"Licit Magic": The Touch And Sight Of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls

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“Licit Magic”: The Touch And Sight Of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls

A dissertation presented

by

Yasmine F. Al-Saleh

to

The Committee for Middle Eastern Studies

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

History of Art and Architecture and Middle Eastern Studies

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Abstract

The following study traces the production and history of the talismanic scroll as a medium through a Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk historical periods. My dissertation understands the protocol of manufacturing and utilizing talismanic scrolls. The dissertation is a study of the Qur’an, prayers and illustrations of these talismanic works. I begin by investigating a theory of the occult the medieval primary sources of the Neo-Platonic tenth century Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and al-Bunī (d.1225). I establish that talismans are generally categorized as science (‘ilm). Next, a dynastic spotlight of talismanic scrolls creates a chronological framework for the dissertation. The Fatimid talismanic scrolls and the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls are both block-printed and are placed within the larger conceptual framework of pilgrimage and devotion. The two unpublished Mamluk scrolls from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah are long beautiful handwritten scrolls that provide a perspective on how the occult is part of the daily life of the practitioner in the medieval Islamic culture. Through an in depth analysis of the written word and images, I establish that textually and visually there is a template for the creation of these sophisticated scrolls. Lastly, I discuss the efficacy of these scrolls, I use theories of linguistic anthropology and return to the Islamic primary sources to establish that there is a language of the occult and there are people that practiced the occult. The word of God and the Qur’ān empower the scrolls I studied. As for the people who practiced the occult, I turn to the tenth century Ibn al-Nadim and
Ibn al-Khaldun (d.1406), the people of the occult are understood. Yet, keeping in mind, that there is always a tension with the theologians that condoned practices of Islamic magic.

This study illuminates new perspectives on the study of the occult. It becomes apparent there is a conceptual relationship between the occult and devotion. The talismanic scroll and its contents recontextualizes ideas about piety, belief, and concerns for the medieval Muslim believer be they supplications to God and the prophet Muhammad, or concerns about health, travel, military achievements or Judgment Day.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION: TEXTUAL SOURCES</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER ONE: ِّ)!=&amp;%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%)[(\n\n</td>
<td>CHAPTER ONE: ِّ)!=&amp;%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%][(!%)[(\n\n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER THREE: IN COLOR, THE ART OF THE TALISMANIC, A STUDY OF LNS 12 MS AND LNS 25 MS FROM DAR AL-ATHAR AL-ISLAMIYYAH</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR: LICIT PRACTICES, THE SCROLL AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER OBJECTS OF THE OCCULT</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATALOGUE OF TALISMANIC SCROLLS</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX ONE</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX TWO</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Inspired by the women in my family and my Kuwaiti community, that one must continuously nurture an interest in the arts. As a child, my mother the belated Fawzia H. Sultan and her sisters dragged their children across the world to museums, galleries, and bookstores stimulating my mind to critically think about the various forms of knowledge. As an adult, I was encouraged to pursue a degree in History of Art by Sheikha Hussah Sabah Al-Salem. The Monday night lecture at Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah were the beginning of my love affair with the field of Islamic visual and material culture. Sheikha Hussah granted me access to the valuable scrolls at the Al-Sabah collection which is the primary focus of this dissertation.

At the University of Pennsylvania, it was Renata Holod who opened that first door to the academic field. The History of Art department at the University of Pennsylvania fostered the beginning of my pursuit and understanding of Islamic devotional literature. I thank my friend Yasmina Benbouchta who allowed me to write my MA thesis on her family heirloom: a Maghribi Qurʾān. My interests in calligraphy and manuscript illumination were cultivated through this project.

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My son Zayd for his countless amusing interruptions while I was writing and for allowing me to stay grounded as I wrote. My brother Ahmed Al-Saleh, his wife Farah Al-Saleh and three beautiful children Fawzia, Fatma, and Musaad were always there when I needed a break be it on Cape Cod, Boston, Paris, and Kuwait. Lastly, the people who kept Zayd distracted when I needed to write during those winter and summer months my in-laws Carol Fisher and Nick Scull along with Susan & Howard Skaug, Lisa Davis, and Sunumol Joseph.
NOTES ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration system used in this dissertation follows the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. The translations are the author’s own unless otherwise noted.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1, Columbia University Papyrus 705b: detail of the top part of the scroll.
Figure 2, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS, al-Malik Ilāh Wāḥid al-Qahār (The ruler is the one God, the almighty/ the conqueror).
Figure 3, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS, reverse of the scroll possible impression of the block print matrix.
Figure 4, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS, leather case and leather necklace.
Figure 5, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1975.192.20.
Figure 6, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.32.
Figure 7, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.33.
Figure 8, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.34.
Figure 9, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.37.
Figure 10, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.38.
Figure 11, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.39.
Figure 12, Columbia University, Islamic Talisman Uncatalogued Ms. Oriental 4/24/1974.
Figure 13, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.371.
Figure 14, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1971.237.1.
Figure 15, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1975.192.21.
Figure 16, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.35 and MMA 1978.546.36.
Figure 17, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.372.
Figure 18, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.370.
Figure 19, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, view of scale of scroll.
Figure 20, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, image of the border with al-Ikhlāṣ (112) and Yā-Sīn (36).
Figure 21, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, Al-haykal al-thālith (the third sanctuary), Al-Ḥashr (59:22-24).

Figure 22, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, Liʾl-dukhūl ʾalā al-mulūk ("for entry upon the kings") al-Māʾidah (5:23).
Figure 23, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li’l-‘ayn wa al-naḍra* (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”). The word for gaze is misspelled by the scribe; it should be *nazra*.

Figure 24, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS *Li’-darb al-sayf* (for the strike of the sword).

Figure 25, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS *Li-ramē al-nashāh* (the casting of arrows).

Figure 26, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS *Lī-ṣa’n bi’l-ramḥ* (If pierced by a spear or lance).

Figure 27, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS *Lil-ḥayya wa al-‘aqrab* (For the snake and scorpion).

Figure 28, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS *Ṭā’a wa qubūl* (for obedience and acceptance).

Figure 29, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS *Ibtāl al-sihr* (“for annulling magic”).

Figure 30, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li’l-muṭalaqa* (“end and absolute charm”), *budūh* square.

Figure 31, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, addendum scroll attached to the end of the scroll.

Figure 32, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, end of the scroll: Throne verse (2:255).

Figure 33, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, view of scale of scroll.

Figure 34, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, beginning of the scroll.

Figure 35, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, tear-drop palmette, *sūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff* (61:13).

Figure 36, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, oblong medallion (pen case motif) with *sūrat al-Wāqi’ a* (56:77-80).

Figure 37, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Al-‘Asmā’ al-Ḥusnā* (The blessed names of God).

Figure 38, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, view of the main text-block.

Figure 39, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Al-haykal al- thālith* (the third sanctuary) *Al-Ḥasr* (59:22-24).
Figure 40, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, 'Awfāq al-‘ayyām al-sab’ (The magic squares of the seven days).

Figure 41, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, al-kawākib al- durriya (The Shining Stars), it is most of al-Būṣirī’s (died 1294-1297) Burdah.

Figure 42, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Li’l-dukhūl ‘alā al-mulūk (“for entry upon the kings”) al-Mā’īdah (5:23).

Figure 43, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Ibṭāl al-sīh (“for annulling magic”).

Figure 44, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS, Li’l-‘ayn wa al-naẓra (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”).

Figure 45, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Ṭal’a al-shams wa al-qamar (“The appearance of the sun and moon”).

Figure 46, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Lī-ṭa’n bi’l-ramḥ (“when pierced by a spear or lance”).

Figure 47, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Li-ḍarb al-sayf (“for the strike of the sword”).

Figure 48, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Li-ramī al-nashāb (“the casting of arrows”).

Figure 49, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Bāb Li’l-muṭalaqa (“end and absolute charm”), blank magic square.

Figure 50, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, detail of the blank magic square.

Figure 51, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, concentric circles with Al-An’ām (6:115) and al-Ikhlāṣ (112) at the end of the scroll.

Figure 52, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah Scroll case, LNS 1190 M.

Figure 53, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, Scroll case, LNS 834 M.

Figure 54, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Pilgrimage scroll TİEM 4741.

Figure 55, National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb. 7, thirteenth-century.

Figure 56, Guttenberg scroll, Gutenberg- Museum Mainz (GM 03.1 Schr), dated fifteenth century.
Figure 57, Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, inv.no. 15648, Talismanic block print with demon or jinn.

Figure 58, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Tray made for the Rasulid Sultan al-Mu’yyad al-Daub Ibn Yusuf MMA 91.1.605.

Figure 59, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Candlestick with moon figures dedicated to “Zane the daughter of the commander of the faithful al-Made lid-Din Allah” MMA 91.1.523.

Figure 60, British Museum Add. 18886, Nihāyat al-Su’l wa’l-Umniyya fi Ta’allum A’māl al-Furūsiyya.

Figure 61, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.348.2, Seljuq Mirror, back with Throne verse.

Figure 62, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.348.2, Seljuq Mirror, front with fantastic scene with mythological figures.

Figure 63, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 36.25.1293, nineteenth-century Ottoman sword with Mughal grip.
INTRODUCTION: TEXTUAL SOURCES

My dissertation aims to understand the protocol of manufacturing and utilizing talismanic objects. My primary focus is works on paper, from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries in the Mediterranean basin, specifically the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk geographic sphere. This was a fluid time period that witnessed relationships with other Islamic polities as well as with Byzantium and the Latin West. I expand on previous scholarship of medieval Islamic science, magic, and devotion. In order to establish a historical, religious, and cultural context for the talismanic objects, a textual analysis of primary sources is necessary. These sources present a theory and philosophy of the medieval Islamic occult, which is essential to the investigation of the material evidence.

The dissertation begins with an evaluation of the terminology associated with talismans. Ṭilsam, the Arabic term, carries the meaning of endowing an object with potency. The word tilsam has its roots in the Greek language and its origins in the Hellenistic world. Ṭilsamāt (talismans) in the primary sources are generally categorized as ‘ilm (science). Yet, medieval Islamic scholars, ranging from the Ikhwān al-Safā’ (active 961-986), al-Bunī (d. 1225) in his Shams al-ma‘ārif, to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) in his al-Muqaddima, define and classify ṭilsam in a

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different way. More importantly, however, the discussion of terminology will acknowledge the tension in classifying *ṭilsam* as *ʿilm* (science), as for example in the writings of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1349), a Mamluk Hanbali theologian who tried to purify Islam of the occult.

Although an investigation of terminology is crucial, this dissertation will not attempt to define the categories of magic, science, and religion. As Emilie Savage-Smith has clearly demonstrated in her scholarship, “attempts at an all-inclusive definition” can be problematic. As a result and to avoid confusion, monolithic labels concerning magic, science, and religion will not be considered. In addition, this dissertation will not investigate the link between *sihr* (magic) and the Qurʾān since other scholars have investigated this in great detail.

This dissertation considers the cross-cultural interactions of the Mediterranean geographic region. It will follow the theoretical framework put forward by Paul Magdalino and Maria V. Mavroudi in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*. Namely, that the word occult is more

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8 Magdalino and Mavroudi, *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, pp. 11-37.
appropriate than the word magic when considering the science of producing talismans. In fact, in a Byzantine historical framework, alchemists and astrologers were considered to be natural scientists and they were placed under the larger umbrella of philosophy, while philosophy itself was linked to the life of the ascetic. The sixth-century chronicler John Malalas defined philosophy as secret prayer to the moon, creating talismans, vanishing into air, predicting eclipses, astronomical discoveries, and dream interpretations. In addition, the occult played an important role in political histories.

The occult is part of the vast framework of medieval philosophy and science that plays a role in the road to asceticism. In other words, and as I will demonstrate, talismans are tools of devotion. They are inscribed with multiple prayers and supplications to God. For example, in a talismanic scroll from Columbia University (Papyrus 705b), the text is devoted to refuge-seeking Qur'anic verses and reciting the names of God (fig. 1). And as the textual analysis of al-Bunī’s Shams al-maʿārif—an Islamic medieval treatise on letter magic—shows, the names of God and these verses have a close relationship to the making of talismans.

Prayers, signs, numbers, and decorative motifs cover the surface of a talisman. Some are folded and carried in the pocket, others are rolled and placed in an amulet case, or they cover the surface of a shirt. In Shams al-maʿārif, al-Bunī, who worked in a Mamluk context, provides

9 Ibid., p.13.
specific instructions and precise days for the construction of a talisman. Certain days, like the Prophet Muhammad’s day of birth or death, are considered especially blessed by al-Bunī. In addition to temporal instructions, some rituals are part of the tradition. Prior to writing on a riqa tāhir (clean parchment), or a silver ring or stone, the person who prepares a talisman must perform an ablution along with a prayer.

Moving across medieval boundaries into the Latin West where Arabic texts were being translated during the twelfth century, a “new Aristotelian arrangement of science” was put forward with eight divisions that included the science of talismans. In Muslim Spain during the eleventh century, John of Seville was “presumably” translating Thabit b. Qurra’s (d. 901 CE) version of Aristotle’s science into Latin. John of Seville’s translation placed the science of talismans as more worthy than geometry and higher than philosophy.

Besides the translations of Arabic texts in the Latin West, there are multiple compendiums of knowledge from the Islamic world. Some of these texts—such as the Qur’an and those authored by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ writing in Abbasid Iraq and al-Bunī writing in the Mamluk realm—connect the science of talismans to the knowledge of God. Beginning with the Qur’an, the various stories of the Prophets—in particular the stories of Moses and his rod and the

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12 al-Bunī, Shams al- ma‘ārif.

13 Ibid.


15 Ibid., p. 7.

16 Ibid.
stories of Solomon and his ability to communicate with the jinn (supernatural beings)—construct the foundation of an occult theory.\(^1\) Other texts from the medieval Islamic world connect the science of talismans to medicine. These include, among several others, Muhammad ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzī (d. 925), Ibn Waḥshiyya (d. 951), al-Majriti (d. 1005), and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209).\(^2\) In this dissertation, I will focus on Arabic texts, in particular the discussion of talismans by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafa al-Bunī; in Chapter Four, I will discuss concepts of “licit” sihr (magic) as presented in Ibn al-Nadīm’s (d.991) al-Fihrist, and Ibn Khaldun’s (d.1406) al-Muqaddima.\(^3\) These sources will provide a glimpse of and voice for the material objects researched in this dissertation.

These Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin scientific sources are fascinating because they question the notion that the world of talismans was an underworld.\(^4\) In this dissertation, I will reconstruct the socio-historical attitudes towards talismans and argue that the science of talismans was not merely a part of the underworld, but occupied a significant role in the


\(^{2}\) Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” pp. 72-96.


consciousness of the medieval Mediterranean community. My intention is to give the Islamic talismanic scrolls that I studied in various collections across the world, a voice and agency. Indeed, these talismans have an enigmatic history.\textsuperscript{21} First, not one of the talismanic works on paper has a definite, or internal, date. Dating is proposed through comparative stylistic analysis, and, when resources were available, paper analysis.\textsuperscript{22} Another important question concerns the calligraphers and designers of talismans.\textsuperscript{23} Again, none of the talismanic scrolls have been signed. The possibility of dating the scrolls to the periods of Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk rule requires the description of the formal aspects that need to be considered (fig. 1, 3, and 12). Further aspects of production and form include the creation of block-printed scrolls by means of a wooden block or metal surface (fig. 1) and how the talismanic scrolls relate to the materiality of contemporaneous pilgrimage scrolls (fig. 57). The primary sources reveal that jewels, trays, incense burners, inkwells, and ewers were used in the process of making a talisman. The question becomes: How does medieval metalwork relate to the sources?\textsuperscript{24} More important, was there a ceremony in which certain prayers were evoked? And how might these ceremonies correlate to the scrolls?


\textsuperscript{22} I would like to thank Yana Van Dyke, Annick Des Roches, and Navina Haidar for granting me access to the resources in paper conservation at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, NY, USA. I also would like to thank Emilie Savage-Smith for questioning the typology of the talismanic paper.

\textsuperscript{23} Bosworth, \textit{The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature}; Bulliet, “Medieval Arabic \textit{Ṭarsh:} A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing.”

\textsuperscript{24} This dissertation’s primary focus is medieval Islamic Arabic scrolls. However, if there are appropriate contemporaneous metalwork, textiles, or architectural spaces, I mention them.
Lastly, although I avoid monolithic definitions of magic, science, and religion, I think it is important to begin the discussion of the objects with a basic definition of the word talisman in Arabic and its relationship to the vocabulary of talismans.

**THE DICTIONARY/ENCYCLOPEDIC DEFINITION OF TALISMAN**

One begins by searching for the word “talismān” ṭilsām in Lane’s *Arabic-English Lexicon* and *Encyclopedia of Islam*. In both sources, it is noted that the Arabic word ṭilsām has a Greek origin. Bosworth, Ruska and Carra de Vaux define it as:

> An inscription with astrological and other magic signs or an object covered with such inscriptions, especially also with figures from the zodiacal circle or the constellations and animals which were used as magic charms to protect and avert the evil eye. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of such charms.

Thinking about this definition, and before delving into the world of primary written sources, a visual representation might be useful. Excellent examples are the small amulets and talismans represented in a recent publication by Venetia Porter. Another instance that is worth mentioning—a brass tray from Mamluk Egypt made for the Rasulids in Yemen that was used to carry food—contains two bands of inscription, a number of circular friezes with animals, the

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26 *EI* online, “Tilsam,” ([C.E Bosworth], J. Ruska and B. Carra de Vaux).

twelve signs of the zodiac, their lunar mansions, and the sun placed at the center (fig. 58).\textsuperscript{28} Among the miniscule amulets, the large trays, and the paper examples studied in great detail in this thesis, the fluidity of the definition of the talisman is understood.

With a visual representation in mind, the concept of \textit{gnosis} in the above definition of talisman needs further clarification. First, the power of a talisman is found in the hidden power of the prayers and symbols on its surface. “Secret knowledge,” or hidden knowledge, is \textit{gnosis} for the Greeks and \textit{ḥikmah} for the Arabs.\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Gnosis} begins with the transmission of Hermetic knowledge into Arabic sources.\textsuperscript{30} A \textit{mujtahid} (learned person) is able to acquire this kind of hidden knowledge.\textsuperscript{31} Secret knowledge was transmitted via Hermes, the Greek god who was the patron of alchemists, astrologers, and physicists—those who “manipulated the hidden powers of natural substances.”\textsuperscript{32} However, via the Abbasid scholars of the time of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809), Hermes was re-identified as the grandson of Adam and sometimes as the Prophet Idris. Persian and Egyptian renditions of Greek knowledge were hybridized into the Arabic sources.\textsuperscript{33} As Francis E. Peters asserts, the eighth-century Abbasid scholars “were well versed in Persian,

\begin{itemize}
\item[30] Ibid., pp. 55-85.
\item[31] Ibid., p. 56.
\item[32] Ibid., p. 57.
\item[33] Ibid., pp. 59-61.
\end{itemize}
Indian, and Greek astronomy, astrology, medicine, and alchemy.” In fact, Hermetic knowledge and *gnosis* were probably transmitted from pre-Islamic groups settled in the region. It developed, changed, and was recomposed into an Islamic occult and mystical theory.

In the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim, Hermeticism was linked to the Shi‘i Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣadiq (d. 765). Once Hermeticism was combined with the holiness of Imam Ja‘far, it played a role in *tanasukh* (transmigration of the soul) and the Shi‘ite idea of the fusing of the soul with the Imam. This continued practice of understanding knowledge becomes part of the theories of the tenth-century Ismaili Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (Brethren of Purity). The Ikhwān, via their *rasā’il* (epistles), were translating and analyzing Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Euclid, and Ptolemy with a theological Islamic interpretation. As for their fifty-second *risāla* on the occult, a different synthesis is put forward: one that originates from the Sabians of Harran and includes Hermes as a prophet.

The Sabians are important to the discussion of the occult because they believed in the power of God through astrology and alchemy. The two most important Sabians were Thabit b. Qurrah (d. 901), who translated Greek and Syriac scientific texts into Arabic for the Abbasid Caliph Mu‘tadid (r. 892-902); and Thabit’s son, Sinan, who was “in charge of the licensing of

34 Ibid., p. 62.
36 Ibid., pp. 55-85.
37 Ibid., p. 66.
38 Ibid., p. 67.
39 Ibid., pp. 67-8. Ikhwān, *Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā*’4:443. See also *EI* online, “Ahl Al-Kitāb” (G. Vajda) and “Ḥarrān” (G. Fehravari).
The Sabians believed in a creator God, remote in his transcendence. He is the One in his essence but is likewise present by infusion in other spiritual beings who are his creatures, whether the angels or the souls of men.

Seven of the divine spiritual beings who are not mixed with matter were assigned the direction of the planets. Although the Sabians called the planets the “temples” of spiritual beings, these divine beings did not inhabit them in the manner of souls or inherent forms but ruled them from without, while the planets in turn directed the rest of the material universe. The universe is the meeting place of the goodness of light—the One God has identified with the Light of the Sabians—and the evil of darkness. The human soul is consubstantial with the divine beings but does not always realize its powers because of its mixture, as form with matter, with the material universe.

I find the above theory of God and planets as “temples” of spiritual beings to be fascinating. As it will be demonstrated in Chapter One, both the Ikhwān al-Safā and al-Bunī illustrate that the planets, lunar mansions, and zodiac signs are essential players in an occult theory and are seen as spiritual beings. Ultimately, the philosophy creates a methodology of understanding God while assisting a person through the tribulations of daily life.

TALISMANIC SCROLLS: THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Having highlighted the scope of the sources on the occult and definitions above, the question becomes: How does one tackle the subject of talismanic scrolls? I have divided the study into four different, yet inter-connected, avenues. I begin with a discussion of the theory of the occult that is not a history of all the various sources that maybe studied because other scholars have

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41 Ibid., p. 70.
covered this. Chapter One is an in-depth study of two very important and historically relevant sources: the Ikhwān’s epistle on magic from Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’ and al-Bunī’s Shams al-ma’ārif. The Ikhwān al-Safā’ are pertinent as they synthesize the knowledge of their time with an understanding of the Greek transmission of knowledge and the religious stance on the occult, be it the Torah, Bible or the Qur’ān. Ultimately for the Ikhwān, siḥr (magic) is connected to an understanding of God. As for al-Bunī, he is one of the most important Mamluk sources on īlm al-huruf (science of letters). He was writing at time of “profound transformation,” a time when Ibn al-ʿArabi was writing and the foundation of Sufism was being established. In fact, one can state that al-Bunī came from a similar tradition as Ibn al-ʿArabi and he, too, created a theory of the practice of the occult that is also founded on Neo-Platonic philosophy and Islamic theology.

This tension between the occult theory, theology, and practices of devotion can be understood if one reads al-Bunī and later interpretations of al-Bunī in, for example, a Timurid and Ottoman context. Both the Timurids and the Ottomans were reading al-Bunī. Regarding

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42 Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” p. iv. See Chapters One, Two, and Three of his dissertation. He discusses the theories of magic, science, and religion, which are then followed by the Islamic perspectives on magic listing all the pertinent sources that predate al-Bunī.


45 Ibid.

46 Regarding the Ottoman context, I would like to thank Gülru Necipoğlu and Andras Reidelmeyer for providing me with a copy of the microfilm of the inventory of Bayezid II’s library. Asmaʾ kutub al-khazinah al-ʿamirah Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (ms. Török F 59), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Fine Arts Library Microfilm 157. It is currently in the process of being published as a Muqarnas supplement as part of an “interdisciplinary group project to be edited” by Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell Fleischer. For full bibliographic information regarding this source please
the Ottoman context, a number of manuscripts by al-Bunī are catalogued in Bayezid II (1481-1512) library’s inventory. These works were classified or cataloged in the *du‘a* (supplication) section and not within the *sihr* (magic) section. The classification of al-Bunī within a devotional context is fascinating as it illustrates the fine line between a theory of the occult and theology. Under the Timurids, the science of letters developed into a sophisticated science linked to a movement that intertwined Sufism and Shi‘ism known as *Hurūfiyya* (Letterism). The treatises developed under the Timurids emphasized the centrality of the science of letter as a science that understands the cosmos and is rooted in an understanding of the Qur‘ān. In my analysis of al-Bunī’s text, it becomes apparent that continuous supplication to God through the letters of the alphabet and the Qur‘ān is an essential part of ‘ilm al-ḥuruf (science of letters). The question then becomes: How are these theories manifest as a physicality within the scrolls? And, as I continued into Chapters Two and Three and the investigation of the scroll proper, the centrality of devotion and ‘ilm al-ḥuruf becomes apparent.

