mounted on board
28 × 43.5 cm
Purchased with the assistance of Richard de Unger and Adeela Qureshi and the Patrons of the Ashmolean, 2015. Ashmolean Museum (EA2015.12)

29 *Qur'an*

Ethiopia, 1162 AH / 1749
Ink, gold, and colours on paper
32.5 × 22.5 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR706, fols 7b–8a)

30 *Qur'an*

Possibly Morocco, 727 AH / 1326
Ink, gold, and colours on parchment
23.4 × 19.7 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR1081, fols 16b–17a)

31 *Qur'an*

Turkey, 18th century
Ink, gold, and colours on paper
17 × 11 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR44, fols 276b–277a)

32 *Part 1 of a Two-Volume Qur'an*

India, 15th century
Ink, gold, and colours on paper
32.2 × 23 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR237, fols 297b–298a)

33 *Part 29 of a Thirty-Volume Qur'an*

Great Mosque of Khanbaliq (China), 20 Muharram 804 AH / 9 October 1401
Ink, gold, and colours on paper
24.5 × 17.5 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR974, fol.2a)

34 *Bifolio from a Monumental Qur'an*

Egypt, c.1370s
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
74 × 47.5 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL IS.1628)

35 Lumaʿat al-nuraniyya *('Brilliant Lights') by Ahmad ibn ʿAli al-Buni*

Possibly North Africa, 16 Dhu'l Qa'da 828 AH / 24 September 1425
Ink and colours on paper
26 × 17.6 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS300, fols 87b–88a)

36 Ziya' al-'uyun *('The Lights of Sources') by Muhammad Hadi ibn Mir Mahdi Khan*

Hyderabad (India), 1114 AH / 1702–3
Ink, colours, and gold on paper; green leather binding (modern)
24.4 × 14.7 cm
The British Library, London (Or.7831, fols 3b–4a)

37 *Book of Prayers*

Turkey or India, possibly 16th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
12.5 × 8 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL T.429, fols 1b–2a)

38 Yataghan

Turkey, 1280 AH / 1863
Forged steel with gold damascening, ivory, wood, silver-gilt sheet and appliques, seed pearls, turquoises, and rubies
75.9 cm (sword), 71.5 cm (scabbard)
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MTW637)

39 *Sword, Scabbard, and Baldric made for Sultan ʿAli Dinar (r.1898–1916)*

Sudan, 1312 AH / 1898
Crucible forged steel, gold damascened; tooled black leather over wooden core; walrus ivory
107.2 (sword), 92.8 cm (scabbard)
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MTW1132)

40 *Sabre Hilt Inscribed with the Ninety-Nine Names of God*

India, 18th century
Iron, cast and pierced, with gold damascening
18 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MTW1142)

41 *Body Armour* (chahar-aine)

Signed Luft 'Ali
Iran, 1150 AH / 1737–8
Steel, inlaid with gold
Larger breastplate 27 × 21.5 cm; smaller breastplate 20.7 × 18 cm
Purchased, 1997. Ashmolean Museum (EA1997.176)

42 *Banner*

Probably Deccan (India), 17th century or later
Cotton, inscribed in coloured inks
340 × 270 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT233)

43 *Banner*

Iran, 1800–40
Silk and metal thread
263 × 203 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(2318–1876)

44 *Standard (ʿalam)*

Iran, 17th century
Steel, with openwork decoration
49.5 cm
The Sarikhani Collection

45 *Standard (ʿalam)*

Iran, 1126 AH / 1714–15
Steel and brass, with openwork decoration
54.6 cm
Farjam Foundation

46 *Calligraphic Finial in the Shape of a Dragon*

Golconda (India), late 17th–early 18th century
Brass
18 × 10.7 cm
Purchased, 1994. Ashmolean Museum
(EA1994.45)

47 *Finial in the Shape of a Falcon*

Golconda (India), 17th century
Perforated gilt copper
38 × 20.3 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
(IM.163–1913)

48 *Talismanic Shirt*

Ottoman Empire, 17th century
Cotton, inscribed with coloured inks
108 × 108 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT456)

49 *Talismanic Shirt*

Ottoman Empire, 18th–19th centuries
Cotton, inscribed in coloured inks and embroidered
36 × 36 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT538)

50 *Talismanic Shirt*

Turkey, 991 AH / 1583
Coloured inks and gold on cotton
87 × 113 cm
Al Thani Collection

51 Kitab al-hadi al-muhammadi fi'l-tibb al-nabawi *('Treatise on Prophetic Medicine')* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawfiyah

Copied by 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mawhub al-Dimashqi al-Mutatabbib
Probably Damascus (Syria), 21 Shawwal 926 AH / 4 October 1520
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
17.5 × 12.1 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS568, fols 1b–2a)

52 *Magico-Medicinal Bowl*

Syria, 565 AH / 1169
Copper alloy, cast and incised
Diam. 19 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MTW1443)

53 *Magico-Medicinal Bowl*

Iran, 1066 AH / 1655
Brass, engraved and incised
Diam. 22.3 cm
Presented by Mrs Johnson, 1992. Ashmolean Museum (EA1992.51)

54 *Magico-Medicinal Bowl*

Deccan (India), 16th century
High-tin bronze, incised
Diam. 45.2 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MTW1444)

55 *Magico-Medicinal Bowl*

Lucknow (India), 18th century or later
Brass, engraved and incised
Diam. 14.8 cm
The British Museum, London (1921,1025.5)

56 *'Swatow' Dish with Qur'anic Passages*

China, 17th century
Porcelain, painted in overglaze green and black on opaque glaze
Diam. 36.5 cm
Gift of Gerald Reitlinger, 1978. Ashmolean Museum (EA1978.981)

57 *Magico-Medicinal Cup*

Deccan (India), 1014 AH / 1606
Agate, engraved
Diam. 7.8 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS6)

58 *Incantation Cup*

Golconda (India), late 16th–early 17th century
Tinned brass, engraved
Diam. 12.3 cm
Presented by Lieutenant Colonel H. B. Monier-Williams, 1972. Ashmolean Museum (EA1972.41)

59 Hilya *Combined with the Relics of the Prophet Muhammad*

Turkey, 19th century
Ink and gold on paper
47 × 29.4 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (CAL441)

60 *Two Versions of the 'Seal of Prophethood'* (muhr al-nubuwwa)

From an Illustrated Prayer Book
Turkey, 1212 AH / 1798
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
17 × 11 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL T.463, fols 91b–92a)

61 Al-kawakib al-durriyya fi madh khayr al-barriyya *('The Shining Stars in Praise of the Best of Creation') by Muhammad ibn Sa'id al-Busiri*

Dedicated to Sultan Qayt Bay (r.1468–95)
Cairo (Egypt), 1468–95
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
43 × 29.8 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL Ms.4168, fols 1b–2a)

62 *Diagram Illustrating the 'Seal of Prophethood'* (muhr al-nubuwwa)

Iran, 16th–17th century
Coloured inks and gold on cotton
72 × 48.8 cm
Farjam Foundation

63 *Drawing of the Prophet's Sandal* (na'l al-nabi)

Probably Morocco, 19th century
Coloured inks on paper; leather pouch
26 × 36 cm
The British Library, London (Or.6774)

64 *The 'Seal of Solomon'* (muhr sulayman) *and the 'Seal of Prophethood'* (muhr al-nubuwwa)

From a Collection of Qur'anic Passages, Prayers, and Diagrams
Turkey, mid-18th century
Ink, colours, and gold on paper; leather flap binding with stamped, gilt and lacquered decoration
15.6 × 10.7 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS158, fols 124b–125a)

65 *Mail and Plate Armour and Vambraces*

Turkey, 15th–16th century
Forged steel, incised and formerly gilt
76 × 125 cm (armour); 20 × 40 cm (vambraces)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (330a-c-1898)

66 *Central Section from a Banner with* dhu'l-fiqar

Turkey, 17th century
Silk and metal thread
189 × 59.5 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TXT36)

67 *The Battle of Badr*

From an illustrated copy of the *Siyer-i nebi* ('Life of the Prophet') by Mustafa Darir, made for Sultan Murad III (r.1574–95)
Istanbul (Turkey), 1003 AH / 1594–5
Ink, colours, and gold on paper; lacquered binding
37.4 × 27 cm
The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL T.419, fol.225b)

68 *Mirror with Astrological Signs*

Iran, 12th–13th century
Cast bronze
Diam. 18.5 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M.91–952)

69 *Jar with Signs of the Zodiac*

Iran, early 13th century
Fritware, painted in lustre over the glaze
Diam. 18.5 cm
Presented by Sir Alan Barlow, 1956. Ashmolean Museum (EA1956.58)

70 *Pen Box with Astrological Decoration*

Mosul (Iraq), c.1230–50
Brass, inlaid with silver and gold
36.8 × 9 cm
Donated by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, The British Museum, London (1884,0704.85)

71 *Set of Twelve Coins of Emperor Jahangir with the Zodiac*

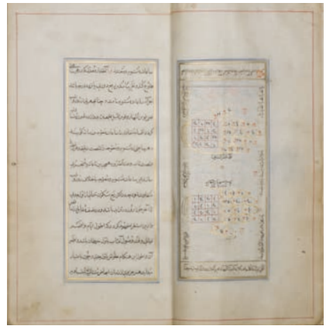
Agra (India), 1028–33 AH / 1618–23
Gold
Diam. 2–2.1 cm
Ashmolean Museum (HCR6613, 6615, 6617–22, 6624–26, 6770)

72 *Coffee Set with Astrological Decoration*

Signed Muhammad Baqir
Iran, early 19th century
Gold, enamelled
Saucer diam. 12.7 cm; bowl diam. 8.2 cm; spoon 13.2 cm
Accepted by HM Government in lieu of Inheritance Tax on the Estate of Basil W. Robinson and allocated to the Ashmolean Museum, 2009. Ashmolean Museum (EA2009.2–4)

73 *Finial in the Shape of the 'Hand of Fatima'*

Possibly Hyderabad (India), late 18th–early 19th century
Gold on a lac core, rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and pearls
11.8 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (JLY1923)



74 *Book of Prayers by ʿAla al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Hafiz al-Tabrizi*

India, late 17th–early 18th century
Coloured inks and gold on paper
24.4 × 12.6 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS970 fols 16b –17a)
© Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust

75 *Gemstone from a Pendant*

Probably Iran, 17th–19th century
Cornelian, engraved
3.5 × 5.15 cm
Gift of J. B. Elliott, 1859. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, on loan to the Ashmolean Museum (LI1008.46)
© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

76 *Elements from a Bracelet*

Iran, 19th century
Cornelian and jasper, engraved, and silver
1.9 × 2.4 cm, 3.8 × 4 cm, 1.8 × 2.4 cm
Gift of J. B. Elliott, 1859. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, on loan to the Ashmolean Museum (LI1008.20–22)
© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

77 *Elements from a Bracelet*

Iran, 19th century
Cornelian, inscribed, and silver
1.1 × 1.8, 2.8 × 4, 1 × 1.8 cm
Gift of J. B. Elliott, 1859. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, on loan to the Ashmolean Museum (LI1008.23–25)
© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

78 *Amulet*

India, late 17th–early 18th century
Cornelian, inscribed and jade inlaid with gold and inset with emeralds and rubies
3.2 × 4.1 cm
Presented by J. B. Elliott, 1859. Ashmolean Museum (EA2009.5)
© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

79 *Necklace with the Names of the Twelve Imams*

Iran
Jade
36 cm
The British Museum, London (OA+.1422)
© Trustees of the British Museum

80 *Ring with Jade Seal*

Iran, early 16th century
Gold with niello decoration inset with jade
Diam. 2.6 cm
The Sarikhani Collection
© Clarissa Bruce

81 *Gem-set Gold Navratna Pendant*

India, late 18th century
Gold, cabochon emerald, diamonds, pearls, rubies, sapphire, topaz, cat's eye, coral hyacinth
Diam. c.3.5 cm
Farjam Foundation
© Farjam Foundation

82 *Pendant with Inscribed Gemstone*

Possibly India, 14th century
Gold and rock crystal
Diam. 3.2 cm
Al Thani Collection
© Al Thani Collection

83 *Talismanic Disc*

India or Iran, 19th century
Silver, incised
Diam. 15.3 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (SCI118)
© Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust

84 *Seal*

Iran or India, 19th century
Brass, engraved
3.5 cm
The British Museum, London (1893,0205.101)
© Trustees of the British Museum

85 *Amulet*

Possibly Turkey
19th century
Gold, stamped
Diam. 3.1 cm
The British Museum, London (1849,1121.359)
© Trustees of the British Museum

86 *Amulet*

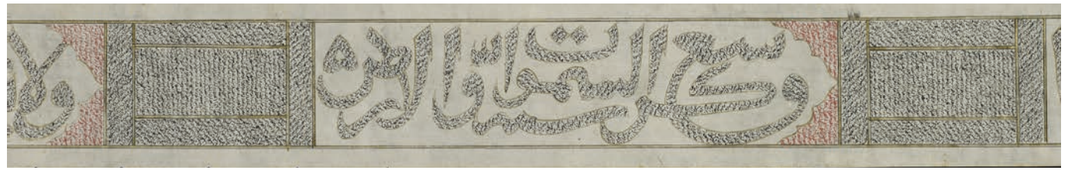
Possibly Turkey
19th century
Gold, stamped
Diam. 6.4 cm
Bequeathed by Edward Gilbertson. The British Museum, London (1994,0915.888)
© Trustees of the British Museum

87 *Amulet*

Possibly Turkey
19th century
Brass, engraved
Diam. 7 cm
The British Museum, London (1893,0215.1)
© Trustees of the British Museum

88 *Talismanic Scroll with Qur'anic Verses*

Iran or India, 18th–19th century
Black and red ink and gold on paper
6.2 × 330 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
(Ms.Arab.g.7 [R])



89 *Talismanic Scroll with Qur'anic Verses*

Iran or India, possibly 18th century
Black and red ink and gold on paper
7.5 × 365 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
(Ms.Laud.Or.Rolls g. 2)

90 *Talismanic Scroll with Qur'anic Quotations, Prophetic References and Sacred Symbols*

Ottoman Empire, 18th century or later
Black and red ink and gold on paper
3.6 cm × l36 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
(Ms.Arch.Seld.A.72.6 [2])

91 *Miniature Qur'an*

Iran, 1307 AH / 1889–90
Woodblock print
4.5 × 4.8 cm
Presented by Mrs A. Johnson, 1992. Ashmolean Museum (EA1992.42)

92 *Miniature Qur'an*

Turkey, 1500–50
Ink, gold, and colours on paper
c.6.3 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (QUR425, fols 2b–3a)

93 *Miniature Printed Qur'an with Container*

Possibly Turkey, 1820–30
Printed paper; silver
3.5 × 1.8 cm
Given by J. Grzywaczewski, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (M55–1954)

94 *Miniature Book*

Turkey, 16th–18th century
Leather, decorated with embossed and cut-out work
Diam. 6.9 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS312, fols 1b–2a)

95A–B *Amulet Case and Scroll*

Probably Iran, 19th century
Silver, with enamelled areas and black compound; coloured ink and gold on parchment
7.8 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS28)

96 *Amulet Case*

Probably Iran, 19th century
Silver, gilded
9 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS29)

97 *Amulet Case*

Probably Iran, 19th century
Silver, engraved
6.4 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS30)

98 *Amulet Case*

Probably Iran, 19th century
Silver, engraved and inlaid with black compound
9.5 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS31)

99 *Amulet Case*

Probably Iran, 19th century
Silver, gilded
8.8 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS32)

100 *Amulet Case*

Probably Iran, 19th century
Silver, engraved
7.9 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS33)

101–2 *Two Amulets Containing Qur'anic Excerpts*

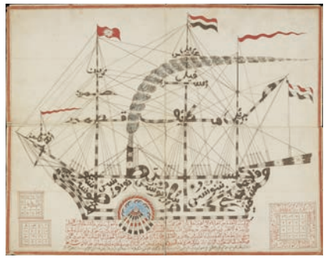
Nigeria and West Africa, 19th–20th century
Leather, vegetal fibres, paper
(left) 12.4 cm, (right) 15.2 × 6.4 cm
Pitt Rivers Museum (1980.11.1 and 2002.51.1)

103 *Armlet for Amulet* (bazuband)

Iran, 19th century
Silver, engraved
Diam. 6 cm
Bequeathed by Christopher T. Gandy, 2012.
Ashmolean Museum (EA2012.95)

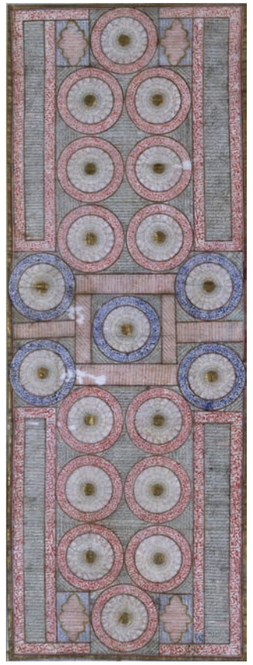
104 *Amulet Case*

India, 18th century
Gold, enamelled, and set with stones
10 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (JLY1059)



105 Jimat *in Form of a Ship*

Signed 'Abdul Wahid ibn al-Haji Muhammad Tahir
Cangking (West Sumatra, Indonesia), 23 Safar 1283 AH / 6 July 1866
Coloured inks on paper backed on cloth
34 × 42.6 cm
Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (Ms. Arab.e.58)



106 *Talismanic Chart*

Iran, c.1900
Coloured inks on parchment
63 × 24 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS756)

107 Hilya *Combined with Magic Squares*

Iran, 19th century
Ink, colours and gold on paper
61.5 × 50.3 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (CAL302)

108 Hilya

Signed by Ibrahim Edhem ibn Ahmed Rifet
Turkey, 1322 AH / 1904–5
Ink and gold on paper
32.3 × 25 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (CAL463)

109A–B *Calligraphic Compositions with Qur'anic Excerpts*

Signed by Abu'l Hasan Musawi
Iran, 1263 AH / 1846–7
Ink, colours, and gold on paper
18.5 × 6.4 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (CAL185.1–2)

110 *Talisman*

Turkey, 19th century
Coloured inks on paper
86.6 × 60.9 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (MSS1179)

111 *Hand-shaped Stamp with Qur'anic Quotes and Shi'i Invocations*

Turkey, 1154 AH / 1741–2
Copper alloy, engraved
6.6 × 9.3 cm
Nasser D. Khalili Collection, London (TLS2707)

Detail of cat.62 | Diagram Illustrating the 'Seal of Prophethood' (*muhr al-nubuwwa*), Iran, 16th–17th century, coloured inks and gold on cotton, 72 × 48.8 cm
Farjam Foundation

Notes and References

Divination and Religion in Islamic Medieval Culture

Pierre Lory · pages 13–31

1 Fahd (1966) esp. pp.21–38 and 91–177.

2 A well-known saying states 'no divination after prophecy' (*la kihana ba'd nubuwwa*), suggesting its reduced importance after the spread of God's message. See Fahd, 'Kihana', accessed on 29 October 2015.

3 The word Islam means 'absolute submission' and at the core of its message is the belief in a single God.

4 According to the Islamic tradition, jinns are intelligent earthly beings. They are able to reproduce sexually as humans do, but are endowed with a subtle body and specific powers such as flying in the airs (the sub-lunar world). These 'demons' can be invoked in some magical practices.

5 Al-Ghazali (1969) pp.71–82.

6 The most comprehensive overview is still the one offered by Fahd (1966).

7 The Islamic world adopted a cosmology derived from the Ptolemaic vision of heavenly spheres, in which the Earth is in the centre surrounded by the spheres of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars.

8 Most Muslim scholars also believed that the heavenly spheres were inhabited by angels, who acted as God's officers on earth.

9 Al-Biruni (1879) pp.262–3. For a recent study see Boudet (2015). Even the fall of Baghdad was predicted by al-Kindi (d.873), the astrologer of Harun al-Rashid, in his book of astrological conjunctions and forecasts affecting Islam and the Abbasid dynasty. Ibn Khaldun (1967) p.261.

10 Keshavarz (1984) and Elwell-Sutton (1984).

11 Ibn al-Ukhuwah (1938) p.182; see also Saliba (1992) pp.45–67.

12 Judicial astrology is a branch of the science which tells God's 'judgements' – His decisions concerning humans through the intermediary of the stars.

13 For the debate about the veracity of astrology in medieval Islam see Saliba (1992) esp. pp.46–8 and Ullmann (1972) pp.274–7.

14 *Al-sirr al-maktum fi al-sihr wa-mukhatabat al-nujum* ('The Hidden Secret of Magic and Addressing the Stars') is al-Razi's most important text on the subject.

15 'In the towns, we find a group of people who try to make a living out of predicting the future… there are those who make their predictions by writing on sand [geomancy], those who cast pebbles and grains [of wheat], and those who look into mirrors and water.', Ibn Khaldun (1967) p.259.

16 Remmal Haydar, a geomancer active at the courts of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp I (r.1524–76) and the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r.1520–66), listed the prophet Daniel among his authoritative sources in prophetic arts. See Fleischer (2009) p.241.

17 Al-Bukhari (2008), nos 5755 and 5756: 'I do not like ornithomancy [divination from the flight and cries of birds], and prefer the beneficial *fa'l*, which is the good word' (*la tira wa-yu'jibu-ni al-fa'l al-salih, al-kalima al-hasana*). See also Fahd (1966) pp.450–3.

18 For Ja'far al-Sadiq's link with the practice of *jafr*, see below.

19 See among others Tourkin (2006) and Gruber (2011).

20 Farhad-Bağcı (2009) pp.96–7, cat.12 and Schmidt (2003).

21 For an overview on the genesis of this genre see Farhad-Bağcı (2009) pp.22–5.

22 On the theme of the Islamic millennium and associated fears in early modern Muslim empires see Babayan (2009), Fleischer (2007), and Moin (2012) pp.1–22.

23 Farhad-Bağcı (2009) pp.30–1.

24 Qur. 37:102, where Abraham sees himself in a dream sacrificing his son.

25 Qur. 12:4–5, where Yusuf tells to his father the dream of eleven stars, the Sun and the Moon prostrating before him; Qur. 12:36, where he interprets the dreams of his two fellow prisoners; and Qur. 12:43, where he interprets the dream of the king of Egypt.

26 Qur. 8:43–4 alludes to a dream of Muhammad before the battle of Badr; Qur. 48:27 reports Muhammad seeing in a dream the believers accomplishing the pilgrimage in Mecca, a place at that time controlled by pagans.

27 Al-Bukhari (2008), nos 6993–7.

28 Al-Bukhari (2008), nos 6983–90.

29 The literature on dream interpretation is extensive. See among others von Grunebaum and Caillois (1966), Lamoreaux (2002), Lory (2003b), Marlow (2008), and Sirriyeh (2015).

30 Translated by the renowned Christian scholar and thinker Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d.873), this text spread under the title *Kitab ta'bir al-ru'ya*.

31 In his major book on dream interpretation, *Al-qadiri fi al-ta'bir*, Abu Sa'd al-Dinawari (d.1009) gives frequent and explicit references to these traditions.

32 Notably the narratives about the life of prophets (*qisas al-anbiya'*), the actions of the most important Companions of the Prophet, the main events of the beginnings of Islam, and the lives of great saints.

33 Fahd (1966) pp.292–300 and Schimmel (1998) pp.270–97.

34 Muhammad declared that seeing him in a dream meant seeing him truly, for Satan, responsible for nightmares and tricks, could not take his appearance; Kinberg (1993) p.285.