Thus, Chapters Two and Three are concerned with the material and historical evidence of the scroll. The scrolls I study in Chapter Two are the block-printed talismanic and pilgrimage scrolls from a Fatimid and Ayyubid context. I put forward that both the Fatimid block-printed talismanic scrolls and the Ayyubid talismanic and pilgrimage scrolls come form a culture of

see: Gülru Necipoğlu, “Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople,” *Muqarnas* 29, [2012]: 1-81, p. 57. As for the Timurids and the importance of al-Bunī and other scholars of the occult, I would like to thank Justin Stearns for sharing the following article: Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics,” in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* ed. Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 248-278.


piety and devotion. Conceptually, the scrolls are related: The pilgrimage culture is continuously part of the talismanic culture. Chapter Two is a foundation of the history of the talismanic scroll; I do not consider the centrality of the Qurʾān and the science of letters until Chapter Three. The focus of Chapter Three is an in-depth investigation of both the text and images on two unpublished Mamluk scrolls from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah. These scrolls evolved from the block-printed scrolls discussed in Chapter Two into their own genre and echo the theories I discuss in Chapter One. Through the use of the Qurʾān and prayers, it becomes apparent that a template for the construction of the talismanic scrolls is established under the Mamluks that is different from the scrolls I studied from a Fatimid and Ayyubid context. As is evident in both the catalogue of this thesis and in Chapter Three, the two Mamluk scrolls have a clear beginning, middle, and end. There are visual, textual, and spatial overlaps. This chapter ventures into unchartered territory and is an original contribution to the field. These scrolls are both talismanic and devotional in the structure of the prayers and the language; and illustrate the practice of the science of letters. Once the materiality of the scrolls is understood, I venture into the fourth avenue of research: Are these scrolls efficacious?

In the fourth chapter, I discuss the efficacy of the language of the prayers found on these scrolls and what constitutes “licit” practices of the occult. I use theories of linguistic anthropology and return to the primary sources. I investigate Ibn al-Nadim and Ibn Khaldun, both of whom both developed theories of licit magic. Supplementing this discussion, I compare the Arabic Islamic talismanic scroll to the Jewish talismanic scrolls; and theorize that the Jewish, Byzantine, and Islamic cultures were developing a theory of the occult that builds on each other. Lastly, I created and include a catalogue with a full description of the talismanic scrolls studied along with two metalwork cases. In addition, two kinds of appendices are included that assist the
reader in understanding the language and structure of the scrolls: One is a table of the relevant terms the reoccur across the talismanic scrolls, the other is a diagram of the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls.

Ultimately, through this thesis, it becomes clear that the physicality of the word of God, and the visual layout of the text be it block-printed, or hand written work together to empowers these scrolls.
CHAPTER ONE: TİLSĀM, AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRIMARY WRITTEN SOURCES

This chapter presents a detailed investigation of two Arabic primary sources—the tenth-century epistles of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and the treatise of al-Bunī (d. 1225)—and how they classify talismans. The purpose of this chapter is to create a theory of the occult for the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. The talismanic scrolls and objects presented in this dissertation come from a tenth through fourteenth-century eastern Mediterranean context, including Iraq and Syria, and are related to the two written sources which provide a means of interpreting these material objects. I have chosen the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ because it is the primary evidence for the transmission of Greek-Hermetic knowledge to the Islamic context where it served as the foundation of licit magic. al-Bunī’s text is important because he provides a theory of practice through ‘ilm al-hurūf (the science of letters). In modern scholarship, he is often considered the ultimate source on the occult.49

There are many other sources, including the well-known texts by the prolific court astrologers al-Majriti (d. 1007) from Cordoba, and Ibn Zunbl (d. 1574) from Cairo. I discuss court astrology in Chapter Three. This chapter offers a detailed analysis of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and al-Bunī who illustrate that a theory of the occult is connected to an ascetic knowledge of God. Their theories help unravel the mysteries found in the talismanic objects. They illuminate why certain chapters of the Qurʿān, prophetic stories, and prayers are privileged over others. As

will be demonstrated, the two theories offered by these texts also explain why lunar mansions and images of the zodiac occur on talismanic objects.

**IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ’ (10TH CENTURY)**

Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ wa Khillan al-Wafā (The Brethren of Purity and the Friends of Loyalty) is the pseudonym adopted by the tenth-century scholars who are rumored to have been based in Basra. The consensus among most scholars is that they were Shi’ites with an Isma’ili affiliation. Regardless of their religious sect, their oeuvre is an important contribution to Islamic ‘ilm (science) and was widely disseminated in Sunnī circles as well. More importantly, it is their discussion and classification of talismans within the context of ‘ilm that sets the tone for this chapter and the dissertation as a whole.

The fifty-two epistles making up the *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafā’* are a highly detailed encyclopedic investigation of ‘ilm. Based on research done on extant manuscripts of the *Rasāʾil*, there are four parts to the text which sometimes contain fifty, fifty-one, or fifty-two epistles. The four parts, in ascending order, are: *Rasāʾil riyāḍiyya taʾlīmiyya* (mathematical sciences); *Rasāʾil jismāniyya ṣabīʿiyya* (natural sciences); *Rasāʾil nafsāniyya ʿaqliyya* (physical sciences).

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51 Ibid., pp. 1-32.


and intellective sciences); and *Rasāʾil nāmūsiyya ilāhiyya* (legal and theological sciences). The fourth part, *Rasāʾil nāmūsiyya ilāhiyya*, contains the fifty-first or fifty-second epistle on *sihr* (magic) and occult theory.

However, before discussing the contents of the epistle on occult theory, it is important to understand how the above divisions of *ʿilm* in the *Rasāʾil* occurred. Based on the research completed by Godefroid de Callataï, within the fifty-two epistles there are two different divisions of *ʿilm*: one is the larger division of the four volumes of text; the other is the division of *ʿilm* in epistle seven. The scribes who copied the *Rasāʾil* most likely put forward the current order of the four volumes. The four divisions are incorporated into the current printed edition. As a way of understanding the classification of science as perceived by the Ikhwān, de Callataï took a close look at the seventh epistle and how science was organized into three categories: “the propaedeutic sciences (learning and training), the religious sciences, philosophical sciences” and then juxtaposes it against the current order of the epistles.

Magic and talismans are an essential part of the Ikhwān’s tripartite division of science in epistle seven. In fact, magic and talismans are categorized in the first category of propaedeutic sciences as part of the basic skills of life, such as writing and reading, language and grammar, calculation and operations. Another important category, which includes the occult, is the

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54 Ibid., p.14.
56 Ibid., p. 77.
57 Ibid., p. 63.
58 Ibid., p. 62.
59 Ibid., p. 63.
religious sciences which consist of the science of dream interpretation and the science of revelation.\textsuperscript{60} Magic, talismans, and dream interpretation are all part of the occult sciences. The occult was a science that was used in everyday life and this was not a unique proposition made by the Ikhwān, but it was a part of the medieval classification of science more broadly. A similar organization may be found in al-Kindi (d. c. 866) and al-Farabi (d. 950).\textsuperscript{61} However, for the purpose of this dissertation, the contents of the Ikhwān’s fifty-first or fifty-second epistle on sihr (magic) is the focus. As will be noted in the following section, the transmission of sihr as a science was inherited from Greek knowledge but proof of this science was also found in scripture, be it the Qur’ān, Bible, or Torah. Therefore, the following section presents an understanding of science as it is conveyed in the selected primary written sources. It will unravel some of the mysteries of material evidence, including the talismanic scrolls.

\textbf{IKHWĀN AL- AFĀ’ – FIFTY-FIRST EPISTLE}

The title of the epistle based on the 1983 Beirut-printed edition reads: \textit{Min al-‘ulūm al-nāmūsiyah wa al-shar’īyah fī mā hiyā al-sihr wa al-‘azā’im wa al-‘ayn} (On the Sanctioned Secret Sciences and they are Magic, Exorcism, and the Evil Eye).\textsuperscript{62} The epistle begins with the

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., p. 63.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., pp. 58-82.

\textsuperscript{62} Ikhwān al-Safā’, \textit{Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’}, 4:283. The translation of the title is my own and is based on researching words in various dictionaries. See also Seyyed Hossein Nasr, \textit{An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwān Al-Ṣafā’}, \textit{Al-Biruni, and Ibn Sina} (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).
formulaic *basmala* and states that this is the last epistle in the fourth section. It is numbered fifty-one and it incorporates *sihr* (magic) and a methodology for creating *ṭilsāmat* (talismans).  

*Sihr* is considered to be one of the sciences passed down from the ancient scientists. More importantly, it is one of the last sciences of *al-ḥikmah*, or *gnosis* for the Greeks; and the science of *nujūm* (astrology) is central to its understanding. The science of astrology consists of twelve horoscopes, nine spheres, and 1,029 stars. The stars are angels, *jinn* (spirits), and *shayātīn* (demons) and they are God’s caliphs: *Khulafā’* *Allah*. They have the ability to rule the worlds and that is why it is important to know this science. This theory was transmitted from Ptolemy and the Greeks.

The division of the occult sciences is broken into five parts. However, before listing the five divisions, the Ikhwān further authorize the knowledge of astrology by quoting a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad and a verse from the Qur’ān. The Qur’ān passage is from *Al-Ḥadid* (57:23): “That is so that you will not be grieved about the things that pass you by or exult about

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63 Ikhwān al-Safā’, *Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’,* 4:284.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid. Please refer to the introduction for a discussion of the relationship between *ḥikmah* and *gnosis*.


68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., 4:286.
the things that come to you. Allah does not love any vain or boastful man.”

These two quotes remind the reader that true happiness is in the afterlife despite the power of the occult in this world.

The occult sciences are divided into five categories: chemistry, astrology, the science of magic and talismans, medicine, and tajrīd (cleansing of the soul). For each category, the Ikhwān provide a descriptive sentence about that particular science. Chemistry, they state, removes poverty and discovers adversity. Astrology is the knowledge of what is and what is to be. Magic and talismans protect the kings and the angels who follow the science of astrology. Medicine protects bodies and prevents sickness. The fifth, ‘ilm al-tajrīd (cleansing of the soul), allows the nafs (soul) to understand itself. Lastly, the Ikhwān end by returning to the focal point of the Risāla (epistle): the talismans. After associating talismans with the science of astrology, the Ikhwān list the benefits of talismans: protection from timsāḥ (crocodiles), baqq (bugs), hayāt (snakes), ‘aqārīb (scorpions), zanābīr (wasps), and many other things. This is crucial to understanding the material evidence of both works on paper and metalwork. Although it is impossible to say that an artisan who is creating a talisman is reading Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, it is implied that talismans were everywhere and there is an implicit fear of the unknown. Therefore,

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73 Ibid., 4:286.

74 Ibid. The text does not refer to specific talismans at this point in time, just that they are sought for protection (see below).
it is no surprise that one of the scrolls studied in this thesis (LNS 12 MS) has a specific section for protection from snakes and scorpions (fig. 27).

Following the points stated above, the Ikhwān contextualize their claim that talismans and *sihr* (magic) are *ʿilm* (science) via five sources: 1. Plato; 2. a story from the court of al-Maʾmun (r. 813-33), and verses from scripture; 3. the Qurʾān; 4. the Bible, and; and 5. the Torah. What is interesting about this section is that it legitimizes the practice of magic and illustrates its materiality through its embodiment in talismans. Beginning with Plato, one starts to visualize the power of a talismanic object. According to the Ikhwān, they state that they are transmitting a story from the second article of Plato’s *Politics*, which takes place in Gorgias, a place in Europe. A herder is walking his goats after rain and an earthquake. He comes upon an earthquake fault. He descends into the fault and finds an amazing object: a horseman made from *nuḥās* (brass or copper) holding a trident. Within the crevasse of the horseman is a *khātim dhahab* (gold ring); the herder takes the gold ring and leaves the earthquake fault. Later, while sitting with his herder friends, he taps on the ring. The herder disappears and becomes a *faṣṣa* (stone of the signet ring). His fellow herdors were oblivious to this and he was able to listen to their conversations. He taps the ring again and emerges from the ring. The herder, armed with this ability, becomes friendly with a number of *rusūl* (Prophets), gets close to the King, and then kills him. Of course, the story ends with a moral twist; the herder becomes the King. The most remarkable part is that the Ikhwān use this to illustrate that a talisman is part of Plato’s political

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76 Ibid., 4:287-88. The story is from the second book of Plato’s *Republic* that carries the Greek title for this dialogue, *Politeia*. Hence, the Ikhwān states it is from Plato’s *Politics*. I would like to thank Marden Nichols and Carey Seal for the exact reference from Plato. See section 359c-360b of Plato’s *Republic*: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=plat.+rep.+2.359c
text. Therefore, ṭilsāmat are part of court culture and politics. And those who do not believe in the power of a talisman are lazy and are not interested in learning this knowledge.

The next account is a perfect transition from the above concepts of kingship; it takes place in the Abbasid court of al-Ma'mun (r. 813-33). It was transmitted via Abu Ma'shar the astronomer (d. 834) and other astronomers in his court. Al-Ma’mun is holding court and there is a man who claims he has a prophecy. Al-Ma’mun gathers all the judges and astronomers and asks the astronomers to validate this man’s prophecy by looking at the planets. This man has a ring with two stones and whoever puts on this ring will laugh uncontrollably. This man also has a qalam shānī (pen from Kufa), with which he can write, but if someone else touches the pen that person is unable to write. According to the astronomers, this man was manipulating the objects via the planets and it is an example of ʾilāj al-ṭilsamāt (healing of talismans). Al-Ma’mun then uses this ring and pen and gives this man a thousand dinars. Later, the man who owns the ring and pen becomes one of the most renowned astrologers. Of course, the Ikhwān do not reveal the identity of this astrologer.

After a current historical account of the use of talismans, the Ikhwān move to narratives from scripture: the Qurʾān, Bible, and Torah. The verses from the Qurʾān are ones that narrate the story of the Prophets Solomon and Moses. They are proof of the sanctioned use of siḥr (magic). Solomon had the power to speak to the jinn and there are various stories about Moses’

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77 Ibid., 4:289-90.
abilities in the court of the Pharaoh. Nevertheless, besides the known legends of Solomon and Moses, a vital part of the authorized use of magic is in the legends they recount from the Bible and the Torah. The Ikhwān inform their readers that the stories they are disseminating are from Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic sources.

One of the stories that they narrate stands out in particular. It is the tale of a hunter named ‘Iṣu b. Ishāq. Whenever he hunted, he encountered Ibn Nimrod b. Kin’ān and he was always successful in hunting. The reason that Ibn Nimrod was a successful hunter is because he wore the shirt Adam wore when he was expelled from Heaven. On this shirt every animal is depicted, and if Adam wanted an animal, all he would do is touch the picture of the animal on the shirt. Therefore, Ibn Nimrod, like Adam, would just point to the animal he wanted on the shirt and it would be caught. ‘Iṣu b. Ishāq, to prove his hunting skills, asked Ibn Nimrod to wrestle him while not wearing the shirt, and the winner of the wrestling match would win the shirt. ‘Iṣu won the wrestling match and wore Adam’s shirt and then began to capture whatever animal he desired. The Ikhwān convey the power of this relic and how this tale, and others from

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79 Encyclopedia of the Qur’ān online, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, (Washington DC: Brill Online) [henceforth EQ online] For the role of Solomon and Moses in the Qur’ān please see EQ online: “Solomon” (P. Soucek) and “Moses” (C. Schöck).

80 Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ, 4:290-1.


82 Note this is not the full story of Adam’s shirt. Please read: Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ, 4:290-1.
the Torah, contributes to the understanding that sihr (magic) and tilsāmat (talismans) were a form of ʿilm. Thinking about Adam’s shirt recalls the talismanic shirts that exist in various collections across the world.\(^8\)

In addition to the stories from scripture, the diffusion of the occult comes from the Greeks who got it from the Syriacs who transmitted it from the Egyptians. The latter transmitted it from the four leaders ʿĀdimāyūn, Hermes, Lomihris, and ʿArāṭus.\(^8^4\) The Ikhwān focus on the diffusion of magic from Hermes.\(^8^5\)

Hermetic knowledge, according to the Ikhwān, along with the movement of the stars, was passed down via asḥāb al-ṭilsāmat (companions of the talismans).\(^8^6\) They divided worldly matter into seven planets. Rotating among the spheres are beings that do not have bodies but live between this world and Heaven. The good beings are angels and the evil ones are demons. Asḥāb al-ṭilsāmat designated a duʿā (prayer) for each one of them. In addition, there are beings that are related directly to the planets, and other beings dwell in human bodies. Those who

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\(^8^5\) See EI online, “Hirmis,” (M. Plessner).

\(^8^6\) Ikhwān, *Rasāʿ il ikhwān al-ṣafāʿ*, 4:296-305.
produce talismans have the ability to understand all these beings. Therefore, it is important to understand astrology in order to create talismans.\(^7\)

This knowledge was transmitted from the Greeks. For each planet or star, they created a *haykal* (shape/votive offering) that had a specific property and was able to shift matters in a certain way. In addition, the talisman/votive offering that was created for a particular star or planet was celebrated every year. Therefore, a person or a city seeking refuge or assistance would create a specific *haykal* (shape) for that planet. The Ikhwān list the various planets, angels, and their shapes; and these shapes can be found in *kutub aḥkām al-nujūm* (books on the “decrees of the stars”).\(^8\) In fact, each planet has a shape made from *ṭīn ahmar* (red clay) and a specific incense assigned to it. For example, the sun has ‘ūd (wood), Saturn has al-mī‘ah (a beautiful perfume), and Venus has za‘farān (saffron).\(^9\) Besides the shapes and scents for the stars, certain planets or stars required some form of sacrifice. This was all transmitted via Plato.

This type of knowledge of creating votives and sacrifices is part of *rūḥ al-kihāna* (spirit of divination) and *bayt al-sirr* (house of secrets).\(^10\) The laws and proofs of this knowledge are divided into four parts: the *ṭibb* (science of medicine), *kīmiyā‘* (chemistry), *nujūm* (astrology/astronomy), and *ṭīlsāmat* (talismans). According to the Ikhwān, talismans, the fourth type of knowledge, protects kings.\(^11\) More important, kings are able to understand the angels through talismans. The knowledge of talismans and the three other types of science (medicine,

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\(^7\) Ibid., 4:299

\(^8\) Ibid., 4:301, *EI* online, “Nudjūm (Aḥkām al-),” (T. Fahd).


\(^11\) Ikhwān, *Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’,* 4:305.
chemistry, astronomy/astrology) are not intended for the common person but only for the learned and people who are able to read the politics of Plato. In other words, the Ikhwān reconnect the original Platonic story cited above to ethics and the science of talismans.\(^\text{92}\) A talisman should not be used to kill a king and gain a throne.\(^\text{93}\) The connection between kingship and talismans is one that is central to understanding the construction of talismans. Astrology, medicine, kingship, and talismans are interconnected because they inherited the secrets from the gods.

Having traced the origins of siḥr (magic) and tilsāmat (talismans) to ancient knowledge and sciences, the Ikhwān then proceed to give a list of proven talismans. However, they preface the section by saying that it is impossible to list all of them in one risāla (epistle).\(^\text{94}\) They state that the strongest ruqya (a magical incantation in the form of prayers), 'azā'im (exorcism), wāhm (hallucination), and zijr (divination) have been witnessed via medical prescriptions and drugs used to treat the body.\(^\text{95}\)

Another form of medicine listed in particular books includes medical stones, like magnetic stones made of iron, along with plants and other recipes. The Ikhwān contextualize their proof by stating that the various kinds of magic can be found in the books on philosophy and religion and their effects are seen on humans and animal souls.\(^\text{96}\)

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\(^\text{92}\) See footnote 69.

\(^\text{93}\) Ikhwān, Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā', 4:306.

\(^\text{94}\) Ibid., 4:306.

\(^\text{95}\) Ibid., 4:307.

\(^\text{96}\) Ibid., 4:308. Please note that according to the Ikhwān, the occult sciences are divided into five categories: chemistry, astrology, the science of magic and talismans, medicine, and tajrīd (cleansing of the soul).
There is a hierarchy of souls and talismans. The hierarchy comes as no surprise because it relates to the Ikhwān’s concept of creation. There are nine “states of being” that translate into the decimal cycle. The Ikhwān believe in Pythagorean numbers which means that numbers have both qualitative and quantitative states. Numbers are related to the afterlife and help a person understand God. Seyyed Hossein Nasr outlines the list of numbers for the Ikhwān as:

1. Creator - who is one, simple, eternal, and permanent.
2. Intellect (‘aql) - which is of two kinds: innate and acquired.
3. Soul (nafs) - which has three species: vegetative, animal, and rational
4. Matter (hayūlā’) - which is of four kinds: matter of artefacts, physical matter, universal matter, and original matter.
5. Nature (ṭabī‘ah) - which is of five kinds: celestial nature and the four elemental natures.
6. Body (jism) - which has six directions: above, below, front, back, left and right.
7. The sphere - which has seven planets.
8. The elements - which have eight qualities, those being in reality the four qualities combined by two:
   - Earth - cold and dry
   - Water - cold and wet
   - Air - warm and wet
   - Fire - warm and dry
9. Beings of this world - which are the mineral, plant, and animal kingdoms, each having three parts.

This list, as translated by Nasr, and the significance of the numbers to different parts of creation, is important for the understanding of the Ikhwān’s hierarchy of magic. Each type of magic is assigned to a specific type of soul.

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98 Ibid., p. 51.
99 Ibid., p. 48.
100 Ibid., p. 50.
101 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
The Hierarchy of Magic: Zijr, Ruqyā, ‘Azā’im, and Nashir

First of all, keeping in mind the above hierarchy of creation, the Ikhwān state that al-nafs al-nāṭiqa (human soul) influences al-nafs al-hayawānīh (animal soul) via the practice of zijr (divination, which is specified for animals). They state zijr is used to control horses, mule, donkeys, camels, cows, and goats. Ruqyā (magic incantation related to prayers) influences the souls of snakes, scorpions, and wasps, as well as the insane. It is important to note that ruqyā affects both the animal and human soul. The Ikhwān contextualize and authorize their text by quoting two hadiths attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that state that magic and the evil eye are a reality of life. In other words, it offers proof that ruqya (magical incantation in the form of prayers), ‘azā’im (exorcism), and nashir (a kind of prayer for the insane) are intended for animal souls. As for the proof that magic should be used on nonhuman souls: it is a knowledge practiced by al-ḥukmā’ al-muṭahirūn (the pure rulers). One example of a pure ruler is al-Masīḥ (Jesus). He was known not to pass a rock, tree, or anything without talking to it or knowing the function of its soul. To understand the truth behind magic is to understand the truth of the nafs (soul), be it human or animal.

102 Ikhwān, Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:308.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid., 4:309.
105 Ibid., 4:310-311.
106 Ikhwān, Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:311.
107 Ibid.
Bayān ḥaqīqat al-sīḥr wa ghayrīh (The Truth of and Explication of Magic)\textsuperscript{108}

The first part of the epistle of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, described above, proved that magic was a science and that it had a relationship to the soul. The second part is titled Bayān ḥaqīqat al-sīḥr wa ghayrīh (The Truth of and Explication of Magic).\textsuperscript{109} This section begins by stating that sīḥr (magic) is an Arabic word and should be considered a fann (an art and or craft). And like most crafts, the practice of magic comes with its rules, which encompass the science of falak (astrology/astronomy), kihāna, zījr, and fāl.\textsuperscript{110} This is crucial because here one finds evidence that talismans and the science of astrology are interconnected. Therefore, it is no surprise that particular objects, such as bowls, trays and inkwells, carry astrological depictions and benedictory prayers side by side (fig. 58).\textsuperscript{111}

Besides the existence of magic in Arabic, the Ikhwān state that it is a universal word and may be found in a variety of languages.\textsuperscript{112} In the Qur’ān and hadith, sīḥr has a relationship with the prophets and their miracles. Most prophets—Moses, for example—are accused of being poets or magicians. Eventually, the intellect and soul of the human being is able to see the truth

\textsuperscript{108} This section is a paraphrase and analysis of Ikhwān, Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:15-28.

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 4:312

\textsuperscript{110} EI online, “Fa’il,” and “Kihana” (T. Fahd).


\textsuperscript{112} This paragraph is from Ikhwān, Rasā’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:312-5.
behind Moses being a prophet and what is *halāl* (licit) magic. However, the mind and souls that are *bāṭil* (false) are not able to distinguish between licit and illicit magic. Therefore, the magic that is mentioned in the Qurʾān is true magic; and those learned in the Qurʾānic sciences understand this.

**Hārūt and Mārūt: Fallen Angels**

The next part of the Ikhwān traces the origin of magic from God through a tale about a King and his vizier from Persia. The King lived a good life, but one day he got sick and desired death. The vizier called all the doctors, astrologers, and diviners before him, and it was established that there were two parts to his disease. One part affected his soul and the other his body. The body of the king was weak and he had lost his appetite. As for his soul, he acted like a lover who missed his beloved. The doctor tried to cure him with medication. However, his illness was like a fire that could not be extinguished.

Instead, the vizier decided to pray for the king and increased the *duʿā* (invocation) for him. The vizier was guided by his prayers and asked the king how his ailment began and what had triggered his illness. Once the king was asked this question, the king stated that he had been waiting for a person to ask him this question. The king proceeds by sharing a dream: He was at court and all were bowing down to him except for a beautiful young man who looked at him with contempt. The king was puzzled by this man and asked him: “Who are you?” The man replied:

113 See above regarding the intellect and soul in the Ikhwān’s theory of numbers.

114 This paragraph is a paraphrase and translation of Ikhwān, *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, 4:316-328.

115 Ibid., 4:317. It is fascinating that the Ikhwān break down the ailments of the King further. The soul has two parts: intellect and desires. The body also has two parts: hot and dry, the other cold and humid.
“O! You poor conceited King. You are not a *malik* (King) but a *mamluk* (slave).” And the man continued to insult the King while he flew into the sky and started walking on air. This is why the king was sick. Once the vizier heard about the king’s dream, he realized that he needed to get the *shaykh* (religious leader).