35 The tenth-century scholar Abu Ja'far al-Tirmidhi saw the Prophet in a dream and asked him about jurisprudential opinion; Kinberg (1993) p.296.

36 Lory (2004) p.41. Both Jewish and Islamic traditions made use of the same computations based on the numerical value of letters. These include the permutation of letters in one word to give an additional meaning, and the discovery of hidden relations between words of the Old Testament or the Qur'an with heavenly realities or events.

37 Ibn Khaldun reproduces this device and gives an example of its working in his *Muqaddima* (1967–8) vol.3, pp.162–91.

38 For Shi'i Islam, this redeemer can be identified with the Twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, who went in 'occultation' (*ghayba*) around 941 and is expected to return and rule the world before the Day of Judgement.

39 Ibn al-'Arabi (1988) pp.385–487.

40 The major work on this discipline is doubtless the *Shams al-ma'arif al-kubra* (*The Great Sun of Knowledge*). Its attribution to al-Buni has been disputed, however, since the texts of this book were compiled later, in the fifteenth century. No critical edition of the book exists; for a scientific edition of fragments see Coulon (2013), Lory–Coulon–Benjelloun (2013), and Gardiner (2014).

Cat.11

pages 18–19

1 Keshavarz (1984) p.198.

2 Elwell-Sutton (1984), Caiozzo (2003), and Pike (2006) pp.52–67.

3 The album, B 411, now preserved in the Topkapi Saray Library, is discussed in Roxburgh (2001) pp.128–30, Thackston (2001) pp.90–1, and Caiozzo (2005) p.130, along with other sources.

4 Thackston (2001) p.243.

5 Caiozzo (2005) p.123.

6 Ibrahim Sultan (d.1435), Baysunghur (d.1433), and Muhammad Juki (d.1444) were all celebrated patrons of luxury books; see among others Lentz–Lowry (1989) pp.109–39 and Roxburgh (2005) pp.39–41.

7 Soucek (1992), pp.121–28.

8 The Gulbenkian Collection in Lisbon (Ms.L.A.161), the Istanbul University Library (Ms. F. 1418), and the British Library in London (Ms. Add.27261).

9 These occupy fol.365 through fol.542 of the anthology, accounting for almost one-third of its contents.

Cat.14

pages 22–3

1 The tablet is described as being 'in his possession' (*fi nawba*). This was previously read as al-Bukhari but has recently been identified as al-Najjari, Raby (2012) table I.1a.

2 This is from one of the two poems inscribed on the face of the instrument, see Savage-Smith–Smith (2004) p.261.

3 Raby (2012) table I.1a. Muhammad ibn Khutlukh also made an incense burner now in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha. For a comparison between the two objects see Allan (1986) pp.32–3.

4 See Pierre Lory's essay in this volume, p.21. See also Savage-Smith–Smith (2004); useful comments can be found in King's review (1982) of the 1980 publication. For another description of this object see Porter (2001).

5 Savage-Smith–Smith (2004) p.267.

6 Savage-Smith–Smith (2004) pp.265–6.

7 Savage-Smith–Smith (2004) p.262.

8 The inscriptions on the back are standard dedicatory phrases: 'Everlasting glory, continuing and abiding prosperity.' See Savage-Smith–Smith (2004) p.265.

Cat.28

pages 28–9

1 Farhad–Bağcı (2009) pp.126–7, cat.26; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (50.23.2).

2 Rado (1984) p.236, Gonzalez (2000) p.328 and Bilgi–Bragner (2004) p.115.

3 For a discussion of the iconic value of Islamic calligraphy, see Schick (2008) pp.211–17.

4 See cats 66–7.

From Prayer to Protection: Amulets and Talismans in the Islamic World

Christiane Gruber · page 33–51

1 For a general discussion of Islamic amulets and talismans see Kriss–Kriss-Heinrich (1962), Fodor (1990) and, more recently, Saleh (2010).

2 On 'licit' or permitted magic see Bürgel (1988).

3 Fahd, 'Tamima', accessed on 1 September 2015. For the use of the term *ta'widh* in the Qur'an see for example, Qur. 2:67, 3:36, and 11:17.

4 Ruska–Carra de Vaux, 'Tilsam', accessed 29 October 2015, and Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, p.133. The adjective 'talismanic' also describes any object containing a magical design.

5 On the devotional and magical properties of pseudo-calligraphy see Aanavi (1968); on the use of Arabic script in magic see Porter (2010); on deciphering Islamic talismans see Canaan (1937 and 1938).

6 On Muhammad's names see Schimmel (1985) pp.105–22.

7 Porter–Hoyland–Morton (2011) p.163, A105.

8 On Ottoman talismanic shirts see Gökyay (1977), Tezcan (2006), and Muravchick (2014), and below, pp.58–9.

9 On the seal of Solomon see Dawkins (1944); on amulets bearing the names of the Seven Sleepers see Massignon (1954, 1955, and 1957) and Porter (2007).

10 Juynboll (1986) p.111.

11 Blair (2001) and Vesel (2012) p.265.

12 Keene, 'Jade', accessed 11 November 2015, and Melikian-Chirvani (1997).

13 Cammann (1969a and b).

14 Cammann (1969a) p.202.

15 Makariou (2007) pp.136–7; for related talismanic charts see Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol. 1, pp.106–16. See also cat.106.

16 Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol. 1, p.113.

17 On block printed amulets see Bulliet (1987) and Schaefer (2006).

18 Makariou (2007) pp.130–1, and D'Ottone (2013).

19 D'Ottone (2013) p.63, fig.3.

20 *Fa-sayakfikahumu Allahu wa huwa al-sami' al-'alim.* This line was not fully deciphered in D'Ottone (2013) p.72.

21 Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, pp.142–3.

22 Déroche (2006) p.176. Déroche also notes that early Qur'ans in the oblong format were visually differentiated from Bibles executed in a vertical format.

23 For a study of Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk talismanic scrolls see al-Saleh (2014).

24 On amuletic seals see Gruber (2009) pp.137–42 and Gruber (2013b). On the 'eye upon God' seal see Gruber (2009) p.140; on the 'spring of 'Ali' seal see Vesel (2012) p.264, fn 57 and Nünlist (2008) p.77 (Ms.Or.20) and p.351, fig.15.

25 On Ottoman *sançak* Qur'ans and their martial contexts see Coffey (2010) pp.80–4.

26 On *bazubands* see Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, pp.144–7, Gandy (1995), and Vesel (2012) p.262.

27 Gandy (1995) p.161, fig.7 and Appendix no.8.

28 On talismans with supplications to 'Ali see, among others, Kalus (1986) p.58 (cat.I.22), p.59 (cat.I.23–5) and p.65 (cat.I.34).

29 Amir-Moezzi (2014) p.676.

30 On Muhammad as intercessor see Schimmel (1985) pp.81–104.

31 The expression 'talismanic force' is borrowed from Staples (1940).

32 On *hilya*s see Safwat (1992) pp.46–69, Zakariya (2003–4), and Taşkale–Gündüz (2006).

33 Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, pp.67–8, cat.39.

34 On Muhammad's relics see Aydın (2004), Wheeler (2004), and Meri (2010).

35 The ode's full title is *Al-kawakib al-durriyya fi madh khayr al-bariyya* ('Pearly Stars in Praise of the Best of Creation'); see Stetkevych (2010).

36 D'Ohsson (2001) vol.2, pp.391–2, Aydın (2004) p.36, and Flood (2014) p.471.

37 Stetkevych (2006) pp.147 and 150.

38 For a discussion and survey of scholarship about Muhammad's footprint see Gruber (2013a).

39 Schimmel (1985) p.40, Dickinson (2002) pp.483–4, Meri (2002) pp.109–11 and Meri (2010) p.109.

40 Meri (2002) p.108.

41 Roxburgh (2008) pp.770–2 and Flood (2014) pp.470–1 and fig.29.3.

42 Elgood (1962) p.154.

Cat.105

pages 36–7

1 For pictorial writing in the Islamic world see Blair (2006) pp.449–56, 506–8, 558–9. For Southeast Asia see Farouk (2016) p.187.

2 In the Arabic version the full name of the calligrapher is given as 'Abdul Wahid ibn al-Haji Muhammad Tahir. As Cangking in West Sumatra was a major centre for the Sufi order of the Naqshbandiyya during the 1860s (see Bruinessen 1990, p.164), it is likely that 'Abdul Wahid was a member of this order.

3 *Tertulis kalimat kapal ini di dalam negeri Cangking. Yang menulis dia nama Abdul Wahid. Dianya orang Kota Lawas, demikianlah adanya. Sudah kapal ini pada hari Jumaat, 23 Safar, tahun seribu dua ratus selapan puluh tiga.* The author is grateful to Dr Afifi al-Akiti for confirming the reading of the inscription and its translation.

4 Canaan (1937) p.82.

5 Canaan (1937) pp.89–90; Porter (2007); Gallop (2010) pp.175–7, 190–2.

6 Blair (2006) pp.506–7; Porter (2007) pp.126 and 130; Teece–Zonis (2011).

7 For interactions between the Ottoman empire and Southeast Asia see Peacock–Gallop (2015).

8 Farouk (2016) pp.133–4.

Cat.73

pages 40–1

1 For a recent study on the topic in the Shi'i tradition see Suleman (2015b).

2 Zebrowski (1998) p.321 and footnote no.3.

Cat.61

pages 48–9

1 Ibn Khaldun (1967) p.42 and Behrens-Abouseif (2014) p.72.

2 Ibn Khaldun was the author of one of the innumerable commentaries on this poem. For a discussion of the poetic and exegetical tradition that flourished around the mantle ode see Stetkevych (2010).

3 Stetkevych (2006) pp.150–2.

4 Some historians have observed that it should be entitled *Qasida al-Bur'ah*, or 'Ode of the Cure' to distinguish it from Ka'd ibn Zubayr's homonymous poem in response to which the Prophet donated his mantle to the author. See Stetkevych (2010) pp.30 and 82.

5 Fahd, 'Khawass al-Qur'an', accessed 20 October 2015. Similar to the Qur'an, the special properties of the *Burda* and their various applications also inspired a dedicated literary genre. Among the most representative works is that of Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Bajuri (d.1860), see Stetkevych (2010) pp.82, 86–8 and 224.

Sacred Words, Sacred Power: Qur'anic and Pious Phrases as Sources of Healing and Protection

Francesca Leoni · pages 53–67

1 'In the name of God, the Merciful, and the Compassionate' is a formula found at the start of most Qur'anic chapters.

2 'If God wills!' as in Qur. 2:70, expressing deference to God's authority about future events.

3 In his *Kitab shumus al-'anwar wa kunuz al-asrar al-kubra* ('The Book of the Suns of Radiances and the Treasures of Great Secrets') Ibn al-Hajj al-Talmasani mentions a number of authoritative sources that approved of the use of the Qur'an for spells and incantations. See Canaan (1937) p.72.

4 For instance, recourse to the Qur'an to inflict harm and spread evil, even if towards enemies, remained highly debatable. See Meri, 'Ritual and the Qur'an', accessed 18 August 2015.

5 Qur. 56:79, Nawawi (1996) p.194, and Meri, 'Ritual and the Qur'an', accessed 18 August 2015. The production of talismans carrying Qur'anic words requires a similar status, so instructions on how to purify oneself often preface amuletic recipes in practical manuals.

6 For a short definition of both see Glossary.

7 Many believe that the primary motivation behind the extensive destruction of historic sites in Mecca in response to the growing needs of Muslim pilgrims visiting each year for the *hajj* (Islamic pilgrimage) is, in fact, the condemnation of acts of devotion associated with these sites and deemed idolatrous by Wahhabi clerics. See among others DeLong-Bas (2004) pp.24–5 and 83, Rentz–Facey (2004) p.139, and al-Atawneh (2010) p.13.