The *shaykh* heard the dream, and he knew immediately that this dream was about the oneness of God. However, he asked the vizier to go to a wise man from India who lived below the equator. This man knew the mystery of the dream and the secret behind it. As the king was too weak to travel, the *shaykh* wrote a letter to this man. Once the letter was written, the king was able to eat again and his fever subsided.

The wise man received the letter. He gathered his twelve students and read the letter, and then asked two of his students to travel to the king. Once the students reached the king, the wise man stated that they needed to teach him *al-ʿilm al-riyāḍī* (the training sciences), and *al-ʿilm al-ilāḥī* (divine sciences). He warned his students to be careful of the temptations of the *dunyā* (world) and the web of *Iblīs* (Satan). If the students were tempted by Satan, then their human souls would turn into animal souls and eventually become satanic souls. The wise man wrote back to the *shaykh* and sent his two students.

The students reached the court of the king. He learned the training sciences from one student and the divine sciences from another. He offered the two students a reward for their

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116 de Callataÿ, “The Classification of Knowledge in the Rasail,” pp. 58-82. The exact meaning of *al-ʿilm al-riyāḍī* is a bit confusing in this paragraph of the Ikhwān. It could mean the science of mathematics or it could mean the training sciences. I think it means the training sciences which as translated by de Callataÿ as: 1. writing, reading; 2. language and grammar; 3. calculation and operation; 4. poetry and prosody; 5. auguries and auspices, and the like; 6. magic, talismans, alchemy, mechanical devices and the like; 7. professions and crafts; 8. sales and purchases, trades, cultivation, and breeding; and 9. the study of campaigns and history. In other words, the Ikhwān are going to prove the existence of magic via the learning of these two types of all-encompassing sciences/forms of knowledge: *al-ʿilm al-riyāḍī* (the training sciences) and *al-ʿilm al-ilāḥī* (divine sciences).
work: to rule the king’s dominion. The students, tempted by the offer, accepted it. The king made the student who taught him the divine sciences rule the kingdom and the student who taught him the training sciences head of the government. The shaykh wrote to the wise man and told him of his two students. The wise man was saddened that his students chose the temptation of life and warned the shaykh to stay away from the students. The students, according to the wise man, had the tools of licit magic but were tempted by illicit magic. Meanwhile, the King and his vizier, who gave up their rule, died and were blessed by God. The two students continued to rule the world. It is revealed by the Ikhwān that the two students are Hārūt and Mārūt (the two angels that are misguided).Thinking about this tale, one recalls the Falnama of the Ottoman ruler Ahmed I, where the fallen angels are depicted and become representatives of a bad omen.

The Ikhwān end by recalling the tale of another fallen angel, Iblīs (Satan), and his temptation of Adam and eventual expulsion from Heaven. According to the Ikhwān, this is proof of the work of magic and magicians. In other words, it is implied that fallen angels have the power to activate magic. This recalls the image from the dispersed Falanama from the reign of ruler Shah Tahmasb (r.1524-76).

Doctors, Prophets and Kings: Licit Magic

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117 EQ online, (W. Brinner), “Hārūt and Mārūt.”


119 Ibid., p. 97. A depiction of this image can be found online, the gray-figure is Satan: http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=22227.

120 This section will be on Ikhwān, Rasā‘il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:327-332.
The Ikhwān begin by reminding the readers that God has blessed them with a soul. And reminding the reader of the association of magic with medicine, they quote the famous saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad: “al-ʿilm ʿilm ān, ʿilm al-adyān wa ʿilm al-abdān.” To translate, there are two types of knowledge: religious knowledge and bodily knowledge. The idea of bodily knowledge is most often associated with the importance of Islamic medicine. However, as has been discussed above, ṭibb (medicine) and magic were part of the occult sciences. Therefore, this section of the Ikhwān elaborates on what is sanctioned magic. Licit magic is used for the good of the people and their bodies. Illicit magic is detrimental to the body and soul. Those who use this unsanctioned form of magic, such as the use of poisons and lethal doses of medication, must be persecuted and condemned to death. The Ikhwān remind their readers of the Pharaoh, Moses, and the magicians. With this religious reference, the Ikhwān elaborate that to understand medicine one must read the books of rulers and then understand the science of astrology. Therefore, the science of bodies is learned from the medical stories from the Prophets and kings.

In addition, knowledge and science are learned from divine law along with the morals and ethics found in the stories and deeds of rulers and prophets. These stories teach the soul fear and knowledge of God. The miracles of the prophets and stories of kings are found in the Qurʿān and can be divided into different ethical themes. Some of the miracles are examples of forgiveness while others are of misfortune, such as the stories of Noah’s flood, the wind of Hūd, and the drowning of the Pharaoh.121 The intriguing part of this section is that the Ikhwān compare the knowledge of the prophets to the knowledge of doctors. In other words, the soul and body of a person are protected from harm by knowledge of God and medicine. These stories

121 EQ online, Cobb, “Hūd” and Brinner, “Noah.” Please see the catalogue as Noah is mentioned in both Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah: LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS.
from the Qurʾān are considered divine knowledge. Stories from the doctors and the prophets are important for the understanding of the reality of the occult sciences. The connection between doctors and prophets is that a doctor cures the body while a prophet cures the soul.

**Nijāmah: Astrology and Divination**

Astrology is the last sanctioned form of magic. According to the Ikhwān, it influences the weather, good omens, divination, and talismans. It is important to know the movement of stars at childbirth, and the prediction of other secrets in life. It is a form of knowledge that was used during *jāhiliyāh* (times of infidelity) and was called *zijr* and *kīhāna*. It is a form of magic and is used to create talismans. For the Ikhwān, the moon is the first planet that has the ability to organize all things that are part of ‘ālim al-kawn wa al-fasād (world of generation and corruption). The moon’s illumination is more favorable when it cannot be seen in the sky. They stress the importance of knowing the benefits of the movement of the moon. Each astrological sign along with its relationship to the moon is assigned a specific benefit. For example, when the moon is in Virgo, it is auspicious for writing and literature. If the moon is in Sagittarius, it is beneficial for a sultan or ruler.

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122 Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣaḥāb, 4:332. See above regarding the discussion of the soul.

123 Ibid., 4:333. Both *zijr* and *kīhāna* are forms of divination. See the following paragraph for the transmission of this knowledge.

124 Ibid., 4:335 and see Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, p.66.

125 Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣaḥāb, 4:335.

126 Ibid., 4:338.
The movement and actions of the planets and stars are vital because they are the angels of God. The Ikhwān emphasize that God ordained this knowledge of astrology. This idea of movement of the planets and stars is connected to their concept of the cosmos and soul. As for the various forms of licit magic, be it divination or exorcism, they are regulated by astrology but commanded by the nafs al-ilāhiya (God). As for the transmission of the knowledge of astrology, known as kihāna (divination), it comes from the scientists of India, the rulers of Persia, and the Greeks. As for ziğr, it was transmitted from the Arabs. Lastly, fāl comes from Islam. This illustrates that occult knowledge has both a pre-Islamic Arab and an Islamic basis, thus, it is not a foreign science. Like supplied in an encyclopedia, the Ikhwān have provided the origins of the science of divination. Once the history of the science of divination has been clarified, a specific guide for the first hour of each astrological sign and its benefits, along with the benefits for the various days of the week, is provided.

Along with understanding the soul and the stars, the Ikhwān guides the practitioner of magic on the protocol to approaching questions asked by a potential patron. There are three sides to every question: 1) what is a person asking; 2) what is the intention of the question; and

127 Ibid., 4:339.
128 Ibid., 4:337.
130 Ikhwān, Rasā ’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:340.
131 Ibid., 4:343.
132 Ibid., 4:343-45. As it will be apparent in the investigation of al-Bunī, this section of the Ikhwān has a correlation to al-Bunī’s approach to the astrological signs and planets. However, al-Bunī elaborates in further detail providing specific instructions for the hours and days of the week.
3) what is the best way to tackle a question. Once the logistics of a particular question are tackled, the practitioner must correlate the question to the movement of the moon and sun within their respective lunar mansions. This recalls the centrality of the personification of the moon on a late thirteenth century-early fourteenth century candlestick dedicated to “Zaynab the daughter of the commander of the faithful al-Mahdi li-Din Allah (fig. 59). One can perhaps speculate that Zaynab used to light a candle during a time that was auspicious for the movement of the moon. Similar to the astrological signs, the Ikhwān provide a list of the various lunar mansions and each of their benefits, be it for happiness, childbirth, or fighting enemies. The Ikhwān approach the science of astrology with extreme precision and provide various details about the astrological signs and the planets; and they inform their readers that their intention is to enlighten the mind and soul relating to the oneness of God. The secrets of the science of astrology are as great as 'ilm al-ḫisāb (the science of arithmetic). After all, arithmetic is the essence of the Ikhwān’s first epistle. Most importantly, the science of astrology is a tool used by the practitioner of magic. It is a secret science that is meant to help sultans, rulers, and viziers in times of peace and war.

133 Ibid., 3:353.
136 Ibid., 3:367.
137 EI online, Sabra, “Ilm al- Ḥisāb,”
138 Ibid. For a further investigation of arithmetic and the first epistle, see: El-Bizri, Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The Ikhwān Al-Ṣaḥāʾ and Their Rasail: An Introduction.
139 Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣaḥāʾ, 4:369. As it will become apparent in Chapter Three, the two scrolls at Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) seek God’s assistance for daily life and the afterlife. Particularly interesting are the illustrated sections that occur towards the
Know, oh brother...the essence of the crown, kingship, the beginning of a dominion, and the knowledge of prophetic rule is through knowledge of the moon and its blessed times.\(^{140}\)

Aries, Leo and Sagittarius are identified as especially auspicious for rulers.\(^{141}\)

This connection among magic, astrology and kingship is vital to the analysis of the talismanic scrolls studied in this dissertation. Thinking about kings and their role through the various narratives presented by Ikhwān, it becomes apparent that they are God’s ambassadors after the prophets and angels. More importantly, the Ikhwān emphasize that God will assist the kings just as he assisted his Prophets: Solomon, Moses, the men who ruled in Moses’ name, and the Prophet Muhammad.\(^{142}\) The prophetic stories are narrated from the Qur’ān. In the analysis of the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls, in Chapter Three, it becomes apparent that Moses’ role in the Qur’ān is particularly important.\(^{143}\)

However, the Ikhwān add their own twist by stating that once the Prophet Muhammad became prophet, all the kings and astrologers submitted to him. After all, the Prophet Muhammad ruled over them because he carried the message of God. Since then, the ultimate ruler is God and all kings and sultans of the world must acknowledge this fact.\(^{144}\) This is a theme that is represented on the talismanic scrolls.\(^{145}\) Central to the Ikhwān’s discussion is the end of each of the scrolls that depict various weapons. It is clear that supplication to God at certain times of the day assist in all parts of life be they times of peace or war.

\(^{140}\) Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-safāʾ, 4:369.

\(^{141}\) Ibid., 4:370.

\(^{142}\) Ibid., 4:374-375.

\(^{143}\) Please see Chapter Three and the catalogue for an understanding of the significance of Moses.

\(^{144}\) Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-safāʾ, 4:377.

\(^{145}\) See Chapters Three and Four.
astrologers’ awareness of God’s power, the notion of kingship, and that the science of astrology is a true ʂinā’a (craft/profession) proven in the Qurʾān sūrat al-Wāqi’a (56:76).\textsuperscript{146} After all, rulers are appointed their positions by God. As for those who stray from the path of God and are enthralled by worldly goods, they will be regretful on Judgment Day, as quoted from the Qurʾān Az-Zumar (39:56).\textsuperscript{147}

Continuing with the warning from the Qurʾān, the Ikhwān admonish the reader to be wary of the science of astrology. Although a human body may be similar in shape to that of a prophet, a human soul is unable to distinguish the trickery found in the occult.\textsuperscript{148} A prophet’s soul is not affected like a human’s soul. Because Iblīs acts in a concealed manner, one should be cautious of the power of the science of astrology. Therefore, the next component of the epistle illustrates the benefits of the science of astrology as transmitted from Greek science but reiterating that God regulates the occult.\textsuperscript{149}

The benefits of knowing the stations of the moon, the planets, and the horoscopes appear in abundance. For example, if one wants to know the outcome of a pregnancy, be it a single or twin childbirth, male or female, all one needs to do is consult the horoscopes.\textsuperscript{150} If one wants to know if one is pregnant or if a miscarriage is going to occur, then one can consult the science of astrology. If one wants to know about the coming of a prophet, then one consults the planets and

\textsuperscript{146} Ibid., 4:377-8. Please note that the word ʂinā’a (craft/profession) occurs continuously in the Ikhwān’s discussion of the science of ʃalk (astrology/astronomy).

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 4:380.

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 4:381.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 4:386-387.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 4:388.
stars.\textsuperscript{151} The Ikhwān never forget to mention that the power of this knowledge comes from God and that it is written in the book of God.\textsuperscript{152}

Emphasizing the connection to God, the Ikhwān return to the theme of the body and soul. They reiterate that within this epistle they are only putting forward the foundation of the profession of the science of astrology. The science is divided into two parts: one is beneficial for the body and the other for the soul.\textsuperscript{153} The crafts related to the body are \textit{zāhir} (external) and those related to the soul are \textit{bātin} (internal).

More importantly, the science of astrology cannot be calculated without \textit{ʿilm al-ḥisāb} (science of arithmetic): The relationship between the two sciences is like a king and his vizier.\textsuperscript{154} The king represents the science of arithmetic and the vizier the science of astrology. The text then proceeds to provide examples, in calculations, of the science of astrology that are beneficial in everyday life, such as determining the details of a theft, or deciding on an appropriate time to wage a war, and establishing whether a sick person will recover.\textsuperscript{155} For example, the time to wage a war entails looking at the position of the planet Mars. If it is fixed, then a war may be waged; if it is descending, then it should not be.\textsuperscript{156} The transmission of this information from Greek knowledge is apparent. After all, the planet Mars is the god of war. Yet, the Ikhwān

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 4:391.

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., 4:393.

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 4:395.

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 4:396. \textit{EI} online, Sabra, “ʿIlm al- Ḥisāb”


\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 4:404.
continuously remind the reader that God aids in the science of astrology, and that their purpose is to illustrate the connection between the science of astrology and the science of the occult.\textsuperscript{157}

Ultimately, the Ikhwān demonstrate that sihr (magic) is ḥalāl (sanctioned) and is connected to al-nafs al-kulliya (the Universal Soul) that is aided by the intellect and essentially by God.\textsuperscript{158} God empowered the intellect to understand this science; and God is the ultimate magician.\textsuperscript{159} The ultimate power relates back to God and the Ikhwān authorize their text by quoting a Qur’ānic verse from al-Qaṣaṣ (28:88). The Ikhwān’s epistle on sihr (magic) is connected to the love and the oneness of God.\textsuperscript{160} This is an important point as it is demonstrated in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, that the oneness of God is central element of the talismanic scrolls.

The relationship of astrology to the body is based on Greek knowledge that the Ikhwān transmit from Galen, Aristotle, and other scientists regarding the relationship of the planets to the body. To list a few examples from Galen, the sun is beneficial for the face, heart, and liver. Jupiter helps the bones, and Mercury helps the nerves and veins. They present a full inventory of planets and horoscope signs and their benefits for various body parts.\textsuperscript{161} Besides the connection of the planets to the body, the Ikhwān continue down the hierarchy of beings and their relationship to astrology.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 4:407.

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., 4:408. To understand the relationship of the soul, please see above regarding the Ikhwān’s hierarchy of beings.

\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., 4:409.

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 4:411.

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 4:415.

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., 4:416-423. See above for the discussion of the hierarchy of beings.
The section on plants is the most fascinating because they have a direct relationship to the occult. In particular, there is a tree in the form of a human body that acts as a talisman. If placed in a home, this tree will deter evil spirits. In addition, certain plants contain angels and demons. As mentioned above, angels and demons follow the science of astrology. Angels are found in the chests of believers, and demons are found in the chests of infidels. However, when it comes to the world of minerals and plants, it is not so easy to predict which of them contain angels or demons. Therefore, the Ikhwān warn rulers who have astrologers at their courts to be wary of the magical mixtures that contain plants and minerals since they could induce an external power.

These mixtures have the ability to raise the dead. Therefore, when practicing sihr (magic) one should seek assistance from God. Appropriately, the text quotes the Qur’ānic verse from Al-Baqarah (2:260), which narrates the story of Abraham asking God about the resurrection of the dead. The verse is broken down into a marked voice of God who dictates the recipe for raising the dead. The Ikhwān animate the verse from the Qur’ān and explicate it in further detail from practitioners who have used the recipe to raise the dead. Yet, this is not without a warning. The next example from the Qur’ān is of Qurah who was swallowed up by the earth because he did not use his fortune in the name of God. In other words, the Ikhwān use allegories from the Qur’ān to illustrate methods of licit magic.

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163 Ibid., 4:423.

164 Ibid., 4:425.

165 Ibid., 4:425.


167 Ikhwān, Rasā ’il ikhwān al-ṣafā’, 4:426. EQ online, R. Tottoli, “Korah,”
The intention behind citing these examples from the Qurʾān is to demonstrate God’s relationship to astrology. God is the king of the earth and the skies. The sun is the caliph of God, the planets are each kingdoms that reports to the Sun. As for the moon, it has cycles like those of a human life: it is born, lives and dies. The various mansions of the moon control the effects of magic. Therefore, it is important to note the sanctioned forms of magic: zījr (divination), fāl (divination), ruqya (magical incantation in the form of prayers), ʿazāʾīm (exorcism), creations of seals and the link to spiritual beings, constructions of talismans, the burying of treasure and recovering it, and all other forms known as nīranj (white magic).\textsuperscript{168} Licit magic is dependent on the movement of the moon and with each mansion there are benefits and disadvantages. For example, when the moon is in al-Butayn (the stomach, associated with the stomach of Aries, and the stomach of Cancer), under the influence of Aries, it is appropriate to employ the powers of nīranj (white magic), construct talismans, and appear before the kings. However, during this time, one should neither get married nor conduct activities of commerce. If one has a son during this time, he will be a peaceful person who is secretive; but, if one has a daughter, she will be a shameful and hateful person.\textsuperscript{169} The Ikhwān list the twenty-eight mansions of the moon and the advantages and harms of each one, whether it be constructing talismans, entering on the kings, traveling, getting married, planting a harvest, or other activities of daily life.\textsuperscript{170}

\textsuperscript{168} Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ, 4:427. \textit{EI} online, T. Fahd, “Nīrandj.”

\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., 4:429-430.

\textsuperscript{170} Ikhwān, Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ, 4:429-443.
Continuing on the subject of the moon and sanctioned magic, the Ikhwān write that these astrological secrets have been transmitted from Hermes and the prophet Idrīs. In addition, Hermes instructed his readers to perform white magic between sunset and sunrise because the spirits are alive at this time. The Ikhwān never forget to mention God and that the ultimate power returns to God. After all, God aids the truth behind magic and astrology and his angels are stationed within the various lunar mansions.

Once one knows the tools of nīranj (white magic), one should have clear intentions that are uncorrupted; and the intentions range in content from love, or for an enemy, or to end a contract. According to Hermes, white magic consists of four parts: balanced mixtures, intentionality, spiritual speech, and protection from the evil eye and the harmful hand. They conclude the epistle on an authoritative voice citing four Qur’ānic verses Al-Baqarah (2:256) Yūnus (10:99), Al-Hujurat (49:14) Al-ʿImrān (3:93). Three of the verses fit within the authorized sources used by the Ikhwān and within a religious context. The first verse recognizes the authority of all prophets Al-Baqarah (2:256), in other words, the authority of the allegorical stories used in the epistle from the prophets Idris to Moses. However, it is not enough to recognize these religions. The Ikhwān emphasized that it is important not to hate believers in God Yūnus (10:99), yet it is beneficial to be a Muslim over a believer in another faith Al-Hujurat (49:14). Lastly, the fourth Qur’ānic verse offers an interesting twist Al-ʿImrān (3:93): it plays on the concept of licit and illicit magic. Literally, it addresses the dietary restrictions of the

171 Ibid., 4:443.

172 Ibid., 4:445.

173 Ibid., 4:448-449.

174 Ibid., 4:460.
Jewish faith permitted by the Islamic faith. In other words, it is an allegory for the licit and illicit forms of magic that remind the reader that what is licit in Islam may not be licit in other religions. They conclude their epistle by returning to the theme that rulers are representatives of God and they will know how to use magic. God forbids that a theory of magic falls into the wrong hands.

In conclusion, the theory of magic highlighted by the Ikhwān is one that transmits Greek, Indian, and Persian knowledge yet places it in an Arab and Islamic dialogue. They have clearly identified the practices that are sanctioned. In addition, the Ikhwān have created a hierarchy of magic related to their theory of the soul and body. They continuously place it in a religious context by quoting from the Qurʾān or stating that knowledge of magic is aided by God. There is also a ranking for the practitioners of magic: God himself, prophets as represented in the stories of the books of God, kings or rulers who are caliphs of God, and then doctors whose knowledge is compared to that of prophets. One important component to sanctioned magic is the link to astrology and astronomy. The planets, along with the signs of the zodiac and the moon, predict the exact moment that one can construct a talisman, appear before the kings, or plant a harvest. Therefore, it should come as no surprise to find talismanic scrolls organized through various divisions. One can imagine the practitioner creating each section at an appropriate time that is in line with the movements of the moon. For example, three of the scrolls in this dissertation—two from Dar al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) and one from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M 2002.1.372)—contain various sections that range in subject from ʿdukhūl ʿala al-mulūk (for the entering upon the kings) to Ḥṭāl al-siḥr (for the annulling of
magic) (figs. 17, 22,29, 43,44).\textsuperscript{175} As the theory and practice of magic are not directly correlated, one wonders if the makers of these scrolls were constructing each of these sections at an appropriate time related to the movement of the moon?

\textbf{AL-BUNI (d. 1225)}

Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. Yusuf al-Bunī Taqī al-Dīn Abu al-ʿAbbās al-Qurashī was from Bunnah in what is now Algeria, but lived and died in Mamluk Cairo. According to the scholarship, al-Bunī was best known as a scientist of \textit{ilm ḥurūf} (science of letters); and the “most influential medieval text” on the occult.\textsuperscript{176} It is rumored from his \textit{silsila} (heritage) that his line goes back to the Prophet Muhammad.\textsuperscript{177} Biographical dictionaries are limited in the information they provide about al-Bunī’s enigmatic life.\textsuperscript{178} There are claims that he belonged to the Shadhiliya Sufis, which is a Sunni order; there are also claims that he was a Shi’ite.\textsuperscript{179} Rather than getting

\textsuperscript{175} Please see the catalogue and Chapter Three for a full analysis of the textual content of the scrolls.


\textsuperscript{177} al-Bunī \textit{Shams al- maʾārif} p. 3. Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” p. 97. It is rumored that he is buried in the Qarafa cemetery.

\textsuperscript{178} Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” p. 99.

\textsuperscript{179} Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” p. 102.
entangled in this intractable debate, it is perhaps more important to recognize who al-Bunī read, and who we can identify among his sources.\(^{180}\) Besides the Qur‘ān and hadīth, he read al-Kindī (d. 866), who was known for this work on astronomy.\(^{181}\) He also refers to al-Tha‘labī (d. 1035), who is known for his Qur‘ānic ṭafsīr (exegesis) and Qiṣṣa al-Anbiyā’ (Stories of the Prophets).\(^{182}\) Al-Bunī also quotes from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, an eighth-century Qur’anic exegesis scholar from Kufa.\(^{183}\) For the authentication of hadīth, he quotes from a variety of scholars including the esteemed al-Tirmidhī (d. 892).\(^{184}\) In addition to these authors, al-Bunī read the works of Aristotle, Hermes, Plato, and the Ikhwān.\(^{185}\) Al-Bunī was well-known as a writer on the occult and recognized by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406).\(^{186}\)

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\(^{180}\) For a detailed analysis of al- Bunī’s life, a bibliography, and the sources he used, please see: Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” pp. 97-119. There are many enigmatic details about his life, silsila, and surviving manuscripts of al- Bunī. For example, the earliest manuscript from 989AH/1582 CE (BN Tunis 8784) is much shorter than the oldest from 1308 AH/1890-91 CE (BN Tunis 4920, 4921). Also see the publications by T. Fahd: Toufic Fahd, La divination arabe: études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l’islam, p. 228-240. Fahd, “La magie comme ‘source’ de la sagesse, l’apres l’oeuvre d’al-Bunī,” Res Orientales XIV, (2002): 61-108.

\(^{181}\) al-Bunī, Shams al- ma‘ārif, p. 31; EI online, P. Travaglia, “Al-Kindī, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq.”

\(^{182}\) al-Bunī, Shams al- ma‘ārif, p. 34; EI online, A. Rippin, “al- Thalabī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāqal-Nisābūrī.”