8 A list of some of the traditionalists who address the matter is provided in Hamès (2007) p.131.

9 Canaan (1937) p.75, Dols (1992) p.269, Porter–Hoyland–Morton (2011) p.132. Numerous versions exist of this story; I am grateful to Pierre Lory for pointing this out.

10 Al-Bukhari (1985) VII, pp.429–30, no.640.

11 'Say: He is Allah, the One and Only' (Qur. 112:1), 'Say: I seek refuge with the Lord of the Dawn' (Qur. 113:1), and 'Say: I seek refuge with the Lord and Cherisher of Mankind' (Qur. 114:1). All three emphasise God as the absolute and unique source of help.

12 Al-Bukhari (1985) VI, p.490, nos 535–6 and VII, p.430, no.644. The same gesture was also performed by Muhammad during illness (al-Bukhari (1985) VII, p.423, no.631). For the use of breath/blowing and saliva/spitting as part of the healing procedures based on Qur'anic incantations, see above all al-Jawziyah (1998) p.135.

13 The term 'apotropaic' refers to objects or formulas having the power to deflect bad luck and evil influences. The word 'prophylactic' in this specific instance means something able to prevent or protect from harm or disease.

14 One of the harshest critics of these and other non-liturgical uses of the Qur'an was the Mamluk theologian Ibn Taymiyyah (d.1328). In his *Kitab iqtida' al-sirat al-mustaqim mukhalafat ashab al-jahim* ('Book of the Necessity of the Straight Path against the People of Hell'), he denounced such practices as 'deformations of true *tawhid* [monotheism]'. See Waardenburg (1979) pp.340–2 and O'Connor, 'Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Qur'an', accessed on 29 July 2015.

15 An overview on the genre is provided by Afsaruddin (2002).

16 As noted by Emilie Savage-Smith (2004) pp.xviii–xix, the idea of correspondences between the earthly and the divine worlds and the belief in the occult powers of elements predates Islam. Hence the notion that abstract elements such as letters possess properties that could be exploited for specific goals is also likely to reflect foreign cultural imports.

17 For a list of the most relevant works of this kind see Fahd (1966) pp.242–3.

18 Efthymiou (2007) and Saleh (2010) esp. pp.367–8.

19 Donaldson (1938) p.196, Afshar, accessed on 3 September 2015, and Gruber (2011) esp. pp.39–40.

20 Al-Tamimi (1976) and Pormann–Savage-Smith (2007) p.148.

21 Al-Jawziyah (1998) pp.123–41.

22 Above all the *Kitab shams ma'arif wa lata'if al-'awarif* ('The Sun of Knowledge and the Subtleties of Knowing'). It is worth noting that recent studies about the *corpus bunianum* question the attribution of some writings to al-Buni. This is especially so for the *Shams ma'arif al-kubra*, the work for which he is best known and which incorporates much later texts. See Gardiner (2012) and Porter–Saif–Savage-Smith (forthcoming, 2016).

23 For the early tradition of Muslim dream interpretation see Lamoreaux (2002) esp. pp.15–105.

24 *Fatiha al-kitab shifa' li-kulli adwa'* ('The *fatiha* [of the Book] is a cure from every disease'); so recites a famous *hadith*. For more detailed references on the superiority of this Qur'anic chapter as remedy and source of healing see al-Bukhari (1985) VI, pp.489–95, esp. nos 529 and 535.

25 Also this passage is alternatively known as *al-ayat al-musta'idin* ('the verse of those seeking refuge'), *al-ayat al-musta'inin* ('the verse of those seeking help'), *al-ayat al-muhassina* ('the fortifying verse'), and *al-ayat al-muhrija li'l-shaytan* ('the verse driving out Satan'), among others. See Canaan (1937) p.75.

26 *Ayat al-kursi* is not only the most ubiquitous Qur'anic verse on amuletic material, but also the most frequently quoted passage on architecture. See Dodd-Khairallah (1981) vol.1, p.64 and vol.2, pp.10–18.

27 All these verses contain variations of the verbal root *shafa'* ('to cure'), as noted by Canaan (1937) p.75.

28 In addition to the already mentioned text by al-Jawziyah, among the best known treatises of Prophetic medicine are Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's (d.1505) *Al-manhaj al-sawi wa manhal al-rawi fi tibb al-nabi* ('The Correct Method and Refreshing Source for the Medicine of the Prophet') and Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi's (d.1348) *Al-tibb al-nabawi li'l-hafiz al-dhahabi* ('Prophetic Medicine by al-Dhahabi'). See Pormann–Savage-Smith (2007) pp.150–1.

29 Canaan (1937) p.75. I would like to thank Dr Liana Saif for clarifying the translations from Arabic.

30 Doutté (1908) p.240.

31 Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, pp.66–9, cat.22 and p.118, note 16.

32 Pingree (1980) pp.3–8.

33 Among the most influential sources which underscore the centrality of astrological knowledge are also the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrar* ('The Secret of Secrets'), Thabit ibn Qurra's *Maqalat fi'l-tilasmat* ('Treatise on Talismans'), Ibn Wahshiya's *Al-filahat al-nabatiyya* ('Nabatean Agriculture'), and the *Rasa'il ikhwan al-safa'* ('Epistles of the Brethren of Purity'). See Porter–Saif–Savage-Smith (forthcoming, 2016). I am grateful to Venetia Porter for kindly sharing a draft of this article prior to publication.

34 This is the text known in the West as *Picatrix*; al-Majriti-Pingree (1986). For a recent study of the *Ghayat al-hakim* across cultures see Boudet–Caiozzo–Weill-Parot (2011). An English translation of this text is currently being prepared by Dr Liana Saif.

35 Al-Majriti (1933) esp. pp.14–34 and 54–282; al-Majriti (1962) pp.55–296.

36 See also Savage-Smith (2004) p.xxv and Porter–Saif–Savage-Smith (forthcoming, 2016). I am grateful to Nahla Nassar for pointing out its appearance on the opening folio of cat.30.

37 This issue was previously remarked upon by Emilie Savage-Smith (2003) and recently reiterated by Porter–Saif–Savage-Smith (forthcoming, 2016).

38 On *al-asma'-al-husna* see Gardet, 'Al-Asma' al-Husna', accessed on 25 September 2015.

39 Otherwise known as *asma' al-nabi* or *al-'asma' al-sharifa*. See Christiane Gruber's essay in this volume.

40 Most frequently Jibra'il (angel of revelation), Mika'il (angel of the Day of Judgement), Israfil (angel of mercy), and 'Izra'il (angel of death).

41 This could be used alone to evoke Solomon's legendary power on spirits or in combination with six other magical signs, producing a sigla known as 'the name of God' or 'the Holy Name'. See among others Dawkins (1944), Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, p.60, Porter (1998) pp.145–6, and Porter–Hoyland–Morton (2011) pp.166–9.

42 The term was coined to indicate curls and embellishments found on single letters and numbers used on amuletic material. For a detailed explanation and examples see Canaan (1938) p.141.

43 Savage-Smith (2004) pp.xxiii–xxiv.

44 Hamès (2001).

45 These are isolated letters (*muqatta'at*) that stand at the beginning of 29 suras of the Qur'an. For a discussion and historical overview see Jones (1962). For their use on amulets, talismans and seals see Porter (1998) p.144 and Porter–Hoyland–Morton (2011) pp.166–9.

46 See Glossary and Lory's essay in this volume esp. p.31.

47 Sesiano, 'Wafq', accessed on 23 August 2015.

48 A Latin square is also the name given to squares filled with numbers, but whose sums are dissimilar.

49 See note 47.

50 See Cammann (1969a, b), Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, pp.106–7, and Porter–Hoyland–Morton (2011) p.168.

51 O'Connor, 'Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Qur'an', accessed on 29 July 2015. In Islamic mysticism the *dhikr* is a devotional act entailing the repetition of the name(s) of God.

52 Qur. 7:105.

53 Dols (1992) p.261.

Cat.34

pages 54–5

1 *Waqfiyyah*s, that is the documents accompanying religious endowments and donations, often specify public access to books. See James (1988) pp.182–3.

2 James (1977) pp.51–2.

3 James (1988) p.200. The manuscript was recently digitised for public access, see http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/services – and – support /staff/ teaching/services/chicc/casestudies/quran/

4 Prisse D'Avenne–Constant (1869–77) vol.3, pl.CLXXXIV; the plate only reproduces the heading of last chapter of the Qur'an, *surat al-Nas*, in a form that is almost identical to that of the current bifolio but deprived of its marginal drop-shaped finial. While James considers this conclusive evidence of its original context, he also comments on the discrepancies between the measurements of the written area and the size of the script in the remainder of the manuscript. Further research on this and contemporary examples are needed to resolve the question.

5 Fraser 2015 and forthcoming. For a list of the Qur'ans associated with al-Amidi see James (1988) nos 31–2 and 34–5, and James (1992) p.175, fn.4.

6 James (1988) pp.198–214, James (1992) p.172–5, and Blair (2006) pp.322–3.

7 James (1988) nos 24, 26, and 28–35. For the idea of 'elephantiasis' in art and the Gargantuan copy of the Qur'an allegedly produced by 'Umar Aqta' for Tamerlane, see Grabar (1992) pp.85–6.

8 For a discussion of another folio originating from the same manuscript as CBL IS 1628 and now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Ms.09.335), see Fraser (2016).

Cat.48

pages 58–9

1 Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, p.118.

2 The earliest dated example belongs to the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan and was completed in 1480. See Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, p.117 and Tezcan (2006) pp.26–7, 54–9, 82 and Tezcan (2011) p.5, pp.46–7 cat. no.1.

3 Rogers–Ward (1988) p.175, Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, p.117.

4 Closer to our time, 'bullet-proof' shirts are also recorded in early twentieth-century studies of Persian folklore, suggesting a continuity in the belief and practice that garments inscribed with holy words and passages would become impenetrable. See Donaldson (1938) p.136. In Sub-Saharan Africa the practice of fabricating talismanic garments for specific occasions continues to this day, Epelboin–Hamès–Larco-Durand (2012) pp.235–50. Interestingly however, the shirts are often thrown away after the occasion has passed.

5 Demonsablon (1986) p.219.

6 Maddison–Savage-Smith (1997) vol.1, pp.117–23, Demonsablon (1986), Brac de la Perrière (2009), and Muravchick (2014) pp.208–70.

7 The decoration closely follows the model of at least one of the talismanic shirts available in the collection of the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul. See Tezcan (2011) pp.128–9, cat.28.

8 The direct contact with the wearer's flesh was of crucial importance for the transfer of the powers carried by the sacred inscriptions as also observed by Edmond Doutté (1908) p.149: 'Les mussulmans ont aussi connu les chemises talismanique couvertes des formules et de dessins magiques et qui doivent se porter immediatement sur la chair' ('Muslims have also known talismanic shirts covered by magic formulas and designs which must be worn in direct contact with the flesh').

Glossary

ABJAD (Ar.) a system of correspondences in the Arabic and other Semitic alphabets that assigns numeric values to letters. It derives its name from the first four letters of the alphabet, *alif*, *ba'*, *jim* and *dal*

AHL AL-BAYT (Ar.) literally 'People of the House'; the expression refers to members of Muhammad's immediate family. These include his daughter Fatima, his cousin and son-in-law 'Ali and their two children, Hasan and Husayn

'ALAM (Per.) standard used in ceremonial and military contexts

ANWA' (Ar.) pre-Islamic form of divination based on observing the rising of stars

'ALI (IBN ABI TALIB) cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, fourth 'rightly-guided' caliph and first Shi'i Imam

APOTROPAIC having the power to deflect bad luck and evil influences

'AQIQ (Ar.) a type of the cornelian stone with an orange-red tint

AL-ASMA' AL-HUSNA (Ar.) literally 'Beautiful Names of God', referring to the ninety-nine divine attributes of God mentioned in both the Qur'an and the *hadith* literature

ASMA' AL-NABI (Ar.) literally 'names of the Prophet' and also known as *al-asma' al-sharifa* or 'noble names', these are ninety-nine names extolling Muhammad's virtues and qualities

ATHAR (Ar.) trace or vestige left behind by an individual

AYAT (Ar.) verse of the Qur'an

'AYN (Ar.) spring or eye, as well as 18th letter of the Arabic alphabet

BARAKA (Ar.) blessing

BATIN (Ar.) inner or esoteric dimension of the Qur'an and reality

BAZUBAND (Per.) armband

BIBLIOMANCY a form of prognostication that interprets randomly chosen text from a book

BID'A (Ar.) innovation

BISMILLAH (Ar.) short version of the phrase *bismillah al-rahman al-rahim*, 'in the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate', also referred to as *basmala*

BUDUH (Ar.) the name given to a basic 3 x 3 'magic square' with the letters or numbers *ba'*/2, *dal*/4, *waw*/6 and *ha'*/8 placed at its corners

BURDA (Ar.) mantle of the Prophet Muhammad

BURUJ (Ar.) zodiac

CALLIGRAM image made of words

CALQUE direct copy of an object

DECAN the ruler of ten parts or ten degrees of a zodiacal sign

DHIKR (Ar.) literally 'remembrance', it also indicates ritual repetition of the name(s) of God

DIVAN (Per.) collection of poetic works

DIVINATION a range of practices seeking foreknowledge of events

DU'A (Ar.) supererogatory prayer, generally performed in addition to the five canonical Muslim prayers or *salat*

ESCHATOLOGY series of doctrines about the end of time

ESOTERICISM fields of knowledge or practices accessible to a limited or initiated audience

FADA'IL AL-QUR'AN (Ar.) literally 'virtues of the Qur'an'; the expression also applies to a literary genre dedicated to the exploration of the merits and uses of Qur'anic verses

FA'L (Ar.) omen

FA'LNAMA (Per.) book of omens; the term defines a genre of augury books, some with illustrations, used for prognostication

FATIMA one of Muhammad's daughters and wife of 'Ali

GENETHLIALOGY a branch of astrology that determines the destiny of individuals on the basis of the planets' positions at the time of their birth

GEOMANCY practice of divining from patterns of dots or marks made on soil

GHAYBA (Per.) literally 'absence'; occultation or temporary disappearance of the last Imam

HADITH (Ar.) tradition or saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad

HAFIZ (Ar.) Protector, one of the Ninety-Nine Names of God

HAJJ (Ar.) pilgrimage to Mecca; one of the five pillars of Islam and a journey that Muslims are expected to undertake at least once in their lifetime if they are able

HASAN son of 'Ali and Fatima

HIJAB (Ar.) literally 'screen'; the term is also one of the most common words for amulet

HILYA (Ar.) literally 'ornament'; description of Muhammad's physical characteristics and moral qualities

HIMALA (Ar.) amulet, especially in the form of a pendant

HIRZ (Ar.) literally 'refuge'; another term used to denote an amulet

HISBA (Ar.) market inspection

HURUF (Ar.) letters (sing. *harf*)

HUSAYN son of 'Ali and Fatima and second Shi'i Imam; Husayn was killed in Karbala (Iraq) in 61 AH / 680, an event commemorated each year during the month of Muharram

ILLUMINATION type of decoration generally consisting of abstract, geometric, or vegetal motifs painted in gold and other colours

'ILM AHKAM AL-NUJUM (Ar.) literally 'science of the interpretation of the stars' and the main definition for astrology

'ILM AL-HURUF (Ar.) divinatory practice relying on the occult powers of the Arabic alphabet

'ILM AL-NUJUM (Ar.) literally 'the science of stars' and one of the terms for astronomy; the expression is at times also used for astrology

'ILM AL-RAML (Ar.) literally 'science of the sand' and often translated as geomancy

'ILM TA'BIR AL-RU'YA (Ar.) science of dream interpretation or oneiromancy

IMAM spiritual guide and leader of the Friday prayer; in Shi'i Islam, Imams are spiritual leaders descending from the Prophet Muhammad. In Twelver Shi'ism twelve are recognised; Sevener Shi'ism (also known as Ismailism) only accepts seven, with the last one, Isma'il ibn Ja'far, chosen in place of Musa al-Khazim as the true and last Imam

JAFR (Per.) a type of divination used for predicting the destinies of individuals and dynasties based on letter magic

KABBALA esoteric discipline originating in Jewish mystical tradition

KHAWASS (Ar.) special qualities (sing. *khass*)

KHWABNAMA (Per.) dream book

KIHANA (Ar.) divination

LATIN SQUARE a 3 x 3 (or more) square filled with numbers whose horizontal, vertical, or diagonal sum, unlike a magic square, is not the same

LEVHA (Tur.) type of calligraphy executed with the help of a stencil

LUNETTE SCRIPT a magic sigla or formula composed of letters and other signs

MADRASA (Ar.) Qur'anic school

MAGIC SQUARE see *wafq* and *buduh*

MAHDI (Ar.) literally 'the rightly guided one'; the restorer of true religion of Islamic eschatology

MALAHIM (Ar.) predictions related to past, current or future events leading up to the arrival of the Mahdi (sing. *malham*)

MAMLUK (Ar.) literally 'slave'; originally slave soldiers of Turkic and Caucasian origin, the Mamluk dynasty ruled a territory spanning modern-day Egypt, Syria, and the region of Hijaz in Saudi Arabia between 1250 and 1517

MASHALLAH (Ar.) literally 'what God wants'

MI'RAJ (Ar.) heavenly ascension of the Prophet Muhammad

MUGHAL (Ur.) literally 'Mongol'; the Mughals or Moghul were a Muslim dynasty of Turco-Mongol origin who ruled part of the Indian subcontinent between 1526 and 1857

MUHAFAZA (Ar.) protective containers (sing. *muhafazat*)

AL-MUKHALLAFAT AL-NABAWIYYA (Ar.) the personal effects or attributes of the Prophet Muhammad; these include, among others, his cloak (*burda* or *khirka*), his sandals (*na'layn*), his rosary (*tasbih*), his toothpick (*miswak*), and his signet ring (*khatim*)

MUHR AL-NUBUWWA (Ar.) the 'seal of prophethood', a mark or mole placed between Muhammad's shoulders that hagiographers recorded as a proof of his prophetic mission

MUNAJJIM (Ar.) astrologer

MUSHAF (Ar.) literally 'page'; the term is generally used for Qur'ans in codex form

NAD-I 'ALI (Per.) prayer invoking 'Ali

NA'L AL-NABI (Ar.) sandal of the Prophet Muhammad

NIELLO black compound of sulphur and silver, lead or copper used to inlay a design on to metal

NUJUM (Ar.) stars (sing. *najm*)

ONEIROMANCY see *'ilm ta'bir al-ru'ya*

PHARMACOPEIA authoritative list of medicinal drugs with information on uses, doses, formulas, and techniques of preparation

PROGNOSTICATION act foretelling events or destinies

PROPHYLACTIC capable of preventing or protecting from disease and illness

QAJAR (Per.) dynasty that ruled modern-day Iran between 1794 and 1925

RAML (Ar.) literally 'sand'

RU'YA (Ar.) dream or vision

SAFAVID name of a dynasty that ruled a territory encompassing parts of modern-day Iran, Azerbaijan, and Afghanistan between 1501 and 1736

SALAFISM ultraconservative movement that emerged in Egypt in the nineteenth century. It derives its name from the term 'pious forefathers' (*al-salaf al-salih*) of early Islam. The latter's exemplary conduct was taken as model to reform Islam, whose true understanding was considered corrupted

SANÇAK (Tur.) banner

SEAL OF SOLOMON star-shaped symbol or hexagram traditionally associated with Solomon and considered to possess magic qualities

SHAFA'A (Ar.) intercession

SHAFI' (Ar.) intercessor

SHARI'A (Ar.) Islamic law

SHIRK (Ar.) polytheism or idolatry

SHI'A (Ar.) literally 'party'; the term indicates the party or supporters of 'Ali. Shi'i Islam or Shi'ism is one of the strands of Islam and recognises the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad as the rightful successors to the leadership of the Islamic community

SUFI mystic or mystical

SUNNA literally 'manner'; the term refers to the way of life and conduct of the Prophet Muhammad. Sunni Islam or Sunnism represents the principal strand of Islam

SURAT (Ar.) chapter of the Qur'an

TAMIMA (Ar.) one of the terms for amulet

TARSH (Ar.) block printed text or amulet

TA'WIDH (Ar.) one of the terms for amulet; the word implies placing oneself under God's protection

TAWHID (Ar.) monotheism

TEKKE (Tur.) Sufi convent, also known as *khanqah*

TILSAM (Ar.) general term for talisman

TETRAGRAM figure comprised by four signs, either dots or lines, used in geomancy

AL-TIBB AL-NABAWI (Ar.) literally 'prophetic medicine'; a tradition fusing the Prophet's own experience and advice on health, medications, and hygiene with popular cures

TIMURID name of the Turco-Mongol dynasty founded by Timur (Tamerlane, d.1405) stretching from Syria and Anatolia to Central Asia between 1370 and 1506

TIRA (Ar.) pre-Islamic divinatory technique based on observing the flight of birds

WAFQ (Ar.) magic square; a square of 3 x 3 or more cells filled with numbers whose horizontal, vertical, or diagonal sum is the same; also known as *murabba'* and *buduh*

WAHHABISM Wahhabism is an eighteenth-century revivalist movement inspired by the teachings of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d.1792). He called for a return to stricter monotheism (*tawhid*) by purging it of foreign influences and by rejecting many traditional popular Muslim practices, banned as polytheistic (*shirk*). Traditionally associated with Saudi Arabia, where it continues to represent the official form of Sunni Islam, Wahhabism also has a considerable following in Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain

WASILA (Ar.) channel

WASITA (Ar.) intermediary

ZAHIR (Ar.) outer or manifest dimension of the Qur'an and reality

ZA'IRJA (Ar.) divinatory technique based on a mechanical device containing letters

ZAJR (Ar.) pre-Islamic form of divination based on observing the movement of animals

Bibliography

AANAVI, Dan, 'Devotional Writing: "Pseudoinscriptions" in Islamic Art', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 26/9 (1968) pp.353–8

ACKERMANN, Silke, *Director's Choice: Museum of the History of Science* (Oxford, 2016)

AFSARUDDIN, Asma, 'The Excellencies of the Qur'ān: Textual Sacrality and the Organization of Early Islamic Society', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/1 (2002) pp.1–24

AFSHAR, Iraj, 'Fāl-nāma', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (http://www.iranicaonline.org), accessed on 3 September 2015

AKALAY, Zeren, 'An Illustrated Astrological Work of the Period of Iskandar Sultan', in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses* für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie (Berlin, 1979) pp.418–25

ALI, Ahmed, *Al-Qur'ān: A Contemporary Translation* (Princeton, 1998)

ALLAN, James, *Metalwork of the Islamic World: The Aron Collection* (London, 1986)

ALLAN, James, and Brian Gilmour, *Persian Steel: The Tanavoli Collection* (Oxford, 2000)

ALLSEN, Thomas, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, 1997)

AMIR-MOEZZI, Mohammad Ali, ''Alī et le Coran (aspects de l'imamologie duodécimaine XIV)', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 98 (2014) pp.669–704

ASATRIAN, Mushegh, 'Ibn Khaldūn on Magic and the Occult', *Iran and the Caucasus* 7/1 (2003) pp.73–123

AL-ATAWNEH, Muhammad K., *Wahhābī Islam Facing the Challenges of Modernity: Dār al-Iftā in the Modern Saudi State* (Leiden, 2010)

AYDIN, Hilmi, *The Sacred Trusts: Pavilion of the Sacred Relics, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2004)