\(^{184}\) al-Bunī, Shams al- ma‘ārif, p. 153. EI online, G. Juynboll, “al- Tirmidhī,”


With this introductory biographical sketch, one can begin to investigate al-Bunī’s *Shams al-maʿārif wa-latāʾif al-ʿawārif* (The Sun of gnosis and delicacies of knowledge). It is the “most popular and influential text of al-Bunī’s corpus.” Al-Bunī’s text, *Shams al-maʿārif wa-latāʾif al-ʿawārif*, is a manual on the science of ʿḥurūf (Arabic letters). Written approximately three centuries after the Ikhwān, al-Bunī’s work has a different mission. His text builds on the foundation of knowledge created by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and other medieval scholars. First of all, there is the fundamental Neoplatonic concept of God. Everything living returns to God, and the knowledge of numbers and letters leads to knowledge of God. The science of letters is divinely ordained. In addition, rather than show proof of their science via the Greeks and prophets, the ‘ilm al-ḥurūf formulas are organically interconnected to the names of God, stories of the prophets, and verses of the Qur’ān. In fact, it is almost as if al-Bunī is beginning where the Ikhwān stopped by linking the divine names of God directly to the science of astrology.

‘Ilm al-ḥurūf is a mystical and secret science of supplication and contemplation of Arabic letters and their relationship to the ninety-nine names of God. For al-Bunī, the origin of

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187 Ibid., p. 112.

188 Francis IV, “Islamic Symbols,” pp. 107, 112, 126. The earliest manuscript by al-Bunī dated 989 AH/1581-82 CE (BN Tunis 8784). al-Bunī’s student al-Ghawharey is the first person to transcribe the text into manuscript form.

189 Fahd, “La magie comme ‘source’ de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī,” p. 90. The fifteenth section of Shams al-maʿārif refers to Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ.

190 Ibid.al-Bunī, *Shams al-maʿārif*.

191 EI online, T. Fahd, “Hurūf (ʿIlm al-).” Please note that al-Bunī discusses that the origin of the science is rooted in Hermes and Aristotle; however, in a different work by al-Bunī entitled *Uṣūl al-hikma*. For a full discussion of this source, see Fahd, “La magie comme ‘source’ de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī” p.6.
the science of letters is found within methodological and astrological forms of knowledge.\textsuperscript{192} Methodological knowledge requires a careful balance. It begins with the choice of a suitable mystical word or name of God and then an appropriate timeline based on the lunar mansions and the planets which designate a particular action.\textsuperscript{193} Each letter has a numerical value that is part of a larger recipe of incantations and devotions within an astrological, temporal framework. The concept of a numerical value for a letter is rooted in Hermetic and Aristotelian philosophy.\textsuperscript{194} The theory behind this science of letters is that each letter circulates among the spirits of the spheres and the stars.\textsuperscript{195} Ultimately, these letters gain knowledge of God and his divine throne.\textsuperscript{196} This experience of God is privileged and was intended for saints and prophets.\textsuperscript{197} Therefore, through a deep devotion to God, along with a sophisticated understanding of astrology, one is able to learn the craft of the science of letters.\textsuperscript{198}

According to al-Bunī, astrological knowledge considers the earth to be at the center of the universe with the seven planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, and the Moon) circulating around it.\textsuperscript{199} Similar to the Īkhwān al-Ṣafā’, for al-Bunī the planets and the lunar mansion are intermediaries to God. However, al-Bunī has broken down the science of astrology

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\textsuperscript{192} Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī,” p. 64.
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\textsuperscript{199} Ibid., p. 65.
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into the science of letters. Each of the twenty-eight Arabic letters corresponds to a lunar mansion; as for the planets, their counterparts are the days of the week. If constructing a wafq (magic square), one consults the astrological position of the lunar mansions and the planets along with the numerical values of the letters. Magic squares appear across the Islamic medieval objects, such as the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls: one has the budūḥ and ajhzṬ the other was left blank (figs.30, 50). The angels of God, according to al-Bunī, directly connect to the planets and carry out the task of supplication. Angel names occur on the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls. The Ikhwān were not so specific. In addition, al-Bunī moves beyond the historical approach to the occult and provides examples of talismanic practice and construction.

In order to create new avenues of understanding in the manufacture of amulets and talismans, one must embark on an analysis of the pertinent themes and occult practices. Through al-Bunī’s Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā, a detailed sense of the materiality of talismans is reached. He provides exact prescriptions for amulets whether they are on paper, on a signet ring, or to be placed in a city wall. There are a variety of talismans, each with an appropriate

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid., p. 66.

202 See the catalogue and Chapter Three for a further discussion of these two scrolls.

203 Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī,” p. 66. Rūqiyyāʾīl is for the Sun, Jibrāʾīl is for the Moon, Samsamāʾīl for Mars, Mīkāʾīl for Mercury, ‘Ānyāʾīl for Venus, ‘Āzrāʾīl for Jupiter. The list is missing a designation for Saturn.

204 See the catalogue and Chapter Three for a further discussion of these two scrolls.

205 A full analysis of al-Bunī’s work is in Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī” pp. 61-108.
designation set in the specifics of daily life. They range from a cure for a fever, to seeking refuge in times of harm, or as a good-luck charm before one enters the court of a king, including aids in matters of love. As it will be noted in Chapter Three, many of these designations occur across the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls, in particular that ones related to health and for entering upon the kings.

As much as I am tempted to go through the whole book, and provide a context for each of the talismans listed, I will only highlight the certain sections of the book. The purpose of this discussion of al-Bunī is to shed light on the material objects included in this dissertation and to take note of the rich talismanic vocabulary associated with the making of magic squares and other paraphernalia. As one encounters the various objects presented in this dissertation—which are filled with names of God, names of angels, planets and signs of the zodiac—one cannot understand them without delving into al-Bunī. In addition, as I mentioned in the introduction, that this text was read across centuries and dynasties. The Mamluks, Timurids, and Ottomans were reading al-Bunī. For example, al-Bunī is mentioned by Ibn Khaldun, the Timurids had the Ḥurūfiyya movement that was based on theories of Ibn al-ʿArabi and al-Bunī, and based on the inventory of Bayezid II’s library there were a number of copies of al-Bunī’s Shams al- maʿārif all of which were included in the duʿā section of the library. Lastly, it is also worth mentioning that in the edition of Shams al- maʿārif that I analyze below, mentions that the

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Ottoman Haji Khalifa (d.1657) also read al-Bunī’s *Shams al-maʿārif* and preferred to call it by the following title: *Shams al-maʿārif  wa-lafāʿif al-ʿawārif.*

**AL-BUNĪ’S SHAMS AL-MAʿĀRIF AL-KUBRĀ**

In the introduction to al-Bunī’s *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā*, the Muslim reader is charged with the holiness of the text and the text’s intention to know the hidden and revealed names of God.\(^{208}\) Al-Bunī’s text starts with a simple assertion that whoever understands the *shahāda* (confession of faith) knows the secrets of revelation and that equipped with this type of knowledge he will be able to make sound decisions in life.\(^{209}\) He energizes his Muslim audience with this fundamental truth and first pillar of Islam. He emphasizes that the science of letters consists of letters from the verses of the Qur’ān and the names of God. It is one of the ‘*ulūm al-daqīqa* (precise sciences) and those who consult the science of letters usually have two kinds of requests: *dunyāwi* (for life), and *akhrawi* (for the afterlife).\(^{210}\) In addition, like any religious rituals, one must not perform the recipes of the book without performing an ablution; it is *harām* (sinful) to use them inappropriately.\(^{211}\) Al-Bunī authorizes his text by placing it in a genre of *duʿa* (invocation) and supplication to God and quotes the relevant *ahādith* (sayings of the Prophet

\(^{207}\) al-Bunī, *Shams al-maʿārif*, p.3; *EI* online, Gökyay, “Katib Celebi.


\(^{209}\) Ibid., p. 5.

\(^{210}\) Ibid., p. 9.

\(^{211}\) Ibid., p. 6.
In particular, al-Bunī transmits from Prophetic tradition that whoever makes a request to God, will have their petition answered.

Allah's Apostle said, "Every night when it is the last third of the night, our Lord, the Superior, the Blessed, descends to the nearest heaven and says: Is there anyone to invoke Me that I may respond to his invocation? Is there anyone to ask Me so that I may grant him his request? Is there anyone asking My forgiveness so that I may forgive him?"

Although the full hadith is not quoted in al-Bunī’s text, the voice of God (in bold) is cited. The implication is that one asks God for whatever one wants and the power of the occult is related to the power of God. What a wonderful way to start his book! Al-Bunī pushes the boundaries even further by saying with this authoritative voice: wa yashmil hādha al-qanūn al-qayīm wa al-ṭarīq al-mustaqīm ( [This book contains] the exact law and the righteous way). It is with this legal binding, Qur'ān/hadith evoking, and exact science of language with which he introduces the various sections of the book. This is a way for al-Bunī to affirm his work and assure his Mamluk audience that regardless of any opposition, the science of letters is a sanctioned and righteous science.


213 The hadith is an abridged version of the longer one that is narrated by Sahih Bukhari, vol. 9, book 93, no.586, https://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/hadith/bukhari/093-sbt.php

214 Within the first page of Shams al-ma‘ārif al-kubrā, al- Buni acknowledges that there are scholars who oppose the science of letters.
Analysis of “The First Section: The Secrets and Uses of the Ḥūrūf al-mu’ jimah (Letters of the Alphabet)”

The essence of the cosmos, planets and letters all connect to God, and knowledge and understanding of God is the ultimate goal. The process of listing the letters and their significance to the cosmos is an important one that provides efficacy to the text. The ‘arsh (throne) of God has the letter alif (A) and the kursī (seat) of God has the letter ba’ (B), and the letter jīm (J) has the planet Saturn, and so each letter gets a designation until one gets to the moon. This is a captivating concept. In the context of al-Bunī, it is related to the celestial


216 I elaborate on this point further in Chapter Four. In this chapter, my primary focus is to understand the textual composition of a science of letters manual.

217 Ibid., p.10. I would like to clarify the deep religious connotations behind the words ‘arsh(throne) and kursī (seat); especially in the context of the Qur’ān. Both ‘arsh and kursī, in general, refer to God’s throne and Solomon’s throne. After all, the power of the occult comes from God who gave Solomon the gift.

According to the Al-Mu’ jam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qur’ān al-karim, the word ‘arsh (throne) occurs twenty-four times in the Qur’ān. The first verse Al-Ārāf (7:54) states that God created the world in six days and then sat on the throne commanding the days, nights, the sun, the moon, and the stars. In Tafsīr al-imamayn al-jalilayn, the word ‘arsh found in Al-Ārāf (7:54) connotes the bed of a king.

The most interesting two verses regarding ‘arsh (throne) are An-Naml (27:23, 26) which narrate the story of Bilqis, Queen of Sheba. In An-Naml (27:23), Tafsīr al-imamayn al-jalilayn, provides an exact description of the Bilqis’ throne. It is eighty cubits long by forty cubits wide by thirty cubits high. It is engraved in gold and silver and embellished with pearls, rubies, emeralds, and green jewels. In An-Naml (27:26), the throne of Bilqis is then compared to the throne of God. God’s throne is much greater and cannot be measured. While Bilqis commands her dominion, God commands the heavens and all beings from the throne. Lastly, it is elaborated in the Tafsīr al-imamayn al-jalilayn of verse Al-Hāqqa (69:17), that God’s throne was carried by eight angels that are found on the edges of the sky.
spheres and concepts of speech, theology, and perception. The ʿarsh (throne) and kursī (seat) are different designations of places in the celestial sphere that are rest stops for contemplation where one gets to know God. It is al-Bunī’s vision of the universe.\textsuperscript{219} God surrounds the universe through the organization of the celestial bodies.\textsuperscript{220} The first sphere is the world of angels followed by the sphere of the ʿarsh (throne), directly afterwards is the sphere of the kursī, and then the sphere of the constellations along with the planets. They are close to the spheres of fire, air, water, and earth.\textsuperscript{221} As for the surface of the earth, it is round and is surrounded by the Mountain Qaf that is in the opposite location of Paradise.\textsuperscript{222} ʿarsh is the term defined as "the end of the known limits, established ideas, and hidden mysteries."\textsuperscript{223} The ʿarsh is the starting point of any invention and the kursī is that of all creation.\textsuperscript{224}

With this vivid understanding of ʿarsh, consider the connotation of kursī (throne).

In Al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāz al-Qurʾān al-karim, it occurs twice. Once, in reference to God Al-Baqarah (2:255), the other time referring to Solomon Ṣād (38:34). In Tafsīr al-imamayn al-jalilayn and the translation of the Qurʾān by Yousef Alī, the kursī in Al-Baqarah (2:255) is a throne that is so large that it can hold the seven heavens and all of God’s creation. As for Ṣād (38:34), the word kursī refers to Solomon’s throne.

Lastly, within this Qurʾānic reference, I would like to also highlight the use of throne in architecture, see: G. Necipoglu “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman’s Glosses,” Muqarnas 25 (2008): 17-105. The location of Solomon’s throne/footstool is at the Dome of the Rock (Ibid., p. 27). It is also narrated via al-Maqdisi, that the rock is “the future site of the Gathering and of God’s Throne of Judgment,” p. 29. Also see p. 35.

\textsuperscript{218} *EI* online, J. Sadan and Cl. Haurt, “Kursī” ([J. Sadan], Cl. Haurt). See the footnote above.

\textsuperscript{219} T. Fahd, “La magie comme "source" de la sagesse, l'après l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī.”, p.71.

\textsuperscript{220} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{221} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{222} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., p. 97.

\textsuperscript{224} Ibid.
The cosmos and creation are an important part of the two talismanic scrolls studied in Chapter Three. Although, not a direct correlation to al-Bunī’s text, on one of the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 25 MS) there are references to the throne of God being carried by the angles. In addition, on one of the block printed scrolls also from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (LNS 350 MS), the angels and God are called upon to protect the carrier of the scroll from the harms of siḥr (magic).

With this understanding of al-Bunī’s notion of the universe and creation through the throne and seat of God, one must focus on the designation of the letter alif (A). According to al-Bunī, the letter alif (A) is the “number one” of all letters and has a “pleasant spiritual strength” that takes over the nafs (soul) [via a mental imprint] even before its shape is formed. In fact, all letters have the spiritual power that is equivalent to a duʿa (invocation) or a raqqī (magical incantation). However, these letters need to be activated via riyāḍāt (spiritual exercise) and ṭilsāmāt (talismans) that are linked to ‘itibārāt al-ʿalawīyāt (higher utterance/experiences). It is through the hierarchy and lists of various letters or components related to the making of an amulet or talisman that its efficacy is understood. In other words, the letters of the alphabet on these talismans and devotional practices are tools for a higher understanding and knowledge of God.

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225 See the catalogue and Chapter Three for the exact description of LNS 25 MS and the throne of God.

226 See the catalogue for the full transcription of LNS 350 MS.


228 Ibid.

229 See Chapter Four regarding the efficacy of the talismans and the lists mentioned in al-Bunī.
The next letter that gets particular attention in the text is the letter ḏāl (D) with its numerical value of four. It is through prayers and its alignment with the planets that the letter ḏāl gains its talismanic power. For example, on a Monday, an especially holy day because it was the day the Prophet Muhammad was born, one must first perform an ablution and be purified. If the moon is located within three degrees of Taurus, then one should perform two prostrations and on a purified ṭariq (parchment) a magic square is to be written with the numerical value of the letter ḏāl along with the Throne verse (2:255) and al-Ikhlāṣ (112), each of which should be written one hundred times. The person who carries this ṭariq will be protected and please God; his or her place in the afterlife will be assured. Al-Bunī elaborates further that a prisoner who has this piece of parchment with ḏāl will be freed by the will of God. With this prescription, one begins to understand how a talismanic scroll comes into being especially in the context of certain Qur’ānic chapters or verses being used. For example, as mentioned above that both scrolls studied in Chapter Three have a magic square. In addition, the voice of al-Bunī and the repetition of prayers is something that is an important part of the scrolls. For example, one of the scrolls, LNS 25 MS has a section entitled Ṭariq wa al-naẓra (For the [evil] eye and its glance). It calls upon one thousand recitations of al-Ikhlāṣ (112) and the Throne verse (2:255) (fig.45). There are many instances on the talismanic scrolls studied in this thesis, that have a similar voice to al-Bunī, where the repetition of certain phrases and Qur’ānic chapters empower the talismanic efficacy of the scrolls. I discuss this further in Chapter Four.

230 Ibid.

231 See the catalogue, particularly LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS.

232 See the catalogue of this dissertation for a full discussion of LNS 25 MS.
Returning to al-Bunī’s designation of the letter dāl, it is especially efficacious because it relates to the names of God al-dāʾīm (The Eternal) and al-wudūd (The devoted), and also references the Prophet’s names Ahmad and Muhammad.\(^{233}\) Since al-dāʾīm also means continuity, the letter dāl will proceed to the afterlife and belongs to the ‘arsh (throne) for eternity.\(^{234}\) Al-Bunī pushes the boundaries even further by stating that the letter dāl can never be exchanged because it belongs to the beginning of creation and eternity and to the miʿrāj al-awrāḥ (stairs of the spirits).\(^{235}\) These spirits sleep under God’s throne.\(^{236}\) Thinking about talismans and the letter dāl, one sees the eschatological significance of such texts, and one begins to question scholars and their claims that the world of talismans is merely part of popular culture or a rogue underworld.\(^{237}\) The talismans seem to evoke this life and the one beyond. It is clear from this brief sampling of the text that there is a deeply spiritual side to talismans, which are tools for this life and the afterlife. More importantly, letters are part of the science of creation: “God created the world through the secret of letters.”\(^{238}\) Letters are important because they relate to the names of God and the verses of the Qurʿān.\(^{239}\) As it is noted in the catalogue, letters appear

\(^{233}\) It is interesting that these words related to the letter dāl (D) do not necessarily begin with the letter D, but it is the syllable D which is emphasized.

\(^{234}\) Please note that I discuss al-Bunī’s concept of the ‘arsh (throne) and the kursī (seat) (throne) towards the end of this chapter.

\(^{235}\) This builds on the above ideas that the letter alif (A) and the kursī (seat) of God have the letter baʾ (B).

\(^{236}\) Regarding the stairs to Heaven and the eschatological symbolism, see Necipoglu, “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ’Abd Al-Malik’s Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman’s Glosses,”

\(^{237}\) Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature*.


\(^{239}\) Ibid., p. 136.
at different intervals on the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scroll and other talismanic objects (fig.49).  

One of al-Bunī’s objectives is to place his text in a Ṣufī context, especially in his conception of dhikr (remembrance of God) and khalwah (spiritual retreat). This is especially clear through the discussion of the letter dāl and the name of God al-wuḍūd (The devoted). As has been established, love and devotion are essential components of Sufism. Therefore, al-Bunī quotes the Qur’ānic verse Maryam (19:96) that states that those who follow the guidance of God will be blessed with wudd (love). The Qur’ānic verse authorizes and creates a dialogue with al-Bunī’s text. The word wudd (love) from the Qur’ānic verse is a textual idiom for al-Bunī’s notion of love of the name of God al-wuḍūd (The devoted). Through al-wuḍūd (The devoted), one should be in continuous dhikr of God. Constant remembrance causes one’s spirit to be touched by God. Again, not a direct correlation, but both scrolls studied in Chapter Three have specific section for love and acceptance.

In addition to the spiritual linkage, there is a material talismanic connection to the letter dāl which connects the love of God. Al-Bunī states that whoever writes the letter dāl thirty-five times on a square, white piece of silk while the moon is in the house of Jupiter, and then places it

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240 Please see the catalogue, particularly the descriptions of the following sections of LNS 25 MS: Maḥabba? wa qubūl (“Love and acceptance”), Li’l-dukhl ala al-mulūk (“For entry upon the kings”), Ibtāl al-sihr (“for annulling magic”), Ghafir al-alsin? (forgiveness of tongues), Li-waji’ al-ra’s (“For headaches”), Li-waji’ al-‘ayn (“For eye pain”) li’l-naṣr ‘alā al-a’dā’ (“For victory over the enemy”), Li’l-‘ayn wa al-nazra (“For the [evil] eye and its glance”), Li-ramū al-nashāb (“The casting of arrows”).


242 al-Bunī, Shams al-ma’ārif, p. 11.

243 See catalogue.
into the cavity of a ring and then wears it, God will bless this person with purity and goodness.\textsuperscript{244}

If one draws the *khawāṣṣ* (special qualities) of the letter *dāl* found in the name of God *al-dāʾim* (The Eternal) this will produce a different result.\textsuperscript{245} For example, if the carrier of this talisman appears before a king or ruler, the king will hear his/her request; and the ruler will love him or her. Moreover, after Friday prayer, if one writes the names Muhammad and Ahmed thirty-five times on a *bīṭāqah* (piece of paper), the bearer will be protected from demons and Adam will intercede on their behalf.\textsuperscript{246} Again, the repetition of certain names or prayer empower the talisman with its efficacy.\textsuperscript{247}

The strict recipes of al-Bunī connect to the Ṣufī philosophy of isolation and remembrance of God, and to the material production of an amulet. For example, the numerical form of the letter *dāl* is written in its Indian form with *al-qalam al-ṭabīʿi* (natural pen).\textsuperscript{248} He states that this pen is the preferred pen and it is able to know the secrets of the letters.\textsuperscript{249} However, before writing with this pen one should fast for two weeks and break the fast only with bread. At night one should continuously remember God and be in a permanent state of ablution and purity. On a Thursday, in the hour of Jupiter, after two prostrations facing the *qibla* (direction of Mecca) one should read the *al-Fātiha* (1), the Throne verse (2:255), and *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112), one hundred times.

\textsuperscript{244} al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, p.12. The rest of the paragraph is based on details from p.12.

\textsuperscript{245} Ibid. Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, p. xic. *EI* online, M. Ullmann, "*Khāṣṣa,*"

\textsuperscript{246} al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{247} I discuss this further in Chapter Four.

\textsuperscript{248} al-Bunī *Shams al- maʿārif*, p.12.

\textsuperscript{249} Ibid.
Then one may write on a square slab with black ink the numerical form of the letter dāl. ⁵²⁰ Also, whoever writes the letter dāl in its numerical form and carries it will be protected from the troubles of an enemy. Or, if a person has a fever or is bitten by a snake or stung by a scorpion, then he or she should drink the numerical value of the letter dāl because it will release the poison and relieve the fever. ⁵²¹

These examples of the use of the letter dāl provide a voice for the talismanic scrolls studied in this dissertation. First of all, the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) and one from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.2002.1.372) are each divided into various subject headings that are followed with appropriate Qur’ānic verses and prayers that pertain to its title. ⁵²² LNS 12 MS has two particular headings that are in correspondence with, but not in direct correlation to, the presentation reviewed above in al-Bunī: one for entering on the kings, and a separate heading for protection from snakes and scorpions (figs. 22, 27). Similarly, LNS 25 MS bears a heading that is for the reception of kings, another for victory over the enemy, and a third has a devotional prescription that heals a fever (fig.43). The Los Angeles scroll also contains a section that protects the layman when he/she is received by the king (fig.17). This suggests that there are certain patterns and subjects that reoccur on talismans and in occult theory manuals such as that composed by al-Bunī. Secondly, the above example of the materiality of the slab and the pen brings to mind the block-print talismans, ²⁵³

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²⁵¹ Ibid., p.13.
²⁵² These three scrolls are the focus of Chapter Three.
²⁵³ Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*. Also see the catalogue section of this dissertation for examples of the block-printed scrolls and Chapter Two.
although he does not state whether the slab should be made of wood or metal. One can imagine the block printer preparing the slab with black ink for the creation of a talismanic scroll. With this limited introduction to al-Bunī, one is able to develop an understanding of the talismanic scrolls. Although there is no proof that the maker of the talisman is reading al-Bunī, one begins to get a glimpse of the strict organization of the times of day that are appropriate for the construction of an amulet. It is likely, that if it is not al-Bunī’s text then some other manual was being consulted. As it will be discussed in Chapter Three and Four there is a language of prayers specific for talismans.

In addition, as mentioned above, he is building on a foundation of knowledge that was established by the Ikhwān and other medieval Islamic scholars. It is reported that al-Bunī is using Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Razi’s (d.925) Kitāb al-asrār (Book of Secrets); and that his master was al-Khwārizmī was in Mecca in 1272 along with Ibn al-Sab’īn (d.1272).255 Toufic Fahd has shown that there are parallels between al-Bunī’s text and Ibn al-ʿArabi (d.1241).256 Fahd’s important point is that ʿilm al-hurūf (the science of letters) is related to ʿilm al-sīmiyā (white magic).257 Ultimately, as discussed above, the secrets of letters are related to Neo-Platonic theories of emanation.258 Similar to Ibn al-ʿArabi these letters unlock the spheres and ultimately

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257 Ibid. al-Bunī Also see Chapter Four for a discussion of ʿilm al-sīmiyā.

258 Ibid.
the truth about God. This concept of ʿilm al-ṣīmiyā is an important one to Ibn Khaldun in his specific discussion of licit magic.

Besides the relationship al-Bunī has to other medieval scholars, there are historical moments worth mentioning. For example, in his chapter on jafr (divination by letters) attributed to Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, al-Bunī states that if certain letters are combined than one can predict the coming of Qarāmiṭa, the end of the Umayyads, the beginning of the Seljuqs, the fall of the Fatimids, and the conquest of al-Quds (Jerusalem) from the Crusades. It is also important to note that al- Bunī’s text Shams al-maʿārif has later additions that post-date his death date. In fact, Francis IV states that there are certain historical moments that are predicted that post-date al-Bunī’s death such as the “arrival of the crusaders to the Maghrib.” This illustrates that al-Bunī’s manual was a continuous project that was amended by other writers. Further research is necessary, to understand al-Bunī’s link to Ibn al-ʿArabi which is the foundation for later scholars of ʿilm al-ḥurūf (the science of letters) such as al-Bistāmi of Antioch (c.1380-c.1455).