BABAYAN, Kathryn, 'The Cosmological Order of Things in Early Modern Safavid Iran,' in ed., Massumeh Farhad with Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (exh. cat., Freer and Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, London, 2009) pp.245–55

BAER, Eva, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, 1983)

BAĞCI, Serpil, 'Images for Foretelling: Two Topkapı Fālnāmas', in ed., Louise Marlow, *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands* (Boston and Washington DC, 2008) pp.235–69

BAKKER, Marie-Claire, 'Amuletic Jewellery in the Middle East: The Hildburgh Collection of North African Amulets in the Pitt Rivers Museum', unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford (Oxford, 1996)

AL-BALKHI, Abū Ma'shar, *Abū Ma'šar on Historical Astrology: The Book of Religions and Dynasties* (on the Great Conjunctions), ed. and trans., Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett, 2 vols (Leiden, 2000)

BARAKAT Heba Nayel, et al., *Al-Kalima* (exh. cat., Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2003)

BAYANI, Manijeh, Anna Contadini and Tim Stanley, *The Decorated Word: Qur'ans of the 17th to 19th Centuries* (London, 1999)

BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, Doris, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2014)

BERLEKAMP, Persis, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven CT, 2011)

BILGI, Hülya and Robert Bragner, *Gönülden bir tutku: Sevgi Gönül hat koleksiyonu* (Istanbul, 2004)

AL-BĪRŪNĪ, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. and trans., Edward Sachau (London, 1879)

EL-BIZRI, Nader, and Eva Orthmann, ed., *Occult Sciences in Pre-modern Islamic Culture* (Beirut, 2015)

BLAIR, Sheila, 'An Amulet from Afsharid Iran', *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 59 (2001) pp.85–102

BLAIR, Sheila, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh, 2006)

BONHAMS, *Islamic and Indian Art, Auction Catalogue* (London, 23 April 2013)

BOUDET, Jean-Patrice, 'From Baghdad to *Civitas Solis*: Horoscopes of Foundations of Cities', in ed., Charles Burnett and Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum, *From Māshā' Allāh to Kepler: Theory and Practice in Medieval and Renaissance Astrology* (London, 2015)

BOUDET, Jean-Patrice, Anna Caiozzo, and Nicolas Weill-Parot, ed., *Images et magie. Picatrix entre Orient et Occident* (Paris, 2011)

BRAC de la Perrière, Éloïse, 'Les tuniques talismaniques indiennes d'époque pré-moghole et moghole à la lumière d'un groupe de corans en écriture *bihārī*', *Journal Asiatique* 297/1 (2009) pp.57–81

BRITTLEBANK, Kate, 'Accessing the Unseen Realm: The Historical and Textual Contexts of Tipu Sultan's Dream Register', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21/2 (2011) pp.159–75

BRUINESSEN, Martin van, 'The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia', *Der Islam* 67 (1990) pp.150–79

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: The Translation of the Meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Arabic-English*, ed., Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Beirut, 1985, 9 vols)

AL-BUKHĀRĪ, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed., M. F. 'Abd al-Bāqī (Cairo, 2008)

BULLIET, Richard, 'Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107/3 (1987) pp.427–38

AL-BŪNĪ, Aḥmad, *Kitāb shams ma'ārif al-kubrā wa laṭā'if al-'awārif* (Cairo, 1900–1)

BÜRGEL, J. C., *The Feather of Simurgh: The "Licit Magic" of the Arts in Medieval Islam* (New York and London, 1988)

BURNETT, Charles, ed., *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, 1996)

BURNETT, Charles, 'The Certitude of Astrology: The Scientific Methodology of al-Qabīṣī and Abū Ma'shar', *Early Science and Medicine* 7/3 (2002) pp.198–213

CAIOZZO, Anna, *Images du ciel d'Orient au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003)

CAIOZZO, Anna, 'The Horoscope of Iskandar Sultān as a Cosmological Vision in the Islamic World', in ed., Günther Oestmann et al., *Horoscopes and Public Spheres: Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin, 2005) pp.115–44

CAMMANN, Schuyler, 'Islamic and Indian Magic Squares Part 1', *History of Religions* 8/3 (1969a) pp.181–209

CAMMANN, Schuyler, 'Islamic and Indian Magic Squares Part 2', *History of Religions* 8/4 (1969b) pp.271–99

CANAAN, Tewfik, 'The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans', *Berythus* 4 (1937) pp.69–110 [reprinted in Emilie Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.125–77]

CANAAN, Tewfik, 'The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans', *Berythus* 4 (1938) pp.141–51 [reprinted in Emilie Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.125–77]

CANBY, Sheila, and Jon Thompson, ed., *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran, 1501–1576* (Milan, 2003)

CARBONI, Stefano, 'Two Fragments of a Jalayirid Astrological Treatise in the Keir Collection and in the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo', *Islamic Art* 2 (1987) pp.149–86

CARBONI, Stefano, *Il Kitāb al-Bulhān di Oxford* (Torino, 1988)

CARBONI, Stefano, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic Art* (New York, 1997)

CARBONI Stefano, 'Narcissism or Catoptromancy?: Mirrors from the Medieval Islamic World', in ed., Patricia L. Baker and Barbara Brend, *Sifting Sands, Reading Signs: Studies in Honour of Professor Géza Fehérvári* (London, 2006) pp.161–70.

CARBONI, Stefano, 'Dreams, Premonitions and Cosmologies in Persianate Literature', in ed., Susan Scollay, *Love and Devotion: From Persia and Beyond* (Oxford and Melbourne, 2012) pp.90–7

CARVALHO, Pedro de Moura, *Gems and Jewels of Mughal India: Jewelled and Enamelled Objects from the 16th to the 20th Centuries* (London, 2010)

CEREDA, Alessandra, 'A Qajar Enamelled Set with Astrological Motifs', *The Ashmolean* 57 (summer 2009) pp.19–20

CEREDA, Alessandra, 'The Islamic Collection at the Ashmolean Museum', *Arts of Asia* 41/3 (2011) pp.128–37

COFFEY, Heather, 'Between Amulet and Devotion: Islamic Miniature Books in the Lilly Library', in ed., Christiane Gruber, *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections* (Bloomington, 2010) pp.78–115

CORBIN, Henry, *The Man of Light in the Iranian Sufism*, trans., Nancy Pearson (New York, 1978)

COULON, Jean-Charles, 'La magie islamique et le "corpus bunianum" au Moyen Âge', Thèse de doctorat, Paris-Sorbonne, 2013

CROKE, Fionnuala, et al., *Chester Beatty's A–Z: From Amulet to Zodiac* (Dublin, 2014)

DAIBER, Verena, et al., *Schätze des Aga Khan Museum: Meisterwerke des islamischen Kunst* (exh. cat., Berlin, 2010)

DAWKINS, J. M., 'The Seal of Solomon', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1944) pp.145–50

DELONG-BAS, Natana, *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad* (Oxford and New York, 2004)

DEMONSABLON, Philippe, 'Notes sur deux vêtements talismaniques', *Arabica* 33/2 (1986) pp.216–50

DÉROCHE, François, 'Written Transmission', in ed., Andrew Rippin, *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān* (Malden, 2006) pp.172–86

DICKINSON, Eerik, 'Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122/3 (July–September 2002) pp.481–505

DODD, Erika, and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Quranic Verses in Islamic Architecture*, 2 vols (Beirut, 1981)

D'OHSSON, Mouradgea, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman,* vol.2 (Istanbul, 2001)

DOLS, Michael W., 'The Theory of Magic in Healing', in ed., Diana E. Immisch, *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford, 1992) pp.261–76 [reprinted in Emilie Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.87–102]

DONALDSON, Bess Allen, *The Wild Rue: A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran* (London, 1938)

D'OTTONE, Arianna, 'A Far Eastern Type of Print Technique for Islamic Amulets from the Mediterranean: An Unpublished Example', *Scripta: An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography* 6 (2013) pp.67–74

DOUTTÉ, Edmond, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1908)

EFTHYMIOU, Marie, 'Persian Glosses on a Qur'anic Manuscript from Central Asia', in ed., Fahmida Suleman, *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions, Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London, 18–21 October 2003* (Oxford, 2007) pp.157–74

ELGOOD, Cyril, 'Tibb-ul-Nabi or Medicine of the Prophet', *Osiris* 14 (1962) pp.33–192

ELWELL-SUTTON, Lawrence P., 'A Royal Timūrid Nativity Book', in ed., R. M. Savory and D. Agius, *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens* (Toronto, 1984) pp.119–34

EPELBOIN A., C. Hamès, Laurent J. Larco, and J. L. Durand, *Un art secret: les écritures talismaniques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest* (exh. cat., Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, 2012)

FAHD, Toufic, *La divination arabe: études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam* (Leiden, 1966)

FAHD, Toufic, 'Ḥurūf', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed on 30 September 2015

FAHD, Toufic, 'Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed on 20 October 2015

FAHD, Toufic, 'Kihāna', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed on 29 October 2015

FAHD, Toufic, 'Tamīma', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed on 1 September 2015

FARHAD, Massumeh, with Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: Book of Omens* (exh. cat., Freer and Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, London, 2009)

FAROUK, Yahya, *Magic and Divination in Malay Illustrated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 2016)

FELEK, Özgen, and Alexander D. Knysh, ed., *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies* (Albany, 2011)

FINLAY, Robert, 'Prophecy and Politics in Istanbul: Charles V, Sultan Suleyman, and the Habsburg Embassy of 1533–1534', *Journal of Early Modern History* 2/1 (1998) pp.1–31

FLEISCHER, Cornell H., 'Seer to the Sultan: Haydar-i Remmal and Sultan Süleyman', in ed., Jayne Warner, *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman* (Istanbul and Syracuse, 2001), vol.1, pp.290–99

FLEISCHER, Cornell H., 'Shadows of Shadows: Prophecy and Politics in 1530s Istanbul', *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13/1–2 (2007) pp.51–62

FLEISCHER, Cornell H., 'Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in ed., Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı, *Falnama: Book of Omens* (exh. cat., Freer and Sackler Gallery, Washington DC, London, 2009) pp.232–43

FLOOD, Finbarr Barry, 'Image against Nature: Spolia as Apotropaia in Byzantium and the Dar al-Islam', *Medieval History Journal* 9/1 (2006) pp.143–66.