259 Ibid., pp. 2-6.
260 See Chapter Four.
262 al-Bunī, Shams al-maʿārif p. 352.
264 Ibid.
265 Cornell H. Fleischer, “Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries,” in Falnama: The Book of Omens, pp. 231-44.
For the purpose of this thesis, and this chapter, I am focusing on a theory of occult. I return to a discussion of the people of the occult such as geomancers and other professions in Chapter Three and Four. It is now important to focus on the connection between the Ikhwan and al-Buni in their theory of astrology. Especially in the context of astrology and its connection to the occult, for example, the specific times for the making of an amulet or talisman are assigned specific Zodiac signs, which are then connected to lunar mansions. This leads the discussion to the second section of *Shams al-ma‘arif al-kubra*, which is an organization of the exact times meant for various activities whether it is marriage, the making of a amulet, entering on the kings, or predicting an appropriate time for travel.

**Analysis of “The Second Section: Organizing the Tasks According to Time and Hours”**

This section opens with Qur’anic verse (21:33) that states that the sun and the moon know the secret of the name of God. In fact, the moon is designated by the letter *alif*; and if it is in the mansion of Arietis (a star located in the horn of Aries) one is able to know the secrets behind the letter *alif*. Again, this is accomplished by contemplating and remembering God.

Once again additional instructions for talismans are put forth, this time with a non-spiritual objective: If one would like to annoy a person, write the name of the person one would like to disturb on a piece of red copper or iron or clay, then write the letter *alif* 111 times on top

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of the name.\textsuperscript{269} Once this is complete, the reader is instructed to bury the token in the designated person’s room and fumigate it with incense.\textsuperscript{270} As it is noted in Chapter Four, this is a sanctioned practice and a form of ʿilm al-ḥurūf (the science of letters) related to ilm al-simiya (white magic). The repetition of letters and phrases on Islamic talismans is an important part of their efficacy.\textsuperscript{271}

As for the letter jīm (J), when the moon is in its third mansion, al- Thurayā, it is auspicious to enter on the kings carrying the appropriate talisman with the letter jīm.\textsuperscript{272} The carrier of the amulet will achieve whatever he or she wants from the king or ruler. As one proceeds through al-Bunī’s text, the need for a talisman to aid the layman in his/her relationship with a king or ruler is emphasized over and over again. In fact, al-Bunī even designates that one should be received by a king at a precise hour of a specific day. This is an important part of the Ikhwān’s theory. Another contemporary source worth mentioning, is an astronomical and astrological study by al-Malik al-Ashraf ʿUmar ibn Yusuf (d.1296) the third Rasulid ruler published by Daniel Martin Varisco, “Kitab al-tabsira fī ʿilm al-nujūm”\textsuperscript{273} It also lists “which activities are appropriate and which are not when the moon is stationed in particular lunar station

\textsuperscript{269} Although not inscribed with the letter alif, great examples of small amulets made from various materials such as bronze, carnelian, shell, and pebble inscribed with prayers can be found in: Venetia Porter, Shailendra Bhandare, Robert G. Hoyland, A. H. Morton, J. Ambers, and British Museum, Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum, pp. 136-151.

\textsuperscript{270} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{271} Please see Chapter Four on the efficacy of talismans.

\textsuperscript{272} Ibid., p.17. There is a diagram for the amulet, which is a magic square inscribed with numbers that is centered within three circles. The outer frame repeats Allah over and over; the inner frame of the circle repeats the letter jīm. The bottom circumference of the outer circle is attached to three triangles that are inscribed with Allah and the letter jīm.

during the cycle of 28 days,” and includes the entry upon kings as a category. Therefore, it is no surprise that three of the talismanic scrolls from this dissertation have a specific section entitled *Lil-dukhūl alā al-mulūk* (For entry upon the Kings). More important, as this examination of al-Bunī continues it is noted that there are overlaps with *ʿilm al-raml* (geomancy) and for appropriate times for the curing ailments, travel, and war.

**The blessed and ill-fated times and hours of the day**

Al-Bunī provides the reader an exact time of day and its alignment with the planets for each specific activity. The week begins on a Sunday and there are twelve hours to the day:

- **Sunday**—The first hour of the sun: Work with love and acceptance, and enter on the kings and rulers, and it is appropriate to wear new clothes. The second hour belongs to Venus: It is an unfavorable hour to not do anything. The third hour belongs to Mercury: Travel during this hour and write about compassion, love, and acceptance. The fourth hour belongs to the moon: Do not do anything, do not buy anything, and do not mend anything. The fifth hour belongs to Saturn: Work on [issues of] separation, hatred, enemies, and the like. The sixth hour belongs to Jupiter: It is appropriate to ask the king regarding the things you need. The seventh hour belongs to Mars: Do nothing; it is unfavorable. The eighth hour belongs to the Sun: Do everything you need; it is beneficial for all things and it is a happy time. The ninth hour belongs to Venus: Write to attract people and gain compassion of the heart and the like. The tenth hour belongs to Mercury: Do whatever you want because it is a thankful time. The eleventh hour belongs to the Moon: Write talismans and seals and the like because it is beneficial. The twelfth hour belongs to Saturn: Do not do anything. It is an envious hour; it is not beneficial for anything except harmful things.

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275 The two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) and one from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.2002.1.372).


In a similar fashion, al-Bunī provides an exact structure for each day of the week informing the reader of its auspicious and ill-fated times. This is a glimpse into a medieval Islamic conception of an occult timeframe. The above quote builds on a structure that was highlighted and transmitted from Hermes into the Ikhwān. Namely, that licit magic is dependent on the movement of the moon and its mansions and must be practiced between sunset and sunrise. However, al-Bunī includes the other planets in his theory and does not specify whether the twelve hours are for the day or night. In addition to the connection to occult theory, the above quote relates to the talismanic scrolls. The highlighted parts correspond to certain headings on some of the talismanic scrolls.278 Once again, two hours out of the day were designated as an appropriate time to enter upon kings.

In addition, it is important to expand into the methodology of making talismans, and the practice of the occult. On Monday, the sixth hour belongs to Venus and it is appropriate for making talismans.279 On Tuesday, the third hour belongs to Venus and is a time when women should get married or engaged. The twelfth hour, the hour of the Moon, is evil and designated for a divorce. On Wednesday, the sixth hour belongs to the sun: It is good for travel by desert or sea. The eighth hour is in Mercury and children should cry and one should write *hujub* (amulets) against the evil eye. The tenth hour is for Saturn: It is appropriate to visit sultans and the elders. The eleventh hour is for Jupiter: One should write a *wafq* (magic square) and it is appropriate to enter upon the kings. On Thursday, the sixth hour is for the Moon: It is an auspicious time for travel and any other work. The ninth hour belongs to Mars and is good for meeting with emirs.

278 LNS 12 MS (DAI), LNS 25 MS (DAI), M.2002.1.372 (LACMA).

rulers, and sultans.\textsuperscript{280} On Friday, the second hour is for Mercury: One should make talismans and do whatever other work needs to get done. The sixth hour is for the Sun: One should write to a sultan or judge. Lastly, on Saturday the fourth hour is the Sun’s: One should enter on the kings and do things for them.

al-Bunī’s division of the day has a strict economy of auspicious and inauspicious times. Ultimately, this investigation of the hours of the day is meant to shed light on the science of letters. Therefore, al-Bunī ends the second section by adding a component stating that once one knows the hour of the day that one would like to accomplish a task, this hour then corresponds to a list of angels and their designated letters of the alphabet.\textsuperscript{281} However, before elaborating on the connection to the angels, it is important to continue with the astrological correlation.\textsuperscript{282}

**Analysis of “The Third Section on the Rules of the Twenty-Eight Mansions of the Moon”**

In a similar manner to the hours, each of the twenty-eight mansions has a designated activity. In addition, each mansion corresponds to figures which are dots that represent the stars of \textit{ʿilm al-raml} (the science of geomancy).\textsuperscript{283} However, al-Bunī does not use this term.\textsuperscript{284} Even if al-Bunī

\textsuperscript{280} Ibid., p. 21.

\textsuperscript{281} Ibid., p. 22.

\textsuperscript{282} For discussion of the angels, see the analysis of “The Fifth Section the Secrets of the Basmala.”

\textsuperscript{283} Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī,” p. 82; Emilie Savage-Smith and Marion B. Smith, \textit{Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device} (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1980).

\textsuperscript{284} Emilie Savage-Smith and Marion B. Smith, \textit{Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device} p. 39.
does not use the term geomancy, it is interesting that the twenty-eight lunar mansions and their corresponding dots follow the science of geomancy. The twenty-eight mansions are an important part of the discussion of the occult, and links were made between the twenty-eight letters to the moon’s movement and eventually to the angels. Twenty-eight is “a symbol of prophethood in Islamic mysticism.” In fact, the astronomical and astrological study of the Rasulid al-Malik al-Ashraf ‘Umar ibn Yusuf uses the same designation of lunar stations to types of incense. For Varisco’s there are number of sources that discuss the lunar stations that includes the Rasulid text, Ikhwān, al-Bunī, and the Picatrix, “Ghāyat al-ḥakīm” of al-Majriti (d.1007) and all related to the practice of nīranj (white magic). In the below, I highlight al-Bunī’s analysis.

Al-Bunī illustrates the beginning of this third section with a large circle filled with concentric circles that represent the four seasons, the corresponding months along with the zodiac signs and the appropriates letters. For the position of lunar mansion, al-Buṭayn, it belongs to the letter ba’: It is appropriate for men to conduct their business without women, and

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285 Ibid., pp. 40-41. Savage-Smith provides a table with the details regarding the number of stars found in each mansion.


287 Ibid.

288 Ibid., p. 22.

289 Ibid., p. 25.

290 Emilie Savage-Smith, and Marion B. Smith, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device*, p. 34. Lacking the dots, the circle is similar to the central dial of the geomancy tablet at the British Museum (BM 1988.6-26.1). Savage-Smith combines the two hemispherical parts of the large dial of the British Museum tablet (BM 1988.6-26.1) into one large circle. The composite image is reminiscent of the drawing in al-Bunī’s text.
for the practice of technical skills including the making of talismans and the practice of chemistry.\textsuperscript{291} It is an auspicious time to begin science, such as the making of seals, and the engraving and writing of charms as a cure for illness. And whoever is born during this time will live a happy life filled with love. The appropriate incense for this time is sandalwood and saffron. It is fascinating that the discussion of \textit{al-Buṭayn} in both the Ikhwān and al-Bunī denote it as an appropriate time to construct talismans.\textsuperscript{292} Of course, al-Bunī’s text includes the corresponding letter of the alphabet along with an appropriate scent, which are missing from the Ikhwān. Another example is the letter \textit{dāl}: Its lunar mansion is \textit{al-dabarān}. al-Bunī states that it is an inauspicious time to construct talismans. Its incense is the peel of a pomegranate and frankincense.\textsuperscript{293} One more lunar mansion, \textit{al-dhirāʾ}, belongs to the letter \textit{zā}. It is a fortunate time for the sciences, which includes the making of talismans and all facets of \textit{nīranj} (white magic). One should also enter upon the kings, and whoever is born during this time will live a happy life. Its designated incenses are the seeds of celery and flax. Yet another section of al-Bunī’s corpus indirectly corresponds to the theme of courtly protocol found on the talismanic scrolls.\textsuperscript{294} One cannot prove that al-Bunī’s manual was used for the construction of the scrolls, as the text of al-Bunī does not correspond directly with the text on the scrolls.\textsuperscript{295} The central part of

\textsuperscript{291} al-Bunī, \textit{Shams al- maʿārif}, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{292} See above for the discussion of \textit{al-buṭain} in the Ikhwān.

\textsuperscript{293} Ibid., p. 24.

\textsuperscript{294} Ibid. Once again, the text indirectly connects to the \textit{Lil-dukhūl alā al-Mulūk} (For entry upon the kings) section from the three scrolls LNS 12 MS (DAI), LNS 25 MS (DAI), and M.2002.1.372 (LACMA).

\textsuperscript{295} See Chapter Three for an in-depth discussion.
this discussion is to realize that there are many factors that contribute to the creation of the
talisman be it the lunar stations of the position of the zodiac.

**Analysis of “The Fourth Section on the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac”**

All these details, be they the time of day or a particular lunar mansion, contribute to the science of letters, which ultimately leads to knowledge of God. Al-Bunī is continuously authorizing his text by either inserting a Qur’ānic verse or a Prophetic hadith or mentioning the name of God. In fact, as al-Bunī transitions into the fourth section of his text, he begins with the Qu’ranic verses that recognize the existence of the lunar mansions and the signs of the zodiac.²⁹⁶

It is through the manipulation of religious language that al-Bunī presents his prescriptions for the science of letters.²⁹⁷ Through the following Qur’ānic verses *An-Nisāa (4:78), Al-Ḥijr (15:16), Al-Furqān (25:61), and Al-Burūj (85:1)*, the *burūj* (zodiac signs) are brought to the forefront of the discussion. Three of the verses (15:16, 25:61, 85:1) acknowledge the zodiac signs and the constellations in the sky as markers of the planets and Heaven.²⁹⁸ One of the verses in the text *An-Nisāa (4:78)* is a bit of a stretch—the word *burūj* connotes high architectural towers rather than the zodiac signs. However, al-Bunī reformulates the context

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²⁹⁶Ibid., p. 24; Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī,” p. 83.


through the authority of al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 728) that *burūj* should be interpreted as towers in the sky within the constellations.\(^{299}\)

Through the formulation of the relevance of the zodiac signs with the Qur‘ān, al-Bunī follows with references to the *manāzil* (lunar mansions) *Yā-Sīn* (36:39).\(^{300}\) This Qur‘ānic verse from *Yā-Sīn* (36:39) is an important verse that occurs in both of the Dar Al-Athar scrolls, LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS.\(^{301}\) In fact, in both scrolls, the verse occurs in one of the illustrated segments. The section in LNS 12 MS is decorated with the gold and blue roundels representing the sun and the moon. The title of the section is *Ţā’a wa qubūl* (For obedience and acceptance) (fig.28). Following its title, the verse communicates that the sun, moon, and its mansions are all in obedience to God. In LNS 25 MS, the verse occurs on the first illustrated section of the scroll: *Ţal’a al-shams wa al-qamr* (the appearance of the sun and moon) (fig.46). Two gold roundels represent the sun and the moon. LNS 25 MS highlights that the sun and moon and its mansions provide guidance in this life, especially in times of travel, just as they guided Noah and his ark through the flood.

Thinking about the preceding sections of al-Bunī and how they each correspond to the material evidence is fascinating. The intention behind this investigation is to illustrate the overlaps between occult theory and practice. al-Bunī is the bridge between the esoteric theory of the Ikhwān and the material evidence. There are other sources such as the Rasulid text, however,


\(^{300}\) Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l'apre l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī,” p. 83. Please note Fahd includes an additional verse (10:5) which is not included in the printed version of al-Bunī that I have been quoting for this dissertation.

\(^{301}\) Please see the catalogue for an exact reference. The verse is not in isolation but appears with some additional verses from *Yā-Sīn* (36).
the two most important are the Ikhwān and al-Bunī. I believe they set the foundation for later manuals. In particular, his theory demystifies the details of a talismanic scroll. Ultimately, the investigation of the letters of the alphabet along with the lunar mansions and zodiac signs all work together for one to gain knowledge of the known and hidden names of God. Therefore, the fifth section launches into the most evoked name of God: the basmala. The allegorical narrative of the following section creates an assembly of vivid images. There are various chapter that are fascination in al-Bunī, such as the chapter on the names of that Jesus used to rise the dead, or on the Throne verse, or on the days of the week, the throne of Suleyman.302

**Analysis of “The Fifth Section on the Secrets of the Basmala”**

The basmala is the first phrase of any Qur’ānic verse. All followers of Islam recognize its power and significance, and in the context of al-Bunī’s narrative it is given an especially symbolic function. First of all, the secrets of the basmala redeem the believer from burning in hell.303 It is narrated that when the basmala was revealed, the Throne of God shook and the angels of Hell said whoever reads the nineteen letters of the basmala will be protected from the nineteen angels of Hell.304 The mere utterance of one of the letters protects a person from Hell and its angels and through this allegorical signification the essence of the science of the letters may be understood.

Building on the allusion of Hell and the angels that guard it, al-Bunī continues on the theme of the eschatological significance of the basmala. He transmits one of the sayings of the

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304 Ibid., p. 39.
Prophet Muhammad’s companions, the esteemed Ibn Mas’ud (d. 652-3), who said: “Whoever wants to be rescued from the nineteen angels of hell should repeat the nineteen letters over and over again.” Each letter’s evocation diminishes the power of each of the nineteen angels of Hell. The combined nineteen letters of the basmala conjure a love that causes the lower and upper Heavens to awaken Solomon and all of them are working to save the person from Hell.305

Moving from the heavenly world into daily life, it is narrated that whoever wants anything in this life should fast on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. On Friday, perform an ablution and go to Friday prayer at the mosque. Following the prayer, ask God by evoking the basmala along with the Throne verse (2:255) and a taṣliya on the Prophet Muhammad. The result is that God will answer in a timely fashion. These visual idioms of Hell and Friday prayer all lead to the secrets of the hidden name of God, which is a crucial part of al-Buni’s discussion of the science of letters. He authorizes his investigation by citing two pertinent hadiths. The first one connects the basmala to the hidden name of God. Yet, he reminds the reader through a second hadith that the basmala is the ultimate protection from demons.306 Thus, through the repetition of the basmala one gains a privileged access to the secrets of God and is protected from burning in Hell.307

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305 Ibid., p. 39. The mere reference to Solomon also evokes the famous Qur’ānic verse An-Naml (27:30) in which Solomon carries a letter with the basmala and this letter converts Queen Bilqis to monotheism. Both DAI scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) repeat this verse over and over again.

306 al-Buni, Shams al- ma‘ārif, p. 39. As the Prophet narrated: “Whatever is between the basmala and the greatest name of God is like the difference between the pupil and the cornea of the eye. He also narrated: “Nothing is between humans and demons except the basmala.”

307 Please see Chapter Four for an in-depth discussion of the efficacious prayers, and how the repetition of phrases is an important component.
This passage allows al-Bunī to launch directly into the significance of the names of God with a focus on *al-Rahmān* (the forgiving), which after Allah is the first full name of God contained within the *basmala*. Appropriately, al-Bunī quotes the beginning of Qur’ānic verse (17:110) that calls upon the name Allah and *al-Rahmān*.

This is the perfect verse to commence the discussion of the significance of the four letters of Allah that are in line with the four cardinal directions, and the four angels of God: Jibrīl, Mikā’īl, ’Isrāfīl, ‘Azrābīl. Jibrīl is the one who delivers the message, ’Isrāfīl announces the coming of Judgment Day, ‘Azrābīl captures spirits and the evil works of the infidels, and Mikā’īl is in charge of the blessings and provides prosperity. Each one of these angels has a particular day and temperament and their individual wafq (magic square).

These angels are important as they turn up on the talismanic material. One of the DAI scrolls (LNS 25 MS) appropriately has a section that seeks refuge in the names of God and the four angels. Three of the angels surround the throne of God. Jibrīl is the support and the pillow for the throne, Mikā’īl is on the left of the throne, and ’Isrāfīl is in front of the throne. All four angels protect the carrier of the scroll from demonic power. These four angles also protect the horseman on his horse. As a horseman rides his horse, Jibrīl is on the right, Mikā’īl on the left, ’Isrāfīl in front, and God protects them from the top. In both scenarios ‘Azrābīl is not assigned an exact position. However, based on al-Bunī, one can perhaps assume that ‘Azrābīl is

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308 It is interesting that al-Bunī did not include the second half of the verse from *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:110) which states that one should supplicate in the name of God.


310 Ibid.

311 Please see the catalogue for the full discussion of LNS 25 MS.
protecting the carrier of the scroll from evil spirits and infidels. Again, the angels and the 

*basmala* endow an object with talismanic power and efficacy.

al-Bunī asserts the significance of the *basmala* because it has an incredible *silsila* (spiritual descent).\(^\text{312}\) First of all, it was written on Adam’s forehead five hundred years before his creation.\(^\text{313}\) The day Abraham was sent his revelation from God it was written on the wings of Jibrīl. It was written on Moses’ rod in Syriac and it allowed the seas to part. It was written on Jesus’ tongue and he used it to repeat the names of God and to resurrect the dead. It was inscribed on Solomon’s seal. Lastly, the *silsila* ends by stating that one of the most special characters of the *basmala* is that it is the beginning of every *sura* of the Qur’ān. And with this, al-Bunī presents the significance of the *basmala* in the activities of daily life.\(^\text{314}\) It is an incredibly rich paragraph marked by a strict regimen and prescribed process. This is a fascinating analysis, as on most talismanic material such on amulets and seals the invocation of the *basmala* is known for its “benedictory power.”\(^\text{315}\) In addition, in this thesis it initiates most sections on the scrolls, the *basmala* is an important part of the material evidence.\(^\text{316}\)

Continuing on with al-Bunī and a theory of the occult, he states: whoever reads the *basmala* 786 times seven days a week will attain whatever he/she wants.\(^\text{317}\) Satan will not

\(^{312}\) al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif* p. 42.

\(^{313}\) Ibid.

\(^{314}\) Ibid.


\(^{316}\) See catalogue.

\(^{317}\) al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, This whole paragraph is from p.42.
disturb those who repeat the *basmala* twenty-one times before they sleep. One should fast on a Thursday and then break the fast with olive oil and dates and pray the *maghrib* prayer (sunset prayer) and then read the *basmala* 120 times and then continue reading until Friday morning prior to entering on the kings and rulers. On Friday, he or she should write the *basmala* on an incense-fumigated piece of paper immersed in musk, saffron, and rose-water. The person who carries this piece of paper to the king’s court will be received like a moon on the night of Badr (the site of the Prophet Muhammad’s first military victory), and all his or her needs will be granted. The repetition of the *basmala* activates the mystical power of the science of letters, which ultimately connects to God.

One could continue in this vein and list the various recipes and prescriptions that al-Bunī presents. However, that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The main purpose of this presentation is to illustrate that through a religious language of the Qur’ān and the prophetic stories, al-Bunī develops a language of the occult that begins in an Islamic context. In addition, he never forgets the connection to the transmitted Neoplatonic heritage of the occult, one that locates his theory in an astrological framework. In the previous introductory five sections of al-Bunī’s *Shams al-ma’ārif al-kubrā*, a theory of ‘ilm al-ḥurūf (science of letters) is presented. The planets, signs of the zodiac, and individual letters of the Arabic alphabet endow an object with its talismanic potency. His theory of the occult is embedded in a deep eschatological knowledge of God that is passed down from the prophets and is learned by the layman.

The intention of this chapter was to reconstruct a language of the occult through the primary sources while illustrating that within a medieval framework, the occult was considered an ‘ilm (science). Both the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and al-Bunī recognize the occult as a science. The Ikhwān provide extensive proof on why sihr (magic) should be considered a science. In
addition, they explicate that this licit science is divided into five categories: chemistry, astrology, the science of magic and talismans, medicine, and tajrīd (cleansing of the soul). They illustrate that this science was transmitted from Greek, Ancient Egyptian, and Syriac sources. In addition, religious texts such as the Torah and the Qurʾān confirm that magic was regarded as a licit science.

Kingship and kings play an important role in the Ikhwān; it becomes apparent that there is a notion that they are God’s ambassadors after the prophets and angels. Besides kings, the occult is connected to doctors: A doctor cures the body while a prophet cures the soul. After the prophets, kings, and doctors, there is a hierarchy of magic that privileges al-nafs al-nāṭiqa (human soul) over al-nafs al-ḥayawānīh (animal soul) and other souls. Ultimately, sihr (magic) is ḥalāl (sanctioned) through al-nafs al-kulliya (the Universal Soul) and is aided by the intellect and essentially by God. The sanctioned forms of magic are kihāna (divination), zijr (divination), fāl (divination), ruqya (magical incantation in the form of prayers), ʿazāʿīm (exorcism), and the construction of talismans and all other forms known as nīranj (white magic).

On the other hand, al-Bunī, writing three centuries later, is not concerned with proving that the occult it is a licit science but rather creates a theory of practice that is divinely ordained through the science of letters. He provides a strict, regimented approach to the production and manufacture of talismans. Again, al-Bunī is known today as the “earliest surviving collection of ‘Islamic magic’” that is “integrated into religion.”318 In fact, “al-Bunī was widely known throughout the Arabic-speaking world within a short time after his death as an author of occult texts.”319 In particular, he is mentioned by Ibn Khaldun in his discussion of licit practices.320 The

319 Ibid., p. 110.
most important part about al-Bunī is that the focus is on the Qur’ān, the names of God and their relationship to the cosmos and afterlife with a link to the Sufi’s life of strict regimen and devotion. Further research is needed to understand al-Bunī’s audience in greater detail, the discussion of al-Bunī is an essential one that has linguistic overlaps with the talismanic scrolls. The language and efficacy of scrolls cannot be understood without the voice of al-Bunī. After all, awfāq (magic squares), _UTILS (talismans), and nīranj (white magic) along with raqqū (magical incantation) and riyāḍāt (spiritual exercise) fuel his approach to ʿilm al-ḥurūf (science of letters). And as it is noted in the following chapters and the study of the scrolls, they are raqqū (magical incantation) and riyāḍāt (spiritual exercise) and the ʿilm al-ḥurūf (science of letters) is a form of nīranj (white magic).