FLOOD, Finbarr Barry, 'Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation, and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam', in ed., Sally Promey, *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice* (New Haven and London, 2014) pp.459–93

FODOR, Alexander, *Amulets from the Islamic World* (Budapest, 1990)

FRASER, Marcus, 'Tabriz to Cairo: A Qur'an by al-Sayrafi and Illumination in the 14th century', paper presented in the seminar 'The Sarikhani Collection's Inaugural Masterpieces Lecture', 17 November 2015 (forthcoming)

FRASER, Marcus, 'Monumental Qur'an Folio, cat. 19', in ed., Laura Weinstein et al., *Ink, Silk and Gold: Islamic Art from the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Boston, 2015) p.48

GALLOP, Annabel T., 'The Amuletic Cult of Ma'rūf al-Karḫī in the Malay World', in ed., Robert Kerr and Thomas Milo, *Writings and Writing: Investigations in Islamic Text and Script in Honour of Dr Januarius Just Witkam* (Cambridge, 2010) pp.167–96

GALLOP, Annabel T., *Lasting Impressions: Seals from the Islamic World* (exh. cat., Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2012)

GANDY, Christopher, 'Inscribed Silver Amulet Boxes', in ed., James W. Allan, *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol.10 (Oxford, 1995) pp.155–66

GARDET, L. 'Al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed on 25 September 2015

GARDINER, Noah, 'Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012) pp.81–143

GARDINER, Noah, 'Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Aḥmad al-Būnī and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, 2014)

AL-GHAZĀLĪ, Abū Ḥāmid, *Al-munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, ed., Farid Jabre (Beirut, 1969)

GÖKYAY, Orhan Şaik, *Tılsımlı Gömlekler, Türk Folkloru Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 185 (Ankara, 1977)

GONZALEZ, Valérie, 'Aesthetic Phenomenology of a Late Ottoman Calligraphy from the Museum of Raqqada (Tunisia)', in ed., M. Uğur Derman and İrvin Cemil Schick, *M. Uğur Derman armağanı: Altmışbeşinci yaşı münasebetiyle sunulmuş tebliğler* (Istanbul, 2000) pp.313–40

GRABAR, Oleg, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, 1992)

GRAVES, Margaret, et al., *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum: Arts of the Book and Calligraphy* (exh. cat., Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Istanbul, Geneva, 2010)

GRUBER, Christiane, 'Divination' in ed., Joseph W. Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilization* (New York, 2006), vol.1, pp.209–11

GRUBER, Christiane, 'A Pious Cure-All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library', in ed., Christiane Gruber, *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections* (Bloomington, 2009) pp.117–53

GRUBER, Christiane, 'The 'Restored' Shī'ī *muṣḥaf* as Divine Guide? The Practice of *fāl-i Qur'ān* in the Ṣafavid Period', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 13/2 (2011) pp.29–55

GRUBER, Christiane, 'The Prophet Muhammad's Footprint', in ed., Robert Hillenbrand, Andrew Peacock, and Firuza Abdullaeva, *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia* (London, 2013a) pp.297–305

GRUBER, Christiane, 'Power and Protection: Late Ottoman Seal Designs', *Hadeeth ad-Dar* 38 (2013b) pp.2–6

GRUBER, Christiane, '"Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well Protected": Seal Designs in Late Ottoman Prayer Books', in ed. Emilie Savage-Smith et al., *Visions of Enchantment: Occultism, Spirituality, and Visual Culture* (Cambridge, forthcoming)

VON Grunebaum, G. 'The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society', in ed., G. von Grunebaum and R. Caillois, *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, 1966) pp.351–64

HAIDAR, Navina Najat, and Marika Sardar, *Sultans of Deccan India, 1500–1700: Opulence and Fantasy* (exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven, 2015)

HAMÈS, Constant, 'L'usage talismanique du Coran', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 218/1 (2001) pp.83–95

HAMÈS, Constant, *Coran et talismans: textes et pratiques magiques en milieu musulman* (Paris, 2007)

HASAN, Perween, 'The Footprint of the Prophet', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993) pp.35–43

HILLENBRAND, Robert, et al., *The Sarikhani Collection* (London, 2011)

HUSAIN, Mahmud, *The Dreams of Tipu Sultan* (Karachi, 1957)

IBN AL-'ARABĪ, *Les Illuminations de La Mecque = The Meccan Illuminations = Al-futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, ed. and trans., William Chittick and Michel Chodkiewicz (Paris, 1988)

IBN ISḤĀQ, Muḥammad, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, trans., Alfred Guillaume (Karachi, 1970)

IBN KHALDŪN, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn; Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun*, ed., Etienne Quatremère, 3 vols (Paris, 1858)

IBN KHALDŪN, *An Introduction to History: The Muqaddimah*, ed., N. J. Dawood, trans., Franz Rosenthal (London, 1967)

IBN KHALDŪN, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle. Al-Muqaddima, trans. Vincent Monteuil* (Paris, 1967–68)

IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZĪYAH, Muḥammad Abī Bakr, *Medicine of the Prophet*, trans. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge, 1998)

IBN AL-UKHUWAH, *Ma'ālim al-qurba fī aḥkām al-ḥisba*, ed., Reuben Levy (London, 1938)

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ', *On Magic: An Arabic Critical Edition and English translation of Epistle 52a*, Part 1, ed. and trans., Godefroid de Callataÿ and Bruno Halflants (Oxford, 2011)

JAMES, David, 'Rylands Arabic MS 42: Recent Discoveries', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 59 (1977) pp.249–53

JAMES, David, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks* (London, 1988).

JAMES, David, *The Master Scribes: Qur'ans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD* (London, 1992a)

JAMES, David, *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries* (London, 1992b)

JONES, Alan, 'The Mystical Letters of the Qur'ān', *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962) pp.5–12

JUYNBOLL, G.H.A., 'The Attitude Towards Gold and Silver in Islam', in ed., Michael Vickers, *Pots and Pans: A Colloquium on Precious Metals and Ceramics in the Muslim, Chinese, and Graeco-Roman Worlds, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, vol.3 (Oxford, 1986) pp.107–15

JUNOD, Benoît, and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, *The Path of Princes: Masterpieces from the Aga Khan Museum Collection* (exh. cat., Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon, Geneva, 2008)

KALUS, Ludvik, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans* (Oxford, 1986)

AL-KHAMIS, Ulrike, 'Khusrau Parviz as Champion of Shi'ism? A Closer Look at an Early Safavid Miniature Painting in the Royal Museum of Edinburgh', in ed., Bernard O'Kane, *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand* (Edinburgh, 2005) pp.201–10

KEENE, Manuel, 'Jade i. Introduction', *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jade-i. Accessed 11 November 2015

KENNEDY, Edward S., *Astronomy and Astrology in the Medieval Islamic World* (Farnham, 1998)

KESHAVARZ, Fateme, 'The Horoscope of Iskandar Sultan', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 116/2 (1984) pp.97–208

KESHAVARZ, Fateme, *A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine* (London, 1986)

KINBERG, Leah, 'Literal Dreams and Prophetic *Ḥadīts* in Classical Islam: A Comparison of Two Ways of Legitimation', *Der Islam* 70 (1993) pp.279–300

KING, David A., 'Islamic Geomancy; Review of E. Savage-Smith and Marion B. Smith, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-century Divinatory Device*', *Archaeoastronomy* 5 (1982) pp.42–3 [reprinted in David A. King, *Islamic Astronomical Instruments* (London, 1987) pp.298–9]

KRISS, Rudolf and Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, vol.2: *Amulette, Zauberlformeln und Beschwörungen* (Wiesbaden, 1962)

LAMOREAUX, John C., *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany, 2002)

LEMAY, Richard, 'L'Islam historique et les sciences occultes', *Bulletin d'études orientales* 44 (1992) pp.19–32

LENTZ, Thomas W., and Glenn M. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1989)

LEONI, Francesca, ''There is No Brave Youth Except for 'Ali'': A Calligram in the Shape of a Camel', *The Ashmolean* 70 (autumn 2015) pp.24–5

LORY, Pierre, 'La magie des lettres dans le Shams al-ma'ârif d'al-Bûnî', *Bulletin d'études orientales* 39–40 (1989) pp.97–111

LORY, Pierre, 'Verbe coranique et magie en terre d'Islam', in ed., Albert de Surgy, *Fétiches II: Puissance des objets, charme des mots, système de pensée en Afrique noire* (Paris, 1993) pp.173–86.

LORY, Pierre, 'La vision du Prophète en rêve dans l'onirocritique musulmane', in ed., E. Chaumont, *Autour du regard, Mélanges Gimaret* (Leuven, 2003a) pp.189–212

LORY, Pierre, *Le rêve et ses interprétations en Islam* (Paris, 2003b)

LORY, Pierre, *La science des lettres en Islam* (Paris, 2004)

LORY, Pierre, Jean-Charles Coulon and Saïd Benjelloun, *Talismans: Le soleil des connaissances* (France, 2013)

MADDISON, Francis and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools & Magic*, 2 vols (London, 1997)

AL-MAJRĪṬĪ, Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm wa-aḥaqq al-natījatayn bi-l-taqdīm, Das Ziel des Weisen*, ed., Hellmut Ritter (Berlin, 1933)

AL-MAJRĪṬĪ, Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, '*Picatrix*'; *das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Maǧrīṭī*, trans. Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner (London, 1962)

AL-MAJRĪṬĪ, Maslamah ibn Aḥmad, *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*, ed., David E. Pingree (London, 1986)

MAKARIOU, Sophie, ed., *Chefs-d'oeuvre islamiques de l'Aga Khan Museum* (exh. cat., Louvre, Paris and Milan, 2007)

MARLOW, Louise, ed., *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2008)

MASSIGNON, Louis, 'Les sept dormants d'Éphèse (*ahl al-kahf*) en Islam et Chrétienté: première partie', *Revue d'études islamiques* 22 (1954) pp.59–112

MASSIGNON, Louis, 'Les sept dormants d'Éphèse (*ahl al-kahf*) en Islam et Chrétienté: deuxième partie', *Revue d'études islamiques* 23 (1955) pp.94–106

MASSIGNON, Louis, 'Les sept dormants d'Éphèse (*ahl al-kahf*) en Islam et Chrétienté: troisième partie' *Revue d'études islamiques* 25 (1957) pp.1–11

MELIKIAN-CHIRVANI, Assadullah Souren, 'Precious and Semi-Precious Stones in Iranian Culture, Chapter I. Early Iranian Jade', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 11 (1997) pp.123–73

MELVIN-KOUSHKI, Matthew S., ed., *New Perspectives on Islamicate Occultism* (13th-17th Centuries), a special issue of *Arabica* (forthcoming)

MERI, Josef W., 'Ritual and the Qur'ān', in ed., Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (Brillonline). Accessed 18 August 2015

MERI, Josef W., *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford and New York, 2002)

MERI, Josef W., 'Relics of Piety and Power in Medieval Islam', *Past & Present* 206, suppl. 5 (2010) pp.97–120

MICHOT, Yahya J., 'Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translation of Three Fatwas', in ed., Emilie Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.277–340

MILSTEIN, Rachel, Karin Rührdanz and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1999)

MOIN, A. Azfar, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York, 2012)

MURAVCHICK, Rose, 'God is the Best Guardian: Islamic Talismanic Shirts from the Gunpowder Empires', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (Philandelphia, 2014)

NAWAWĪ, Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf, *Al-Tibyān fī ādāb ḥamalat al-Qur'ān,* ed., Muḥammad al-Ḥajjār (Beirut 1996)

NÜNLIST, Tobias, Andreas Kaplony, and Tobias Heinzelmann, *Arabische, türkische und persische Handschriften. Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Wiesbaden, 2008)

O'CONNOR, Kathleen Malone, 'Popular and Talismanic Uses of the Qur'ān' in ed., Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (Brillonline). Accessed 29 July 2015

OCAK, Ahmet Yaşar, *From History to Theology: Ali in Islamic Beliefs* (Ankara, 2005)

OESTMANN, Günther, et al., ed., *Horoscopes and Public Spheres: Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin, 2005)

ORTHMANN, Eva, 'Circular Motions: Private Pleasure and Public Prognostication in the Nativities of the Mughal Emperor Akbar', in ed., Günther Oestmann et. al., *Horoscopes and Public Spheres: Essays on the History of Astrology* (Berlin and New York, 2005) pp.101–14

PAINE, Sheila, *Amulets: A World of Secret Power, Charms and Magic* (London, 2004)

PARIKH, Rachel, 'Persian Pomp, Indian Circumstance: The Khalili Falnama', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University (Cambridge, 2014)

PEACOCK, Andrew C.S., and Annabel Teh Gallop, *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks, and Southeast Asia* (Oxford, 2015)

PERHO, Irmeli, 'Medicine and the Qur'ān', in ed., Jane Dammen McAuliffe. *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed., Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Brillonline). Accessed 29 July 2015

PERK, Halûk, *Osmanlı Tılsım Mühürleri* (Istanbul, 2010)

PIKE, Kathleen M., 'The Birth Horoscope of Iskandar Sultan: Astrology in Service of Kingship', unpublished MA thesis, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA, 2006)

PINGREE, David E., 'Some of the Sources of the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980) pp.1–15

PIOTROVSKI, Mikhaïl B., et al., *Heaven on Earth: Art from Islamic Lands, Works from the State Hermitage Museum and the Khalili Collection* (exh. cat., Somerset House, London, Munich, 2004)