320 Ibid., p. 111. Please see Chapter Four for a discussion of Ibn Khaldun.

CHAPTER 2: THE DEVOTIONAL BLOCK PRINTED SCROLL: TALISMANIC AND PILGRIMAGE SCROLLS

“The reason why these prints have not received the attention they deserve may partially be attributed to the fact that so far no specific date has been assigned to any of them with any high degree of certainty.” Miroslav Krek

“It’s very easy to say that something ‘looks’ Fatimid; it is more difficult to prove that it is.” Jonathan Bloom

“Egyptians still used papyrus in preparing amulets and for medical treatment, but by the tenth century it had been decisively replaced by paper…”

“Evidence regarding the provenance of early Qur’ān manuscripts is even more exiguous. Manuscripts, particularly small manuscripts, are very mobile, and the fact that a Qur’ān was found in a particular town is no guarantee that it was written there or that its script or illumination was characteristic of the town.” François Déroche

Issues of dating and attribution are at the core of analyzing the talismanic block printed scrolls. Unlike chapter one, that focuses on an analysis of the language of the occult from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, this chapter analyzes both the so-called “Fatimid” talismanic scrolls and


324 Ibid., p.109.

Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls. Manufactured through the use of block prints; the “Fatimid” and Ayyubid scrolls are part of a curious history of early Arabic arts of the book. They are curious because they are part of the early undocumented yet illustrated Arabic manuscript production that are linked to the “Islamic intellectual and cultural arena” of the tenth to the thirteenth century. The “Fatimid” talismanic scrolls are small monochromatic block prints comprised mostly of a compilation of Qur’ānic verses and occasional illustrations or decorative motifs (figs. 1,6). The block printed Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls are certificates of a pilgrimage performed by proxy to Mecca, Medina, and sometimes to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (fig.54). They are multicolored schematic architectural representations of the various stops on a pilgrimage route. However, the Fatimid block prints and the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls are significantly different in size and execution. Both the “Fatimid” talismanic scrolls and the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls are part of the early history of Arabic devotional literature.

THE SCROLL IN GENERAL: DEVOTIONAL AND NON-DEVOTIONAL SCROLLS

A brief examination of the Islamic scroll in general will help clarify the use of the medium. There seems to have been two types of scrolls: devotional and non-devotional. First of all, in terms of non-devotional scrolls, there are firmān(s) (legal decrees) rūznāme(s) (calendars),

326 “Fatimid” is in quotation marks because scholars sometimes contest the date of these scrolls. Please see below for my dating of this corpus of the scrolls.


genealogical scrolls, calligraphic scrolls and architectural scrolls. This dissertation will not consider the non-devotional scrolls. However, it is important to note that there does seem to be a conceptual relationship between the firmān (s) and the devotional scrolls. The firmān (s), or legal deeds, are contracts between the state and the individual regarding the particulars of government. The devotional scrolls seem to be legal contracts between the practitioner and God. In order to understand this, a definition of the devotional scroll is essential.

A devotional scroll is a portable form of the prayer manual. A devotional scroll is inscribed with Qurʾānic chapters and prayers that provide guidance for the practitioner whether they are traveling on a pilgrimage or on a voyage to sea (fig. 33 and fig. 54). There are various forms of devotional scrolls, such as Qurʾānic scrolls, prayer rolls, talismanic scrolls, and pilgrimage scrolls. The pilgrimage scroll certifies that the prayers in the name of someone unable to make the pilgrimage (hajj or ‘umra) have been performed (fig. 54). It is the only devotional scroll that has a very public and legal role along with a private role: It acts as a certificate of a completed pilgrimage. The talismanic scroll contains Qurʾānic verses and prayers that protect the carrier of the scroll from the harms of daily life (fig.1, fig. 27). A talismanic scroll is folded


and rolled into an amulet case or pouch that a person carried on their body and consulted in times of need. Besides the talismanic and pilgrimage scrolls, there are two other categories of devotional scrolls: Qur’ān scrolls and prayer scrolls. A Qur’ān scroll mostly contains the full contents of the Qur’ān. A prayer scroll is a devotional manual that is an extension of the talismanic scroll occurring in a later Islamic period, such as the Ottoman, Qajar, or later Indian prayer rolls. They combine prayers with illustrations. There are a variety of these prayer rolls that are from a post-1450 period that are calligraphic masterpieces. For example, there is the Ottoman scroll of Sultan Mehmed II which is a mixture of Qur’ān, hadith and calligraphic figures. In fact, the later Ottoman scrolls become elaborate and include representations of relics of the Prophet Muhammad and representations of Mecca and Medina. As for the Qajar prayer scrolls, they have a Shi’i sentiment and the Ottoman ones are Sunni. The Qajar prayer rolls are visually distinct by prayers or Qur’ānic verses that sometimes are in ghubār script that are arranged into shapes where the blank spaces create another Qur’ānic verse or prayer in nasta’liq or naskh. Sometimes, the ghubār script forms abstracted floral or vegetal motifs or zoomorphic characters. However, the discussion of the Ottoman, Qajar, and late Indian scrolls is beyond the current scope of this study. All four forms of the devotional scroll (Qur’ān scrolls,

331 Following are a few auction catalogues with representations of Ottoman, Qajar, and Late Indian prayer scrolls: Sotheby’s, Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures (London: Wednesday, April 23, 1997), lot 72, 74; Christie’s, Islamic Art and Manuscripts (London: April 11, 2000), lot 54; Sotheby’s, Arts of the Islamic World: Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Painting (London: May 3, 2001), lot 24.

332 Roxburgh and Royal Academy of Arts, Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600, pp. 288, 439.

prayer rolls, talismanic scrolls, and pilgrimage scrolls) are a portable means that assist the practitioner in communicating with God in times of prayer and need.

In this chapter, I am investigate the block printed pilgrimage and talismanic scroll within the contexts of the tenth through the thirteenth centuries. As the chapter progresses, it will become evident that the pilgrimage and talismanic scrolls are an extension of a religious science and expression of devotion introduced in the first chapter. An important distinction between the talismanic and pilgrimage scrolls is the notion of private versus public practice. The talismanic scroll depicts the private practice of the worshipper with God as his witness. The pilgrimage scroll is a very public certificate that carries the signature of various witnesses who authenticate that a pilgrimage has been accomplished. Before embarking on the various connections between the talismanic and pilgrimage block printed scroll, however, it is important to initiate the discussion with an outline of the current scholarship on the block-printed scrolls. Once an outline is presented, I embark on a discourse of the dated pilgrimage scrolls that will assist the viewer in understanding the undated talismanic scrolls. The example of the Fatimid block printed scrolls and the complicated issue of dating them is presented next. I conclude the chapter with a conceptual connection between the talismanic and pilgrimage block prints. They are both considered under the umbrella of devotional literature and religious sciences. The talismanic scrolls are extensions of both the pilgrimage culture and the occult.
As it stands, the scholarship on the block printed talismanic scrolls, their consumption and production in a Fatimid or Ayyubid context is both scattered and limited. Currently, the


Lastly, I would like to thank Andras Riedlmayer and Ophelia Celine for the unpublished representations of talismanic block prints from Mathaf al-Fann al-Islam in Cairo, Egypt; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. They are study images courtesy of the Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.
scholarship either places the block printed talismanic scrolls within the history of printing, or they are briefly mentioned in catalogue entries. There are two scholars who have compiled, investigated and read the contents of the talismanic block prints: they are Mark Muehlhaeusler and Karl R Schaefer. Richard Bulliet identified two important factors: that the Arabic term *tarsh* means block print, and that the process of block printing was carried out by a “cast or molded metal rather than wood.” However, these two assertions are imprecise; in Muehlhaeusler recent publication, cautions us about using these terms:

> It appears that the terms *ṭirs* and *ṭarš* [tarsh] are used in connection with amulets and printing only in the two poems on the Banū Sāsān… we can conclude that were probably used to refer to printing blocks. And yet, given the طرش or طرس variants in the texts, one cannot say with certainty how the term was pronounced. Because of the uncertainty, it seems wise to avoid using the term, and to refer to these objects simply as block printed amulets.

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338 Bulliet, “Medieval Arabic Ṭarsh: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing,” p. 430. In addition, based on research conducted in the Paper Conservation Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art with Yana Van Dyke it was speculated that the block prints from the MMA were most likely made with a metal matrix. It must also be noted that in a recent publication by Geza Fehervari, et al., wood blocks were used for the frames of the amulets and metal was used for the text block. See: Fehervari, et al, *The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87)*, p. 151. I will follow both Yana Van Dyke’s and Richard Bulliet’s conclusion that a metal matrix was most likely used for the production of these block prints.

Therefore, in this dissertation, I avoid using the term *farsh*; rather, I identify them as talismanic block printed scrolls.

Besides the above scholarship on the talismanic scrolls, one must deduce information from the publications on block-printed pilgrimage scrolls that includes the works of Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, as well as Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine. The scholarship of Emilie Savage-Smith is also valuable because it addresses the field of talismans in general and places the material evidence within a dialogue of medieval Islamic science and magic. However, the discussion and connection of the talismanic scrolls to other material objects is the subject of Chapter Four. Therefore, in the following discussion, I hope to provide new avenues for the examination of Arabic block printed talismanic scrolls: a practice that provides a window onto the world of the occult.

I begin the analysis with the structure of the dated pilgrimage certificates that are important to the analysis of the published block printed talismanic scrolls. First of all, the rigid and logical appearance of the block printed pilgrimage scrolls is something that is pertinent to the understanding of the talismanic block printed scrolls. As it is apparent that there is variety, yet a rigid visual layout to the talismanic scrolls. In that there is a clear beginning, middle, and end of the scroll. Secondly, the pilgrimage scrolls will help date the undated talismanic scrolls. Lastly, in a larger conceptual framework, pilgrimage scrolls and talismanic scrolls are an

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342 I discuss the efficacious language and structure of the block-printed scrolls in Chapter Four.
important part of religious science and devotion. They connect to the discussion of the occult sciences discussed in Chapter One. This will be demonstrated at the end of this chapter. I begin this discussion with a visual analysis of the dated pilgrimage scrolls.

PILGRIMAGE AND TALISMANIC SCROLLS: THE CASE OF THE BLOCK PRINTED SCROLLS

In this dissertation, the production of the block-printed scrolls is geographically constrained to the medieval Islamic Mediterranean. Two types of block printed scrolls are examined: the undated talismanic and the dated pilgrimage scrolls. The process of block printing involves the use of either a wood or metal matrix. Once the matrix is prepared, a piece of paper brushed with oil is placed on the matrix and a knife or a sharp chisel carves out the design. The ink is applied to the surface, and the “raised area of the block which remained after the carving was completed became the printing surface.” The block is then applied to the paper to be printed. The technology of block printing is not limited to works on paper, in fact, the technology of block printing was also used for textiles such as the Fatimid cotton textiles. It is speculated

\[\text{\textsuperscript{343}}\] However, it must be noted that there is a talismanic block print that has been identified as from twelfth-thirteenth century eastern Iran. As I have not personally examined this block print, I am not sure about the attribution. See: Fendall, Ramsey, and Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts (Firm), Islamic Calligraphy, p.48.


\[\text{\textsuperscript{345}}\] Ibid.

that Arabic block printing on paper was in use between the years of 900 CE-1400 CE and was used from a culture of amulet making.\textsuperscript{347} The process was transmitted from a late antique pre-Islamic culture.\textsuperscript{348} Although, there is no evidence of Arabic block printing post-1400 CE.\textsuperscript{349}

There are only two scientifically dated talismanic scrolls. The first one, Papyrus Heb. 7, housed at the National Library of the University of Strasbourg, has been dated radiographically to the thirteenth century (fig. 55).\textsuperscript{350} The paper of the second one, GM 03.1 Schr, housed at The Gutenberg Museum, has been dated to the fifteenth century (fig. 56).\textsuperscript{351} As for the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls, they are dated internally because they were required to attest the completed pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{352} Therefore, the discussion of the undated talismanic block prints cannot occur without engaging in a dialogue on the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls. By understanding the structure and visual logic of the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls, one can then use these tools to understand the talismanic block prints.

\textsuperscript{347} Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{348} Ibid., p. 9.
\textsuperscript{349} Arabic block printing ceased to exist during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (r.1481-1512). He prohibited printing in Arabic. However, whether Bayezid II’s decision trickled into Mamluk territories and the Islamic Mediterranean is unknown at this point in time. Thierry Depaulis, “Documents imprimés de L'Égypte fatimide: un chapitre méconnu de L'histoire De L'imprimerie,” pp. 133-36.
\textsuperscript{350} Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, pp. 157-162.
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid., pp. 103-110.
\textsuperscript{352} Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, \textit{Certificats De Pèlerinage D'époque Ayyoubide: Contribution À L'histoire De L'idéologie De L'islam Au Temps Des Croisades}. 
A framework for the block printed scrolls and their classification must begin with the officially dated pilgrimage scrolls. After all, these scrolls are from a specific historical context.\textsuperscript{353} As a corpus, the block printed pilgrimage scrolls were originally found at the Great Mosque of Damascus and were transferred to Istanbul under the Ottomans. They are currently housed at Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul. Based on the work of Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomaine, the earliest dated pilgrimage scroll is from 476 AH/1084 CE and its provenance is Seljuq Syria from the reign of Tutush b. Alp Arslan; the latest dated scroll is from the Mamluk era: 710AH/1310 CE.\textsuperscript{354} The largest number of pilgrimage scrolls date from Zangid Damascus during the reign of Ayyubid Nur al-Din of 549AH/1154 CE-658AH/1260 CE.\textsuperscript{355} The earliest dated block-printed pilgrimage scroll is from 607 AH/ 1210 CE. By the thirteenth-century “only printed documents were produced, but this trend came to an end in the early years of the Mamluk period.”\textsuperscript{356} Viewed as a group, the pilgrimage scrolls were a combination of block prints, calligraphy, and hand painted illustrations.\textsuperscript{357} The main discussion of this chapter is the block-printed scroll. However, it will be easier to understand the historical context of the pilgrimage scrolls if I present them as a group, whether block printed or hand-written, since they have been

\textsuperscript{353} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{354} Ibid., p. 20. Also see: EI online, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., “Tutush (I) b. Alp Arslan,” (C. E. Bosworth).
\textsuperscript{357} Ibid., p. 124.
discussed in the research of Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine. The goal is to understand the pilgrimage scrolls and their role within an Ayyubid socio-historical context.

Based on the work of Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, the visual layout of the pilgrimage scroll is logical and this can help in the dating process of the talismanic block-printed scrolls by placing them into a historical context.\textsuperscript{358} First of all, most of the scrolls consist of two sheets of paper.\textsuperscript{359} Aligned vertically, into various compartments and registers, the text is organized in a horizontal manner.\textsuperscript{360} Sometimes the scrolls compromise of both text and image. The text size varies depending on the scroll. As Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine have demonstrated, each scroll has a distinct, rigid design element.\textsuperscript{361} For example, the praise of God and Qur’ānic phrases were highlighted in a larger ornamental script at the top on most of the scrolls.\textsuperscript{362} The role of the Qur’ān on the scroll is an important one,-the verses increase in number as one reads down the scroll as the hajj or ‘umra is completed.\textsuperscript{363} The verses all have an eschatological flavor to them.\textsuperscript{364} For example, a set of verses that occurs frequently on the pilgrimage scrolls: \textit{Al-Shu’arā} (26:88-89) which highlights the point that only God can assist the practitioner on

\textsuperscript{358} Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, \textit{Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades.}

\textsuperscript{359} Ibid., p. 21.

\textsuperscript{360} Ibid., p. 23.

\textsuperscript{361} Ibid., p.24.

\textsuperscript{362} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{363} Ibid., p. 40.

\textsuperscript{364} Ibid., p. 41.
Judgment Day.\textsuperscript{365} There is a strict format to these certificates beginning with the praise of God, working through the pilgrimage stations, and—at the bottom of the scrolls—the witness signatures attest to a pilgrimage performed.\textsuperscript{366}

There are further visual idiosyncrasies to these pilgrimage scrolls, Sourd\'el and Sourd\'el-Thomine divided both the block-printed and handwritten scrolls into five categories. Each of the five categories has a specific visual agenda from a specific time period, which provides an exact historical context. Four of the categories are predominately calligraphic scrolls. The fifth group combines text and illustrations. The first group, Group A, ranges in date from 554-603 (1159 - 1207) and maybe attributed to the period of the Zangid Nur al-Din (r.562-570/1166-7-1174-5) and Salaḥ al-Din (r. 564/1169–589/1193), along with al-Malik al-ʿAdil (r. 596-615/1199-1218).\textsuperscript{367} These scrolls record the names of the beneficiaries, mostly, were important figures of the military class and they focus on the religious rite of pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{368} Visually, they are marked by a monumental \textit{thuluth-muhaqqaq} script interspersed with a scribal script; and can be identified by their utilization of the Qurʾānic verses from \textit{al-tawbah} (9:21-22). The verses highlight the rewards of heaven as the reward of a pilgrimage completed. Group B dates between (560-604/1169-1207) and has a mystical content that catered to the Sufi and Shiʿite notables mentioned on the scrolls.\textsuperscript{369} These scrolls are not as straightforward as the first group; the large ornamental script on these scrolls consists of a variety of Qurʾānic verses and they praise God

\textsuperscript{365} Ibid., p. 41.
\textsuperscript{366} Ibid., pp. 24, 33-34.
\textsuperscript{367} Ibid., p. 65.
\textsuperscript{368} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{369} Ibid., p. 66.
while others address the construction of Mecca.\textsuperscript{370} According to Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, these Qur’ānic verses along with the persons mentioned in the text illustrate that these scroll were meant for notables.\textsuperscript{371} The scrolls in Group C are distinct. The script is a monumental \textit{thuluth- muhaqqaq} variation with the \textit{alif, lām} and \textit{kāf} interspersed with \textit{naskh}. The larger script is marked by the first three verses of \textit{sūrat al-Fāṭh} (48).\textsuperscript{372} They are dated after the death of Salāḥ al-Dīn and around the time of the rise of al-Malik al-ʿAdil: from 593-654/1197-1256. The rolls in group C are larger in size and were intended for the emirs, governors, and members of the princely family and court.\textsuperscript{373} Group D are from 609-646/1213 -1249 and are in a similar category as Group C. However, between the monumental script, illuminated textual cartouches differentiate this group. These embellishments correspond to the time of al-Malik al-ʿAdil.\textsuperscript{374} Lastly, in Group E the Qur’ānic quotations and monumental script are replaced by illustrations and they range in date from between 601-634/1205-1237.\textsuperscript{375}

With the above chronology and visual layout of the pilgrimage scrolls, there is a direct connection to the audience, and the political and historical climate of the time. The people addressed on the scrolls are all elite figures from various circles, including princely, military, and religious. In addition, Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, have established the connection of the pilgrimages to important political upheaval of the times. The scrolls in Groups A and B illustrate

\textsuperscript{370} Ibid., p. 67.
\textsuperscript{371} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{372} Ibid., p. 68.
\textsuperscript{373} Ibid., p.70.
\textsuperscript{374} Ibid., p. 71.
\textsuperscript{375} Ibid., p. 26.
the increased piety during the time that Nur al-Din and Salah al-Din when they staged an
offensive against the Crusades and their states.\textsuperscript{376} Groups C and E occur at a
time when al-Malik al-‘Adil flourished under his overload, the Abbasid Caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 576-622/1180–1225).\textsuperscript{377} The recognition of the Abbasid Caliph on the illustrated scrolls was an important one, as the
Abbasids had regained access to the holy sites after being blocked by the Fatimids.\textsuperscript{378} It is no
surprise that the illustrations of the black flags in Group E recognize the supremacy of the
Abbasid Caliph al-Nāṣir.

According to Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, Group E is the most enigmatic since they
survive as fragments.\textsuperscript{379} The rolls are organized vertically with various illustrated registers that
mark the important pilgrimage stations of the hajj and umra routes. The rolls “begin with major
stations of the hajj in Mecca and its vicinity and end with the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina and
the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem.”\textsuperscript{380} As David J. Roxburgh asserts, the combination of the
“verbal texts accompanying the visual schema” create an itinerary for the pilgrim and act as a
pilgrimage record.\textsuperscript{381} In addition, it recreates and recollects the actions of the “Prophet
Muhammad, Ibrahim, Hajar, and Isma’il” in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{382} Thus, the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{376} Ibid., p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{377} Ibid. p. 74.
\item \textsuperscript{378} Ibid., p. 73.
\item \textsuperscript{379} Ibid., p. 71. Also see: Aksoy and Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated
Hajj Certificates,” p. 103.
\item \textsuperscript{380} Roxburgh, “Pilgrimage City,” p.767.
\item \textsuperscript{381} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{382} Ibid.,p.769.
\end{itemize}
illustrated rolls are a combination of an itinerary and a preserved memory of the Prophets who experienced Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{383} In addition, the depictions of these holy sites “transform geography into religious topography” and “authenticate a set of religious practices and beliefs.”\textsuperscript{384} In fact, it is by noting the various sanctuaries that are illustrated on the scrolls that one can begin to conceptualize the link between pilgrimage and talismanic scrolls.\textsuperscript{385}

As Gülru Necipoğlu has noted in her discussion of the pictorial representation of the Dome of the Rock in Ayyubid and Ottoman scrolls, each of the scrolls contain a “spatial conception” that is related to the ideology of a particular dynasty and what was considered holy within that particular time period.\textsuperscript{386} It is through this ideology of navigating a pilgrimage site that one can note the talismanic connections of a particular site. For example, the depiction of a relic such as the Prophet Muhammad’s footprint on the Rock in Ayyubid scrolls is omitted from the Ottoman example, and its omission in the Ottoman scrolls “underscores the primacy of the rock’s association with God.”\textsuperscript{387} Yet the Ottoman scroll highlights the renovations of Sultan Suleyman and the eschatological connections of the various spots and their significance in the \textit{faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis} literature. Although the footprint of the Prophet Muhammad is not illustrated, the Ottoman pilgrimage scroll ends with the Prophet’s sandals. The Prophet’s sandals

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\textsuperscript{385} Necipoğlu, “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ‘Abd Al-Malik’s Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman’s Glosses,”

\textsuperscript{386} Ibid., pp. 73-79.

\textsuperscript{387} Ibid., p.77.
\end{flushleft}
“function as the link between Jerusalem and Mecca.”\textsuperscript{388} The conception of what is holy connects the pilgrimage and talismanic scrolls. The authenticity of both the talismanic and pilgrimage scrolls is established by the quotations of the Qurʾān and its holiness stemming from it. And the authenticity of a site such as the Dome of the Rock is elaborated through its Qurʾānic connection.\textsuperscript{389} I will explain this point further at the end of the chapter.

Here, it is important to understand the visual structure of the pilgrimage scrolls and their layout. The rigid structure of the scrolls is a feature that has been noted in the block printed scrolls. According to the work of Aksoy and Milstein, the physical attributes of the illustrated pilgrimage scrolls in Group E enable us to place them into four different subgroups based on their sizes and the direction of the laid lines.\textsuperscript{390} Based on size and an approximate reconstruction of the fragments, Aksoy and Milstein have classified the illustrated pilgrimage scrolls.\textsuperscript{391} The first group has only one certificate (TİEM 4091) from 608AH/1211 CE; it is smaller than the rest in that it is made up from two sheets of paper joined at the depiction of Mina.\textsuperscript{392} Its estimated size was 112-115 cm in length with a width of 23.5cm. The second group consists of three rolls of paper with a join in the middle of Mecca (TİEM 4742, 4744, 4737, 4746); and the approximate size is 130-140cm x26cm.\textsuperscript{393} The third group of scrolls is dated to the reign of the

\textsuperscript{388} Roxburgh, “Pilgrimage City,” p. 772.


\textsuperscript{390} Aksoy and Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,” pp. 115-123.

\textsuperscript{391} Ibid., p. 115.

\textsuperscript{392} Ibid., p. 118.