PLEYTE, C.M. 'Het boek en het schrift in den Indischen Archipel' in *Internationale tentoonstelling, Juli-Augustus 1892, bij gelegenheid van het vijf-en-zeventigjarig bestaan der Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels, 1817–1892* (Amsterdam, 1892) pp.19–31

PORMANN, Peter E., and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Edinburgh, 2007)

PORTER, Venetia, 'Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?', in ed., Alan Jones, *University Lectures in Islamic Studies* 2 (London, 1998) pp.135–49 [reprinted in Emilie Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.179–200]

PORTER, Venetia, 'Tympan de géomancie', in ed., Sophie Makariou, *L'orient de Saladin: l'art des Ayyoubides, exposition présentée à l'Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, du 23 octobre 2001 au 20 mars 2002* (exh. cat., Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, 2001) p.210, cat.222

PORTER, Venetia, 'Amulets Inscribed with the Names of the "Seven Sleepers" of Ephesus in the British Museum', in ed., Fahmida Suleman, *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions* (Oxford, 2007) pp.123–34

PORTER, Venetia, 'The Use of the Arabic Script in Magic', in ed., M.C.A. Macdonald, *The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 40 (2010) pp.131–40

PORTER, Venetia, and Heba Nayel Barakat, *Mightier Than the Sword, Arabic Script: Beauty and Meaning* (exh. cat. Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2004)

PORTER, Venetia with Robert G. Hoyland, and Alexander Morton, *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London, 2011)

PORTER, Venetia, Liana Saif, and Emilie Savage-Smith, 'Medieval Islamic Amulets, Talismans and Magic', in ed., Gülru Necipoğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood, *Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture* (forthcoming)

PRISSE d'Avenne and Achille Constant, *L'art arabe après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe*, 3 vols (Paris, 1869–77)

RABY, Julian, 'The Principle of Parsimony and the Problem of the "Mosul School of Metalwork"', in ed., Venetia Porter and Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World* (London, 2012) pp.11–85

RADO, Şevket, *Türk Hattatları* (Istanbul, 1984)

RENTZ, George, and William Facey, *The Birth of the Islamic Reform Movement in Saudi Arabia: Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703/4–1792) and the Beginnings of Unitarian Empire in Arabia* (London, 2004)

REZVAN, E.A., 'The Qur'an and Its World: VII. Talisman, Shield, and Sword', *Manuscripta Orientalia* 4/3 (1988) pp.24–34

RICKLEFS, M.C., P. Voorhoeve, and Annabel Teh Gallop, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections. New Edition with Addenda et Corrigenda* (Jakarta, 2014)

RIEU, Charles, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1879–83)

ROBINSON, Basil W. '"Zenith of His Time": The Painter Pir Ahmad Paghshimali', in ed., Sheila Canby, *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: 1990) pp.1–20

ROGERS, J. Michael, and Rachel Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (exh. cat., British Museum, London, London, 1988)

ROGERS, J. Michael, *The Arts of Islam: Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection* (London, 2010)

ROXBURGH, David, 'The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the Fifteenth Century', in ed., Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson, *Islamic Art and Literature* (Princeton, 2001) pp.119–42

ROXBURGH, David, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven and London, 2005)

ROXBURGH, David, 'Pilgrimage City', in ed., Salma Jayyusi et al., *The City in the Islamic World*, vol.2 (Leiden and Boston, 2008) pp.753–74

RUSKA, Jan and Baron Carra de Vaux, 'Tilsam', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed 29 October 2015

SAFWAT, Nabil, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries* (New York, 1992)

SALEH, Walid A., 'Word', in ed., Jamal Elias, *Twenty-One Words in Islam* (Oxford, 2010) pp.356–76

AL-SALEH, Yasmine, 'Amulets and Talismans from the Islamic World', in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York, 2000) http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tali/hd_tali.htm. Accessed on 11 November 2015

AL-SALEH, Yasmine, '"Licit Magic": The Touch and Sight of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University (Cambridge MA, 2014)

SALIBA, George, 'The Role of the Astrologer in Medieval Islamic Society', *Bulletin d'*études *orientales* 44 (1992) pp. 45–67 [reprinted in Emilie Savage-Smith, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.341–70]

SAMSÓ, Julio, *Astronomy and Astrology in al-Andalus and the Maghrib* (Aldershot, 2007)

SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie, 'Celestial Mapping', in ed., John B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography,* vol.2, book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* (Chicago, 1992) pp.13–70

SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie, 'Safavid Magic-Bowls', in ed., Sheila Canby and Jon Thompson, *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, (New York, 2003a) pp.241–47

SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie, 'Islamic Magical Texts vs. Magical Artefacts', *Societas Magicas Newsletter* 11 (fall 2003b). http://www.societasmagica.org/userfiles/files/Newsletters/docs/SMN_Fall_2003_Issue_11.pdf. Accessed 17 January 2016

SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie, ed., *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004)

SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie, and Marion Smith, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Device* (Malibu CA, 1980)

SAVAGE-SMITH, Emilie, and Marion Smith, 'Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device: Another Look', in ed., Emilie Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004) pp.211–76

SCHÄFER, Peter, and Shaul Shaked, ed., *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, 3 vols (Tübingen, 1994)

SCHAEFER, Karl, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden and Boston, 2006)

SCHICK, İrvin Cemil, 'The Iconicity of Islamic Calligraphy in Turkey', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 53/54 (2008) pp.211–24

SCHIMMEL, Annemarie, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill and London, 1985)

SCHIMMEL, Annemarie, *Deciphering the Signs of God: A Phenomenal Approach to Islam* (Edinburgh, 1994)

SCHIMMEL, Annemarie, *Die Träume des Kalifen* (Munich, 1998)

SCHMIDT, Ian, 'The Occult Sciences and Their Importance in Ottoman Culture: Evidence from Turkish Manuscripts in Dutch Public Collections', *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 23 (2003) pp.219–54

SESIANO, Jacques, 'Wafḳ', in ed., P. Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition (Brillonline). Accessed on 23 August 2015

SILVERMANN, Raymond. 'Drinking the Word of God', in ed., Christine Mullen Kreamer and Sarah Adams *Inscribing Meaning: Writing and Graphic Systems in African Art* (Washington, D.C., 2007) pp.11–17

SIRRIYEH, Elizabeth, 'Arab Stars, Assyrian Dogs and Greek "Angels": How Islamic is Muslim Dream Interpretation?' *Journal of Islamic Studies* 22/2 (May 2011) pp.215–33

SIRRIYEH, Elizabeth, *Dreams and Visions in the World of Islam: A History of Muslim Dreaming and Foreknowing* (London, 2015)

SOUCEK, Priscilla, 'The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content', in ed., Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 1992) pp.116–31

STAPLES, W. E., 'Muhammad, a Talismanic Force', *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57/1 (January 1940) pp.63–70

STETKEVYCH, Suzanne, 'From Text to Talisman: Al-Būṣīrī's *Qāṣīdat al-Burdah (Mantle Ode)* and the Supplicatory Ode', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37/2 (2006) pp.145–89

STETKEVYCH, Suzanne, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muḥammad* (Bloomington, 2010)

SULEMAN, Fahmida, ed., *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions, Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London, 18–20 October 2003* (Oxford, 2007)

SULEMAN, Fahmida, ed., *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam* (London, 2015a)

FAHMIDA Suleman, 'The Hand of Fatima: In Search of Its Origins and Significance', in ed., Fahmida Suleman, *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam* (London, 2015b) pp.173–86

AL-TAMĪMĪ, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Über die Steine: *Das 14. Kapitel aus dem "Kitāb al-Muršid" des Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad at-Tamīmī nach dem Pariser Manuskript*, ed., Jutta Schönfeld (Freiburg, 1976)

TANAVOLI, Parviz, *Talesm* (Tehran, 2007)

TAŞKALE, Faruk and Hüseyin Gündüz, *Hz. Muhammed'in Özellikleri: Hat Sanatında Hilye-i Şerîfe / Characteristics of the Prophet Muhammed in Calligraphic Art* (Istanbul, 2006)

TEECE, Denise-Marie, and Karin Zonis, 'Calligraphic Galleon', in ed., Maryam D. Ekhtiar, Priscilla P. Soucek, Sheila R. Canby, and Navina Najat Haidar, *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 2011) pp.296–7, cat.206

TEZCAN, Hülya, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Şifalı Gömlekler* (Istanbul, 2006)

TEZCAN, Hülya, *Tılısmı Gömlekler. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan* (Istanbul, 2011)

THACKSTON, Wheeler M., ed., *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge MA, 1989)

THACKSTON, Wheeler M., *Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters* (Leiden, 2001)

AL-TĪFĀSHĪ, Aḥmad, *Il Libro delle pietre preziose*, ed. and trans., Ida Zilio-Grandi (Venice, 1999)

TOKATLIAN, Armen, *Falnamah: Livre Royal des Sorts* (Montreuil, 2007)

TOURKIN, Sergei, 'Astrological Images in Two Persian Manuscripts', in ed., Nigel Allan, *Pearls of the Orient: Asian Treasures from the Wellcome Library* (Chicago, 2003) pp.72–85

TOURKIN, Sergei, 'Medical Astrology in the Horoscope of Iskandar Sultan', in ed., N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel, *Sciences, techniques et instruments dans le monde iranien (Xe-XIXe siècle)* (Tehran, 2004) pp.105–9

TOURKIN, Sergei, 'The Use of the Qur'ān for Divination in Iran', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 59 (2006) pp.387–95

ULLMANN, Manfred, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden, 1972)

VAN Binsbergen, Wim, *The Astrological Origin of Islamic Geomancy* (http://www.labirintoermetico.com/07Geomanzia/Binsbergen_van_W_The_astrological_origin_of_Islamic_Geomancy.pdf). Accessed 17 January 2016

VESEL, Živa, 'Talismans from the Iranian World: A Millenary Tradition', in ed., Pedram Khosronejad, *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shi'ism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam* (London and New York, 2012) pp.254–75

WAARDENBURG, Jean-Jacques D., 'Official and Popular Religion as a Problem in Islamic Studies', in ed., P.H. Vrijhof and J.D.J. Waardenburg, *Official and Popular Religion: Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies* (The Hague, 1979) pp.340–86

WARD, Rachel, *Islamic Metalwork* (London, 1993)

WARD, Rachel, 'The Inscription on the Astrolabe by 'Abd al-Karim in the British Museum', *Muqarnas* 21/1 (2004) pp.345–57

WHEELER, Brannon, 'Relics in Islam,' *Islamica* 11 (Summer/Autumn 2004) pp.107–12

WRIGHT, Elaine, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London, 2009)

YALMAN, Suzan, ''Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuk Sultan as Cosmic Ruler', *Muqarnas* 29 (2012) pp.151–86

YAMAMOTO, Keiji, 'Abū Ma'sh'ar Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhi', in ed., Thomas Hockey et al., *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* (New York, 2007) p.11

YÜREKLI-GÖRKAY, Zeynep, 'The Sword Dhū'l-faqār and the Ottomans', in ed., Fahmida Suleman, *People of the Prophet's House: Artistic and Ritual Expressions of Shi'i Islam* (London, 2015a) pp.163–72

ZADEH, Travis, 'Touching and Ingesting: Early Debates over the Material Qur'an', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 129/3 (2009) pp.443–66

ZAKARIYA, Mohamed, 'The Hilye of the Prophet Muhammad', *Seasons* (Autumn/Winter 2003–4) pp.13–22

ZEBROWSKI, Mark, *Gold, Silver & Bronze from Mughal India* (London,1997)

Index

This index does not cover the contents, director's foreword, acknowledgements, or notes.
Location references are ordered thus:
— Page numbers in plain text;
— Figure number preceded by fig.;
— Exhibition catalogue number in bold/italic.