\textsuperscript{393} Ibid. Please note that most of these pilgrimage scrolls are fragments.
Abbasid caliph al-Imam al-Nasr li-din Allah (575-622/1180-1225).\textsuperscript{394} They were made of three sheets of paper that were joined at the bottom of Muzdalifa; the original size is estimated to be 150x35cm.\textsuperscript{395} The last group also consists of three sheets of paper with a join “in unexpected places, such as the bottom of Mt. Arafat;” its approximate size is 210x50cm.\textsuperscript{396}

Along with the above illustrated pilgrimage scrolls, another important factor to Aksoy and Milstein’s research is that there were a number of talismanic scrolls that are part of the Damascus depository currently housed at the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul. Although, I was not able to study these scrolls; but, I would like to take the time to present them.\textsuperscript{397} Comparable to the pilgrimage scrolls, the talismanic scrolls consist of a combination of illustrations of holy places along with large Qur’ānic inscriptions, magic squares, and symbolic figures.\textsuperscript{398} According to Aksoy and Milstein, a different block was used for each of the various categories.\textsuperscript{399} It is interesting that the illustration of the holy places was smaller in size than those on the pilgrimage scrolls. It is unfortunate that I was unable to see these scrolls, and the information available on them is limited.

\begin{flushright}
394 Ibid.
395 Ibid.
396 Ibid.
397 I am very thankful that I was able to visit the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum with the help of Fethi Etem at the Turkish Embassy of Kuwait and the staff at TIEM. I am also thankful to for the assistance of Sheikha Hussah al-Sabah in gaining access to the museum. Unfortunately, due to a restructuring of the museum and the reorganization of the museum accession numbers, I was only able to see the pilgrimage scrolls mentioned by Aksoy and Milstein.
399 Ibid.
\end{flushright}
However, from the preceding presentation of the scholarship on the Ayyubid pilgrimage and talismanic scrolls, it is possible to deduce a number of facts that will assist in the analysis of the “Fatimid” talismanic block prints. One is that there is a strict logic to the block-printed scrolls: They begin by addressing God and then continue through the various pilgrimage stations with textual references to the Qurʾān, and they end with signatures of the witnesses. In addition, with this logical layout, it was possible for scholars to provide a historical context for the scrolls. Therefore, it is possible to embark on an analysis of the Fatimid block-printed scroll. One can assume that these scrolls, similar to the pilgrimage scrolls, are laid out logically; and that there is a careful balance of Qurʾānic verses that address God. The dating of the Fatimid block-printed talismanic scroll cannot be known immediately. However, based on stylistic analysis, it is possible to provide an approximate date.

The Case of the “Fatimid” Talismanic Block Prints

Before initiating this discussion, it is important to recognize that the classification of these talismanic block prints is not a straightforward process. As has been implied in the opening quotations of this chapter, issues of dating and attribution keep these scrolls from being placed into a historical context. Yet, with the dated pilgrimage scrolls in mind, and by applying important questions regarding early Arabic manuscripts, one can perhaps “reclaim” these block prints “from obscurity and isolation and reconcile them” with the dated Ayyubid examples. The early Arabic talismanic block prints on paper included in this dissertation may


Chronologically be placed between the early Fustat illustrated fragments and the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls; in other words, sometime between the years 900 and 1100 CE. They are not exclusively Qurʾānic, nor are they illustrated books. They are, as I have classified them above, devotional scrolls that use scripture for talismanic purposes. They are a licit form of magic that was authorized through their use of the Qurʾān. They are ṭilsāmāt (talismans) that are a form of nīranj (white magic), and the prayers on the scrolls are a raqqī (magical incantation) in the form of riyāḍāt (spiritual exercise). 402

To further understand these terms, it is necessary to place these talismanic block prints into a general Fatimid sphere. In this way, these scrolls are examples that illustrate the literacy of the general community that has been asserted by the Fatimid philosophy of learning. 403 The most important fact about the Fatimids is that knowledge, ‘ilm, and wisdom, ḥikma, were gifts from God. 404 This knowledge was passed down from the Prophets to the Imams who then passed it down to the Fatimid caliphs who disseminated it through their dai (missionaries of the Ismaili movement) who then passed this knowledge to the public. 405 In addition, it is known from the recorded foundation of Dār al-Ḥikma (House of Knowledge for non-religious sciences) and Dār al-‘Ilm (House of Science) by the Caliph al-Ḥākim (r.996-1013 CE), that literacy was valued by

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402 See Chapter One for the discussion of these terms.


405 Ibid., pp.17-18.
the Fatimid community. Definitely, these talismanic block prints neither fall into the category of high art as representative of royal Fatimid book arts like the Palermo Qurʾān or the Blue Qurʾān; nor are they representations of ‘Ismaili doctrine. However, they fall into the categories of devotional literature from daily life and of Islamic occult sciences.

As demonstrated in Chapter One for the Ikhwān, who wrote in tenth-century Baghdad and probably were a part of the beginnings of the ‘Ismaili movement, magic and talismans were an important part of life. It was a sanctioned practice noted in scripture and passed down from the Prophets. They state that one of the strongest forms of a talisman is the ruqya (magical incantation in the form of prayers), along with ‘azāʾīm (exorcism), wahm (hallucination), and zijr (divination). All of the block printed scrolls in this dissertation are prayers on paper. They are forms of a ruqya (magical incantation in the form of prayers). The talismanic scrolls demonstrate the merging relationship between the occult sciences and devotion. In addition, they are examples that reveal that indeed “between the ninth and eleventh centuries…basic works in Islamic science, medicine, and philosophy were written, integrating learning and knowledge from pre-Islamic traditions, including classical Greek scholarship.”

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408 See Chapter One.


410 Again, it is impossible to prove that a craftsman who created these block prints was reading a magical treatise such as Ikhwān al-Safā’; but the talismanic block-printed scroll are examples that it was a wide-spread practice.

411 Hoffman, “The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book,” p. 44.
talismans was not just part of the vocabulary of the learned elite or the underworld, but part of the daily life of the practitioner.\textsuperscript{412} In addition, just as the illustrated Fusṭāṭ fragments were linked to “a variety of scientific and pseudo-scientific subjects from astronomy and astrology to magical aprotropiac images;” through stylistic analysis and by approaching these block-prints “one fragment at time,” it is possible to place them into an approximate cultural and historical context.\textsuperscript{413}

\textbf{Stylistic Analysis of the Talismanic Block Prints}

Again, due to the scarcity of Fatimid works on paper, scholars date these objects with a fair degree of uncertainty. It must be acknowledged that Schaefer, who most recently published the talismanic block prints, refrains from using stylistic analysis based on calligraphy to date them; he finds the process faulty. As he states:

\begin{quote}
The style of the script used in the block prints is important…The Kufi script, for example, is known to have been used widely in the ninth and tenth centuries CE in writing, textile design, metalwork inlays, on coins, in ceramic decorations and for inscriptions on monumental Islamic architecture. It is tempting to conclude, in light of this, that block prints bearing this script were also produced at about that time. However, there are dated examples of the Kufi script style being used in inscriptions as late as the fourteenth century. Moreover, the Kufi script itself evolves over time, becoming more elaborate, more heavily embellished in its execution, and spawning regional variations as well. Kufi script was widely used as an ornamental style and is found frequently on medieval Muslim buildings, as well as in the Qur’āns of high artistic quality… As important as the calligraphy may be for dating the block prints, if we are to gain a more thorough
\end{quote}


understanding of them, it would seem useful to develop a typology that would assist in the endeavor.\textsuperscript{414} I do not fully agree with the above quotation, but I acknowledge that Schaefer is on the appropriate track to deciphering these block prints. He proposes that the typology be established on three factors: “the physical attributes of the object, the characteristics of the scripts in which the texts are composed, and the textual content.”\textsuperscript{415} I supplement Schaefer’s preliminary approach of cataloguing and transcribing the block prints and provide these so called “Fatimid” block prints an approximate date. I do believe that stylistic analysis can be a useful tool.

Through stylistic analysis of the script, and through comparison to dated pilgrimage scrolls and other dated objects; it is possible to provide an estimated date for the talismanic block prints.\textsuperscript{416} Besides these two scrolls, it is known that two of the talismanic block prints from Fusṭāṭ are dated to 950-1050 CE based on a “good archaeological context.”\textsuperscript{417} In other words, these fragments are dated through paleographic comparison to the confirmed fourteen documents as well as, pottery and textiles found at the excavation.\textsuperscript{418} A second set of talismanic block prints,

\textsuperscript{414} Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, pp. 43-45.

\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., p.45.

\textsuperscript{416} Again, there are only two talismanic scrolls that have been dated through modern technology. The first one, Papyrus Heb. 7, is housed at the National Library of the University of Strasbourg and has been dated to the thirteenth-century (fig.55). The paper of the second one, GM 03.1 Schr, housed at The Gutenberg Museum, has been dated to the fifteenth-century (fig.56) Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, pp. 103-110.

\textsuperscript{417} The two scrolls are not included in the dissertation catalogue, but see: Kubiak and Scanlon, \textit{Fusṭāṭ Expedition Final Report, Vol.2: Fusṭāṭ-C}, pp. 68-80.

\textsuperscript{418} Ibid., p. 68.
found at the Bahnāsa excavation, have also been dated to the Fatimid era.\textsuperscript{419} The \textit{kufic} calligraphy on one of these talismanic fragments was compared to a Fatimid wooden ownership contract housed at the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo that bears the date 318 AH/930 CE. Thus, the fragment is dated to the tenth century through a stylistic analysis of the calligraphy.\textsuperscript{420} Besides these affirmed excavation block prints, there is a third set of talismanic block prints that are undated but were acquired from Egypt by Aziz S. Atiya (1898-1988). In this case, the provenance of Egypt is determined. There is a fourth set of block prints, discovered by the Austrian scholar Joseph von Karabacek in 1880, and currently housed at the Austrian National Library.\textsuperscript{421} They have been dated as pre-fourteenth century and were brought back from Fayoum, Egypt. Therefore, the Fusṭāṭ and Bahnāsa excavations block prints are from a 930-1050 CE context. As for the Aziz S. Atiya and the Austrian National Library block prints, a provenance of Egypt may be ascribed. Based on these facts from the published talismanic block prints, and through the use of stylistic analysis, it is possible to date the talismanic block prints included in this dissertation.

The talismanic block prints included in this dissertation are from Columbia University, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Dar al-`Atar al-Islamiyyah.\textsuperscript{422} Their monochromatic text is mostly aligned vertically on a rectangular piece of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Again, these scrolls are not included in this dissertation but for a depiction of them, see: Fehervari, et al., \textit{The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87)}, pp. 150-156.
\item Ibid., p. 151.
\item Most of the block prints—except the ones at the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art—have been published. Therefore, I have included only a selection—those housed at Columbia University,
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
paper. The longest talismanic block print is housed at Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (LNS 350 MS); it consists of three pieces of paper measuring 105 cm x 7.6 cm (figs. 2, 3 and 4). It is the only one that retains its leather case and necklace, which provides a context for how these talismans were used (fig. 4). Another distinguishing factor is that most of these block prints are predominately calligraphic. Decorative motifs do occur on them; again, they are mostly geometric with talismanic connections (fig. 1, fig. 6, fig. 10). For example, there is one seal of Solomon (fig. 34), two abstracted mihrab niche (fig. 10, fig. 14), and one talismanic block print with a demon-jinn figure (fig. 57). There are two important tools that can assist in the dating of these talismanic block prints: the calligraphy and the use of paper as a medium. These block-printed talismanic scrolls are some of the earliest known examples of Islamic printed paper.

It is known that the “the oldest manuscript on ‘Arab’ paper is believed to be a copy of the Doctrina Patrum, produced at Damascus ca. 800.”


423 There are a number of block-printed talismanic scrolls that contain red ink: Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS (fig. 26), at Los Angeles County Museum of Art; M.2002.1.370 (fig. 28), at The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975.192.21 (fig. 33).


425 One must note that not all the block-printed talismanic scrolls were on paper: two block prints not included in this dissertation were executed on vellum. Please see: Arnold, Walker, Grohmann, and J. Allan, The Islamic Book; a Contribution to Its Art and History from the VII-Xviii Century, plates: 14a, 15. I have not examined these block prints personally; and I am not certain about the assertion that they were executed on vellum.

Alexandria, Egypt, is dated to 848 CE; another, Abu ‘Ubayd al-Qasim Gharib al-Hadith, is dated to 252AH/867 CE and is part of the collection at the Leiden University Library. As Eva Hoffman and Jonathan Bloom have both demonstrated, that increased availability of paper facilitates wider distribution of literature to the public. With these basic facts regarding early Arabic manuscripts on paper and the survey of the literature on the pilgrimage scrolls, it is possible to embark on a discussion of the calligraphy on the “Fatimid” talismanic block prints.

The use of floriated kufic on these block prints is an important factor that must be acknowledged. The development of floriated kufic began in North Africa and came to fruition under the Fatimids. As Bloom illustrates, the Fatimids inherited their artistic tradition from the Aghlabids. The script later spread into use across the Islamic Mediterranean, Persian, and Central Asia. Yet, floriated kufic is a distinctive feature found on Fatimid objects such as the limestone tombstones, marble kilgas, ivory oliphants and boxes, tiraz fragments, lusterware, and


430 Ibid.


432 Ibid.
By examining the dated Fatimid material objects and comparing the floriated kufic on these talismanic block prints, it is possible to create a historical framework. Floriated kufic appears on a number of the block printed talismanic scrolls included in this dissertation. Based on the known and dated pilgrimage scrolls that employ the floriated kufic along with the dated Fatimid objects, I establish a general date and typology for the talismanic block prints.

There are three types of block printed scrolls included in this dissertation: the first uses floriated kufic for its headings and angular kufic for the text; the second uses an elongated floriated kufic for its headings and a naskh-thuluth combination for the text block, the third only uses naskh-thuluth script for the headings and text. And each type can be dated to an approximate period. First of all, the combination of floriated kufic for headings and angular kufic for the text block; it is possible to date most of these block prints to a general tenth- to eleventh-century Fatimid period (fig. 1, fig. 2-4, fig. 5, fig. 6, fig. 7, fig. 8, fig. 9, fig. 10, fig. 11.). Another set of block prints uses a combination of elongated floriated kufic script together with the naskh-thuluth script that has diacritics and vocalization. It can be dated to an Ayyubid (11-


434 Ibid.


12th century CE) period (fig. 12, fig. 13, fig. 14, fig. 15, fig. 16). There is a third group, consisting of only one example, which employs only naskh-thuluth script. It can be dated to the Nasrid period (14-15th century CE) (fig. 18). This particular talismanic block print has the Nasrid creed in red script across the top “lā ghālib illā allāh.” In addition, the actual block print is a circle inscribed into a square which is a distinct attribute of Maghribi and Muslim Spain Qur’ānic frontispieces. This allows the most definitive dating for a scroll. Again, as a whole, I ascribe these dates to the group of block printed scrolls with caution. Yet, based on the below analysis I believe I have an approximate date for the so-called “Fatimid” talismanic block prints.

Beginning with the block printed scrolls that contain a combination of floriated kufic headings and angular kufic text, these block-printed scrolls are similar to the dated block print from the Bahnāsa excavation dated to the tenth century (fig. 1, fig. 2-4, fig. 5, fig. 6, fig. 7, fig. 8, fig. 9, fig. 10, fig. 11). Stylistically, the block printed scrolls are different from the Fustāṭ block-print amulet that employs floriated kufic for the headings and text, but these maybe dated to the same period. Besides the links to other talismanic block prints, the floriated kufic on these talismans resembles that found on a dated silver casket made for the treasury of Ṣadaqa ibn Yūsuf (in office 1044-1046) the vizier of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir (r.1036-94). There are also a number of dated Fatimid mihrabs that use the floriated kufic in a similar manner: there


is the mihrab of the Ibn Tulun mosque, ordered by al-Afdal in 1094, and the al-Azhar wooden mihrab gifted by al-Amir in 1125 CE. The angular kufic is a feature that is a distinct part of the main text block on these talismans. First of all, diacritic marks were not used on these text blocks. This is an individual feature of early works on paper and inscriptions. The only examples that contain a form of vocalization are the early Fatimid Qur’āns that have dots; and no dotting appears on these talismanic block prints. As for the use of angular kufic, it appears on Umayyad inscriptions such as the one on a milestone in the name of Abd al-Malik (685-705) found at the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul, and a mosque inscription from the Umayyad period, also at the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul. In other words, angular kufic is not an exclusive Fatimid script. However, it does occur on certain Fatimid objects such as the inscriptions on the Fatimid tiraz textiles. Examples include, on the reed mat from the Benaki Museum in Athens; and on the standard of the Caliph al-Musta’li that has been dated to 1096-7, currently housed at Cathédrale d’Apt, Apt, Provence, France. Again, angular kufic is not an exclusive Fatimid style; but the fact that most of the block printed talismans were found in Egypt or North Africa leads one to ascribe a Fatimid date to this group.


443 N. Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art*, p. 32.


445 There are a number of seals that are from the eighth to tenth centuries that use the angular Kufic
There is one loophole to this theory. A talismanic block print at the National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb. 7, has been dated radiographically to the thirteenth-century (fig. 55). However, if one examines Papyrus Heb. 7 closely, one could note that the floriated kufic used for the heading was in different style from the ones that have been determined to be Fatimid. Again, my attribution of the talismanic block prints with floriated kufic headings and angular kufic text blocks as Fatimid is done with caution.

The second group of talismanic block prints included in this dissertation use a combination of elongated floriated kufic script together with the naskh-thuluth script, and can be dated to a Ayyubid (11-12th century CE) period (fig. 12, fig. 13, fig. 14, fig. 15, fig.16). The elongated floriated kufic in these sets of block prints is similar to Ayyubid coins. The combination of the naskh/thuluth script with diacritics on the block printed talismanic scrolls is similar to the foundation inscription of the Great Mosque at the Citadel of Aleppo 610/1213 CE and the foundation inscription of the Madrasa al-Shādbakhtiyya 589/1193 CE. Additionally, there are Qurʾān manuscripts, such as one attributed to twelfth-century Syria in the Nasser D.

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The other important fact about the Ayyubids is that there is a wealth of scientific occult objects that have survived from twelfth- thirteenth-century Syria. First of all, there is a magic bowl from the Zangid period that is dated for the Sultan al-Malik al-Adil Mahmud b. Zangi in the year 565/1169-70 CE. It is engraved with that thuluth/naskh script. There are also a number of Ayyubid astrolabes such as the astrolabe of Abd Al-Karim dedicated to al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa, dated to 625/1227-28 owned by Oxford University. From this analysis that one can propose that these block printed scrolls are from the Ayyubid period. Until proper scientific radiography is done on the paper, these estimated dates are not definite.

The third group has only one block-printed talisman, and I believe that it is Nasrid (fig. 18), as I put forward in the catalogue. In red script at the top it reads: Lā ghālib ilā allāh (“There is no victor but God). This phrase is known as the Nasrid creed. The Nasrid creed occurs on a variety of material objects from coins, to architecture, to book bindings, and textiles. As mentioned above, the calligraphic style and layout of the block print echoes Nasrid objects. For example, on coins from the Nasrid period, such as those struck by Yusuf I (1333-1354 CE), the calligraphic style of the Lā ghālib ilā allāh on the reverse of the coin is similar in style to the


block print. Besides that, the design format of the circle inscribed within a square on the block print resonates with the coin’s square–inscribed-in-circle format. In addition, the format of the block print of the circle inscribed in a square is a distinct attribute of North African and Muslim Spanish Qurʾān frontispieces. Lastly, the style and calligraphy of the talismanic block print reminds the informed viewer of the design layout of the La Navas de Tolosa Banner.

As briefly mentioned above, there is a fourth group of talismanic block prints that I was unable to see. They combine illustrations of holy places along with large Qurʾānic inscriptions, magic squares, and symbolic figures. These block printed talismans have a direct relationship to the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls. Based on the dating of Aksoy and Milstein, these most likely can be attributed to a Seljuq, Ayyubid, Mamluk period similar to the other scrolls found in the Great Mosque of Damascus, which are currently housed in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul. Although I did not see this last group of talismanic scrolls, I will end this chapter by discussing the thematic connection between the talismanic and pilgrimage scrolls.

In conclusion, the above stylistic analysis of the block printed scrolls is important, as it locates the talismanic scrolls within a historical narrative. By placing the scrolls in a general Fatimid- Ayyubid milieu, one can discuss a possible context for their use within the conceptual framework of pilgrimage guides. It was established in Chapter One that sihr (magic) is an


456 Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain, p. 326.


458 Ibid.
important part of Islamic cosmology and theory. I will now embark on a discussing of how
talismanic objects were a part of daily life. Despite the fact that the talismanic scrolls and
pilgrimage scrolls share the same medium and basic format; it is their conceptual connection that
is pertinent in understanding how the occult and cosmology configures into Fatimid-Ayyubid
daily life.

A SACRED TOPOGRAPHY: A CONCEPTUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
TALISMANIC AND PILGRIMAGE SCROLLS

In the discussion above, a general date for the block-printed talismanic scrolls was ascribed
between 950-1492. The next question becomes, how were these talismanic scrolls used? First of
all, across the medieval Mediterranean, the tradition of carrying a talisman, token or ampulla to
or from a sanctified pilgrimage site was something firmly established in Byzantium.459 People
carried to Biblical and “miracle-working” sites; and some of these sites were not necessarily
religious but had a more “magical” component to them.460 What makes a site “magical” depends
on each particular site; for example, there might be a rock or column that had special healing or
miraculous power. In addition, some of the sites that existed in Byzantium, were inherited and
reconfigured into Islamic pilgrimage manuals. As Josef W. Meri states, “medieval Muslims


acknowledged that certain ritual practices originated with Christians and Jews. In fact, “the writers of pilgrimage guides drew upon Scripture, exegetical traditions, stories, myths, legends, and historical events to provide sanctity” of a holy land. It is in the creation of sacred topography that one can establish the connection between talismans and the culture of pilgrimage. Sacred topography is defined as:

Sacred topography encompasses those distinguishing characteristics of a place that its inhabitants, writers, and travelers identified as holy—monuments such as tombs, sepulchers, mausoleums, houses, shrines, mosques, synagogues, and churches, as well as natural sites, such as mountains, wells, rivers, and caves.

Along with this sacred topography comes a variety of pilgrimage literature. In the following section, I will discuss Ibn al-Murajjā’s Faḍāʾil Bayt al-Maqdis, from the eleventh century and ‘Ali ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawi’s (d.1215) pilgrimage manual, Kitab al-ishlist ila ma’rifat al-ziyarat, and how these very different manuals complement definitions of talismanic literature discussed in Chapter One. And perhaps, through this examination of pilgrimage culture, one can imagine the use of both the talismanic and pilgrimage block-printed scrolls.

I begin with ‘Ali ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawi’s (d.1215) pilgrimage manual, Kitab al-ishlist. One is struck by the fluidity of the definition of a pilgrimage site and how these stories and

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462 Ibid., p.15.


464 Ibid., p. 15.

myths are intertwined with certain talismans, relics of Prophets, and night visions of holy figures. In fact, there are sites that are exclusively talismanic, such as a site in the city of Ḫimṣ, al-Harawi where it states that there are tombs of certain companions of the Prophet; there is also a talisman of a scorpion and if the “earth” of this talisman is applied to a scorpion bite then it is healed. The healing power of the earth also keeps the city of Ḫimṣ free of scorpions and snakes. This type of site is what Gary Vikan has characterized as a purely “magical” site. It has no association with a religious figure or memory, and the talisman—depending on the source—has been described as a “wind-vane of a man riding or of an image of a half-man half-scorpion in white stone.” There are a variety of talismanic locations in *Kitab al-ishārāt*. In some cases, these pilgrimage sites are explicitly talismanic locations and are embedded with sanctified memories; and in others, there is a connection to holy figures from Scripture. For example, in Medina, a holy city sanctified by many memories of the Prophet Muhammad and his following, at “the Mosque of Banū Ḥaritha, the Mosque of Banū Ṣafar, which contains a rock


468 Ibid., p. 52.

469 Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, pp. 4-5.


471 Ibid.
upon which the” Prophet Muhammad sat and “if a woman is experiencing a difficult childbirth sits on it, she will give birth.”

Besides al- Harawi’s seminal pilgrimage guide, there are a number of books that are part of the “In-praise of Jerusalem literature.” They are also insightful about the creation of a pilgrimage site or the code of conduct when visiting a holy site such as the Dome of the Rock. The most “important author” from this group is Ibn al-Murajjā’s who Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis (The Praise of the Dome of the Rock). In his book, one gets a sense how hadith and Qur’ān authorize the Dome of the Rock as a pilgrimage site. The voice of Ibn al-Murajjā’s text echoes the primary sources discussed in Chapter One.

Reading the eleventh-century text by Ibn al-Murajjā, Faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis (The Praise of the Dome of the Rock), one is struck by the use of the Qur’ān and hadith to sanctify the various visitation spots within the Dome of the Rock. Ibn al-Murajjā identifies the stations where prayers will be answered and forgiveness is granted. For example, Ibn al-Murajjā states that there are certain preferred invocations and rituals that must be performed when one enters to visit al-ṣakhra (the Rock). It begins with the importance of purity and ablution before entering the Dome of the Rock. It follows with a code of conduct: The pilgrim should enter bayt al-

472 Ibid., p. 246.


475 Ibn al-Murajjā, and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis*,

476 Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍā’il bayt al-maqdis*,

477 Ibid., p. 81-85.
maqdis with their right leg; and then recite certain invocations in the name of Banī Isreal, Dawūd, and Idrīs on al-balāṭa al-sawdāʾ (black paving stone) as was done by the Prophet Muhammad. The most important part is to invoke God’s greatest name, ism Allāh al-ʿAtham, and God answers all prayers. This text, and its rigid application of ritual, is similar to al-Buni’s strict regimen and recalls pre-Islamic biblical history as the Ikhwān did in their text. In addition, the use of the greatest name of God, ism Allah al-ʿAtham, is an important part of the occult and pilgrimage culture. Again, the structure of Ibn al-Murrajjā’s text resonates with the talismanic literature discussed in Chapter One. They are similar in that there is a sense of a strict ritual that must be followed in order for prayers to be answered by God. Also, the authority of talismans and Faḍāʾ il bayt al-maqdis comes from the utilization of the Qurʾān: It creates sanctity for the site and the talismanic object. Elaborating on this point, calling on the names of God and the Qurʾān is an important part of pilgrimage sites and talismanic block prints. For example, the talismanic block prints are continuously calling on the names of God and the Qurʾān (fig. 13 fig. 16). There are two talismanic block prints from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 1978.546.35 and MMA 1978.546.36) that most likely were part of the same original block print (fig. 16). The text block begins by seeking refuge in the names of God on MMA 1978.546.35 and ends on MMA 1978.546.36 with the three most potent chapters of the Qurʾān al-muʿwadhāt (al-Ikhlās, al-Falaq, an-Nās:112,113, and 114) that were known for their talismanic powers and ability to keep the spirits away (fig. 16). Besides verses and chapters of the Qurʾān, there are mystical letters in the Qurʾān which are especially efficacious for the pilgrim and are often found

478 Ibid.

479 Ibid., p. 85.

480 Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, pp. 205-211.
on talismanic material. For example, Ibn al-Murajjā states that it is preferred to pray in the qubbat al-silsila (Dome of the Chains) by the door to the Dome of the Rock, as this is the spot where the angel Isräfil will call upon the people; and it is the spot where God forgave the people of Isreal.\textsuperscript{481} Therefore, this spot reflects on the religious past and the future for ultimate sanctity. In addition, it is narrated that at qubbat al-silsila (Dome of the Chains), Hasan (the Prophet’s nephew) heard his father ‘Ali call on كهفي كafi حد ‘Ain Ṣād along with the names of God for forgiveness.\textsuperscript{482} Kaf Hā ‘Ain Ṣād are mystical letters that are from the beginning of sūrat Ash-Shūra (42) and sūrat Maryam (19); it is known as one of “The Crowning words” of the Qur’ān and is often found on a variety of talismans.\textsuperscript{483} This particular arrangement of mystical letters occurs on one of the talismanic scrolls in this dissertation, LNS 12 MS from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah; and on the dated block printed talismanic scroll from the Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr (fig. 26, fig. 56).\textsuperscript{484} Again, in both Ibn al-Murajjā’s text and these two scrolls, prayers are answered through the power and authority of the mystical words of the Qur’ān. However, in Ibn al-Murajjā’s text it is the location combined with the mystical words that allows the pilgrim to get closer to God and Heaven. It is possible to imagine the practitioner using these block-printed talismanic scrolls at pilgrimage sites. After all, pilgrimage sites have an


\textsuperscript{482} Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, Faḍāʾ il bayt al-maqdis, p. 89.


\textsuperscript{484} Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, pp. 103-110. For a discussion of LNS 12 MS, please see the catalogue and Chapter Three.
uninterrupted bond to God through the power of a talisman, or a vision, or a dream of a holy figure; and these sites may be classified as part of the occult. Ultimately, the pilgrim seeks a connection to a spiritual figure or object that will bring him or her closer to God and grant an answer to their supplication. It is in this way that one can make the direct connection between a talisman and a pilgrimage site. In other words, the boundaries between a spiritually empowered architectural site touched by a prophet or saint, and the visitation of an exclusively talismanic site, are blurred in their pursuit of closeness to God. They are both representations of a religious science and devotion.

Reflecting on the primary sources discussed in Chapter One, in particular the Ikhwān’s text, the powers of siḥr are learned from divine law through the morals and ethics found in the stories and deeds of rulers and prophets. These stories taught the soul fear and knowledge of God. For pilgrims, these prophetic stories demonstrate that their otherworldly prayers will be answered. They touched and carried a talisman in the hope of finding cures and receiving continuous blessings from God. The medieval Muslim pilgrims performed their ziyāra (pious acts of visiting tombs and other sites endowed with sanctity) to find the perfect spot that will answer their prayers. In both Ibn al-Murajjā and al-Harawi, this is understood. For Ibn al-Murajjā, similar to the Ikhwān, there is a continuous reference to the pre-Islamic prophets and the lessons learned from them. Yet, in Ibn al-Murajjā, the prophets and memories of their history are connected to physical spots at the Haram al-Sharif. Sanctified locations such as the Mihrab of Mary, Solomon’s Throne, and Buraq’s stairway are important spots in the Haram where

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particular prayers are answered. On the other hand, in al-Harawi, there is no direct historical link to a prophet at some of these pilgrimage locations. However, the prophetic figures seen in a night vision provide a more curative spot for the pilgrim. On the island of Tuna in Egypt, there is a shrine to the Prophet Muhammad and his nephew Ali b. Abī Talib. This shrine was erected after an old man inflicted with leprosy saw both the Prophet and Ali on the shrine’s spot and they cured him of his illness. Due to its curative powers, this site is on the pilgrimage route, and the site itself then becomes a talisman endowed with a potent power. The boundaries between what is explicitly a talisman or a token with the word of God, or a night vision of a prophet or saint that imbues a talisman with its power, are blurred.

Based on these brief examples from al-Harawi and Ibn al-Murajjā, one can deduce that there are two purposes for a pilgrimage. First, a pilgrim is looking to be imbued with the sanctity and holiness of a visitation; connected with a religious figure or site related to Scripture and the afterworld. The second is to actively ask for assistance with worldly hardships such as health cures, imporve prospects of love, and relief from a life of poverty. And it is the sanctity of a pilgrimage site that fuels the culture of pilgrimage and talismanic objects. As Meri states:

A locality’s sanctity is defined by its place in Scripture and exegesis, its association with eschatological traditions, the transmission of legends, myths, and stories from various periods in its history, performance of ritual within its confines, importing and exporting from it sacred objects and substance (e.g., soil),


489 Ibid.
the production and display of talismanic objects there, and finally its association with living and dead saints.\textsuperscript{490}

It is through this fluid definition of sanctity and its role within a vocabulary of talismans that one can speculate that the talismanic block prints could fall into this category as tokens of visitation. They are a way for a devotee to “manufacture” baraka sanctity, a portable means to carry the sanctity of the spot.\textsuperscript{491} As for the pilgrimage block prints, one knows that they were meant to be certificates testifying that a pilgrimage was performed. Therefore, it is no surprise that both the talismanic scrolls and Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls are block printed. A block print on paper, although initially laborious to create, offered a quick and easy way to get the touch of holiness but also an easy way to remember scripture. After all, based on the research of Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomaine for the pilgrimage scrolls they “were made in advance, speculatively, and later purchased by a pilgrim.”\textsuperscript{492}

The block printed talismanic scrolls are similar to the pilgrimage scrolls because they are sanctified in holiness by their use of scripture. Most of the talismanic scrolls studied this dissertation are anthologies of scripture placed in a certain order on paper. They are not Qur’âns because these scrolls mix and match various Qur’ânic verses creating efficacious prayers that will assist the carrier. They are “inanimate objects” that possess baraka.\textsuperscript{493} By exploring the language used on these scrolls, it is evident that there is an “agent” (the scroll) and “a recipient

\textsuperscript{490} Meri, \textit{The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria}, p. 28.

\textsuperscript{491} Ibid., p. 26.

\textsuperscript{492} Roxburgh, “Pilgrimage City,”p.763.

\textsuperscript{493} Meri, \textit{The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria}., p. 102.
I would even argue these talismanic scrolls function in the same way as relics. Similar to relics, they are consulted for spiritual devotion, and in times of crisis and need. Yet, the scrolls differ from relics because they are mostly objects of private devotion, especially the smaller Fatimid block prints.

Besides possibly being objects of private devotion, one can speculate that these block prints were read at particular shrines or tombs in Fatimid Egypt. As Christopher S. Taylor observes, the activity of visiting the tombs in Qarafa was well established by “the late eighth and early ninth century.” One aspect of the functionality of talismans is that they can be seen as partaking in a pilgrimage culture and falling under the umbrella of devotional literature. Another important aspect of talismans is their role within the context of the compendium of licit magic primary sources like the ones discussed in Chapter One. The third possibility is that these talismanic scrolls are part of a burial culture. These block prints could have been buried with the body of a Muslim believer. One could speculate that these prayers on paper could have been used as portable prayers read by various Qur’ān reciters at the tombs in Qarafa. However, this cannot be established, as the verses included on the various scrolls do not fall into the genre of

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494 Ibid.

495 Ibid., pp. 114-116.

496 Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*, p. 41.


498 Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*, p. 50.
the verses appropriate to read over the dead. They are verses that have “talismanic” efficacy. Verses and Qur’ānic chapters with talismanic efficacy are the focus of Chapter Three and Four of this dissertation, especially in the context of the two Mamluk scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) housed at Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah. Lastly, in this investigation of the block printed pilgrimage and talismanic scrolls, it is evident that the occult culture and pilgrimage culture were part of the devotional daily life of the medieval practitioner.

\[499\] Ibid., p. 76. Based on a pilgrimage guide for the visitation of tombs in the Qarafa cemetery, the appropriate Qur’ānic chapters/verses to be read at the various tombs are: Hūd (11), Al-Ahzāb (33:33), Yā Sīn (36). I think this needs further exploration because I am sure there is a larger list of Qur’ānic verses/chapters appropriate to read over the tombs.
CHAPTER THREE: IN COLOR, THE ART OF THE TALismanic, A STUDY OF LNS 12 MS AND LNS 25 MS

“The difference between magical invocations in the Islamic world and those of Europe (both pre-Christian and Christian) is that in Islam the invocations are most often (though not exclusively) addressed to God rather than demons.”

Emilie Savage-Smith

“In much of the Islamic world, the Koran has served as the most important divinatory text since the late Umayyad period.”

Serpil Bağcı & Massumeh Farhad

The past two chapters explored two very different themes regarding the “licit” use of the occult. Using primary sources, the Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Bunī, the first chapter was concerned with the definitions of talismans and the sanctioned use of the occult as a science. Both the Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Bunī recognized the occult as a science. The second chapter investigated early Arabic material related to the occult on paper. The block-printed talismanic scrolls discussed there, with their occasional depiction of demons, were categorized as devotional scrolls. Both the so-called Fatimid block-printed talismanic scrolls and the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls were accommodated under the larger umbrella of religious science. Through the detailed analysis of how a talisman was used in the context of pilgrimage manuals, a more fluid definition of the talisman is now offered.

This chapter expands on the practical use of talismans, and it demonstrates that the occult was part of mainstream medieval Mamluk culture. Through an investigation of two undated

500 Emilie Savage-Smith, Magic and Divination in Early Islam, p. xxiii.

501 Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Smithsonian Institution), Falnama: The Book of Omens, p. 20.
and unpublished Mamluk scrolls from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (DAI) LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS, I show that there are certain key components that constitute a Mamluk talismanic scroll. Although the details regarding the calligrapher and illuminator are unknown, I place the scrolls within a late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century Mamluk context by means of comparisons to existing dated Mamluk Qur’āns and furūsīyah manuscripts. I argue that the use of relics on one of the two Mamluk scrolls is a precursor for later devotional prayer books such as the Ottoman En'am-ı Şerif and Du'aname. Lastly, I investigate the culture of the Mamluk court and demonstrate that the culture of the occult was part of daily life.

DESCRIPTION OF TWO MAMLUK SCROLLS, DAR AL-ATHAR AL-ISLAMIYYAH, KUWAIT (LNS 12 MS AND LNS 25 MS)

LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS are two large and colorful scrolls. They are visually the opposite of the block-printed talismanic scrolls discussed in Chapter Two. First, their scale is drastically different from the miniscule portable block-printed scrolls. The two scrolls are large, legible, and

502 Please see the end of the chapter for a discussion of the Mamluk chronicles and the occult. It is also important to note both Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1292-1350) were trying to purify the Mamluk sultanate of the occult. See: Livingston, “Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya,” pp. 598-610; Yahya J. Michot, “Ibn Taymiyya on astrology: annotated translation three fatwas,” Journal of Islamic Studies 11, [2000]: 147-208.

503 Alexander Bain, “The Late Ottoman En'am-ı Şerif: Sacred Text and Images in Islamic Prayer Books,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Victoria, 1999); Gruber, Christiane, The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009). I will discuss the use of relics on the scrolls later in the chapter. At this point, it is important to recognize that each scroll has different forms of relics: LNS 12 MS has a representation I have identified as the white hand of Moses, and LNS 25 MS has a textual transcription of the Burdah of al-Būṣīrī’s (died 1294-1297), a poem on the mantle of the Prophet Muhammad that is known for its talismanic power (figs. 11, 31).
portable talismanic scrolls: LNS 12 MS is 11.3 x 545 cm and LNS 25 MS is 9.6 x 205.7 cm (figs.19, 33). Second, they employ colored ink, gilding, and contain illustrations (fig. 33). Like any handheld prayer manuscript, these two scrolls have an elaborate, well-planned structure. Their content at first glance may be similar to the talismanic block-printed scrolls in that they contain a combination of Qur’anic verses and names of God. However, as mentioned above, the structure and layout of the larger scrolls are drastically different from the block-printed scrolls.

LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS are legible manuscripts. They each have clearly defined and self-contained chapters related to diverse topics such as: the names of God, to disperse sihr (magic) or offer protection from a snake or scorpion, and various furūsiyāh (horsemanship and military activities) subject-headings. Each chapter has a clear heading with a beginning, middle, and ending. There is a repetitive structure to each of the chapter headings that creates an auditory and visual experience of the text. In both scrolls, a great majority of the sections are in the following order: they begin with a basmala (“In the name of God, the most Gracious, most Merciful”), followed by a formulation that asks for the personal refuge of the scroll’s carrier ḥāmilihi. Next are a number of Qur’anic verses related to that particular subject heading, and then each end with some form of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allāh (There is no strength or power without God), along with a fraction of a Qur’anic verse from al- ʿImrān (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians,” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.⁵⁰⁴ Of course, there are variations; some of the chapter headings do not address the carrier of the scroll, launch from the basmala into a number of Qur’anic verses, and end with some form of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah (There is no strength or power without God),

and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.\textsuperscript{505} The two Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah scrolls, through various chapter headings, are concerned broadly with supplications to God asking for His assistance. As a result, there is a certain overall order to the content of these two scrolls; where they differ are in the details.\textsuperscript{506} In the following section, I investigate the specifics that make each scroll unique.

**Comparative Analysis of the Two Mamluk Scrolls in Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah**

The length and layout of the scrolls along with their textual content suggest that there is a template and internal structure to these large talismanic scrolls.\textsuperscript{507} By template, I mean, there is a particular order and structure shared by both scrolls. First, they both begin with a \textit{du 'a} (supplication) followed by seven self-contained sections called \textit{haykal(s)} (sanctuaries). Next, they launch into individual chapter headings that are related to daily life struggles, be it entry to the court of a king, or how to use the Qur'ān for relief from headache. The last third of both scrolls are the illustrated sections, which are related to \textit{furūsiyah} or fears of nature. Both scrolls end with a magic square. A visual analysis of the central aspects of these talismanic scrolls and the commonalities between them, ultimately demonstrates that the scrolls are tools for devotion and address God continuously in supplication.\textsuperscript{508}

\textsuperscript{505} The exact details of each section maybe found in the catalogue of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{506} For a full transcription of the scrolls, please see the catalogue of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{507} Please see Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.

\textsuperscript{508} Savage-Smith, \textit{Magic and Divination in Early Islam, Formation of the Classical Islamic World}, pp.xiii-li.
(a) The Beginning of the Scrolls

One of the scrolls, LNS 12 MS is missing its beginning, but due to its overall commonalities with LNS 25 MS, we can infer that it would have been similar to the fairly elaborate opening of LNS 25 MS (figs. 34, 35, 36). The frontispiece of LNS 25 MS draws the eye into its design through Qurʾānic verses enclosed in geometric patterns in the shapes of a teardrop, eyes, circles, and an oblong cartouche (figs. 34, 35, 36).\(^\text{509}\)

The Borders

First, although LNS 12 MS lacks a frontispiece, the sequence and layout of its border text is very similar to LNS 25 MS (figs. 20, 33).\(^\text{510}\) The border text is aligned at a ninety-degree angle to the text in the center of the manuscript. The border text is read from left to right and it is a balance of three lines: a red minuscule naskh script that cushions a large black naskh-thuluth on both sides (figs. 20, 33). Textually, both scrolls contain most of Yā-Šīn (36) in a black script that is sandwiched by a red script, which is a repetition of al-Ikhlāṣ (112) over and over again (figs 20, 33). The red text of al-Ikhlāṣ (112) serves as a border that curves above and below a monumental black naskh-thuluth inscription on both scrolls (figs. 20, 33).\(^\text{511}\) Yā-Šīn (36) and al-Ikhlāṣ (112)

\(^{509}\) For a full description, see the section below in this chapter, **Function of the illuminations and illustrations**; and the catalogue at the end of this dissertation.

\(^{510}\) Please see Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.

\(^{511}\) It must be pointed out that the monumental black script is not exclusively Yā-Šīn (36); each one has its own Qurʾānic make-up. For a detailed analysis of the borders, see the section of this
are the two significant Qur’ānic chapters in talismanic literature, as was highlighted in Chapter One. *Yā-Sīn* (36) protects the reader from fears, and it has the ability to assist a believer in his/her supplication to be absolved from all sins.\(^{512}\) *Al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) is highlighted in Chapter One for its talismanic properties and its proliferation on most of the objects in this dissertation. Again, it is important to recognize that “it is almost impossible to align a talismanic design on an artifact with its precise equivalent in popular magical manuals such as those by al-Bunī.”\(^{513}\)

**Initial *Du’ā* and the Number “Seven”**

The overlap in pattern and structure between the two Dar al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) are indicators that there was a template for constructing talismanic material. This is evident as one delves into the internal composition of the main text block of both scrolls. They begin with a large oblong medallion filled with *duʿā* (supplication). In LNS 25 MS, after the frontispiece and an oblong cartouche with the names of God, the main text block begins with a title that reads *al-Duʿā al-sabʿ* (“the seven supplications”) the text is divided into twenty individual circular forms (fig. 20). As for LNS 12 MS, it may be missing the initial title and does not have an elaborate design, but based on textual analysis, one can affirm that it too is a *duʿā*.\(^{514}\) It is likewise inscribed in one oblong cartouche. As one moves down both scrolls, after the *duʿā* section, they each launch into seven individual *haykal* (sanctuary) sections.

\(^{512}\) See Chapter One for a discussion of *Yā-Sīn* (36) in al-Bunī.


\(^{514}\) See the catalogue for the details of the *duʿā* and consult Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.
The Number Seven and the Occult

The seven *haykal(s)* (sanctuaries) are an integral part of LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS; and of their configuration into the understanding of the occult (figs. 20, 21,39). As discussed in the catalogue, the textual content of these seven *haykal* sections is to seek refuge in God and his creations (the texts are described at length in the catalogue). The theme of the seven sanctuaries is the oneness of God, the importance of Qurʿānic recitation as a veil of protection, and seeking refuge in morals found in Prophetic stories from the Qurʿān. This, ultimately, is what charges the scroll with its talismanic power.515

Each of the seven sanctuaries has an internal visual and repetitive structure that plays into their amuletic signification. Visually, the titles of the seven sanctuaries, alternate for LNS 12 MS between a white *naskh* script set in a gold rectangle or a gold script on a blue rectangle (fig. 21) and on LNS 25 it is a white *naskh* script set in a gold circle (fig. 39). Textually, each of the seven sections has the following internal structure: After the initial *basmala* (In the name of God, the most gracious, most merciful) they each seek personal refuge in God for ḥāmilīhi (the scroll’s carrier), and each of the seven *haykal* sections ends with some formulation, usually in the form of one or 1,000 recitations of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allāh (There is no strength or power

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515 Please see the catalogue for a full transcription of the seven sanctuaries and consult Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.
without God); a phrase that trusts in the power of God followed with a prayer and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.\textsuperscript{516}

The names of God and His attributes are one of the sources of ultimate protection on these seven sanctuaries. This is a powerful theme that is emphasized repetitively on both talismanic scrolls and it is increasingly clear that there is a particular structure to the language used on these scrolls. For example, Al-haykal al-thālith (the third sanctuary) on both scrolls uses the following Qur'ānic verses Al-Ḥashr (59:22-24) that call upon the names of God (figs. 21, 39). The names of God cloaked in Qur'ānic verse are known for their talismanic functions.\textsuperscript{517} The use of the same set of Qur'ānic verses is an indication that there was a recipe, if you will, that talismanic scribes followed.

Yet, it is intriguing that each of the scrolls shows individuality. Continuing with the example from Al-haykal al-thālith (the third sanctuary), the remaining text for this particular subheading in LNS 12 MS consists mostly of Qur'ānic verses that seek refuge in God on behalf of hāmil kitābī hātha (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll). As for LNS 25 MS, after the initial verses from Al-Ḥashr (59:22-24), it resorts to seeking refuge in God for protection from all sharr (evils), sihr (sorcery), makr (deceit), and the 'adū (enemy). It is in these direct phrases referencing the occult that one understands the talismanic function of the scroll.

\textsuperscript{516} It is important to point out that the only ones that do not follow this pattern are the first haykal on both LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS, and the seventh haykal on LNS 25 MS. The most likely rational is that they are the initial and final sanctuaries.

\textsuperscript{517} Savage-Smith, Magic and Divination in Early Islam, Formation of the Classical Islamic World, pp. xxii-xxiii.
Again, in LNS 12 MS through the use of various Qurʾānic verses, the seven sanctuaries emphasize the theme of God’s oneness and His attributes. Besides that, the word of God—be it Moses’ tablets or the Qurʾān—are two important images that assist the supplicator on these scrolls. Nevertheless, on both scrolls ultimate protection comes from the Qurʾān. In particular, through the following verses from al-Isrā’ (17:45-46), the most important premise of these talismanic scrolls is emphasized. On LNS 12 MS, this occurs in the fifth haykal with the verses from al-Isrā’ (17:45-46). The verses state that whoever reads the Qurʾān will activate a hidden veil, which is a shield from all harm. This is one of the most significant points of the scroll. In LNS 25 MS, the same set of verses from al-Isrā’ (17:45-46) appears in the fourth sanctuary. This is in an indication that the repetition of certain verses is not linear between the two scrolls and that each of the scrolls maintains its own individuality.

While the titles of the seven individual haykal sections are similar, the internal text under each provides slightly different information. The most curious part is the last two haykals made up of the sixth and seventh sanctuaries on both scrolls. In LNS 12 MS, there seems to be direct conversation with some form of a demon. Both sanctuaries contain a peculiar phrase that blesses al-wahsh (the demon) and then seeks refuge in the powers of God. In addition, the textual content of these last two sanctuaries is mostly non-Qurʾānic, emphasizing the tangible and

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518 This is the theme of the first, third, and fourth sanctuaries.

519 On LNS 12 MS, this is the theme of the second (on Moses’ tablets) and the fifth sanctuaries (on the Qurʾān). Please see the catalogue for a full transcription.

520 See the catalogue for a full discussion.

521 See the catalogue for a discussion of the fourth sanctuary; it is particularly interesting as it has a magical incantation that has not yet been deciphered.
intangible creations of God.\textsuperscript{522} Perhaps the seven sanctuaries on LNS 12 MS are making supplications to God for protection from all creations, be they worldly harm or demonic power, and the ultimate shield from these worries is found in the Qurʾān.

In LNS 25 MS, the appearance of the titles of the seven sanctuaries is similar to LNS 12 MS, but they have a different textual composition.\textsuperscript{523} There is a more direct approach in seeking protection from the occult.\textsuperscript{524} Similar to LNS 12 MS, the seven sanctuaries highlight certain themes that trust in the attributes of God, the Qurʾān, Prophetic stories and creation. Yet, unlike LNS 12 MS, in LNS 25 MS the fifth and sixth sanctuaries seek refuge in the angels of God: Jibril, Mika’il, ’Israfil, and ’Azrabil who assist the supplicator in addressing God and “strengthen the supplication.”\textsuperscript{525} As Venetia Porter has observed, angels are an important part of Islamic amuletic culture and are rooted in Hebrew angelology.\textsuperscript{526} On LNS 25 MS, the angels are an important piece of creation and through Qurʾānic verse the following is emphasized: first, they were created to submit to God; second, all angels submit to God.\textsuperscript{527}

Therefore, it is no surprise that the seventh and final haykal of LNS 25 MS calls on the Prophets, and specifically the angels that carry the Throne of God, with 1,000 recitations of al-

\textsuperscript{522} Please see the catalogue for a full description.

\textsuperscript{523} Please see the catalogue for full a discussion of the details of each of the seven sanctuaries.

\textsuperscript{524} See the discussion above of the third haykal on LNS 25 MS.

\textsuperscript{525} Savage-Smith, \textit{Magic and Divination in Early Islam, Formation of the Classical Islamic}, p. xxiii.

\textsuperscript{526} Venetia Porter, Shailendra Bhandare, Robert G. Hoyland, A. H. Morton, J. Ambers, and British Museum, \textit{Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum}, p. 166. According to Porter, the four angels on amulets are rooted in Jewish tradition. I discuss the relationship between Jewish and Islamic magical texts in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{527} See the catalogue for a discussion of the Qurʾānic verses of the fifth and sixth sanctuaries of LNS 25 MS.
Ikhlāṣ (112) and lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allāh (“There is no strength or power without God”). In other words, ultimate protection comes from trusting in God, His powers, and prophets. In fact, the significance of the number seven is explicitly understood in the seventh haykal of LNS 25 MS, as it seeks refuge in al-hayākil al-sabʿ (all seven sanctuaries), the names of God, and bī khaṭīm Allāh al-musabiʿ (the seal of God that has seven sides), which is also known as the seal of the heavens and earth. Also included with the seal of God, is the seal of Solomon, son of David, and the seal of the Prophet Muhammad. The use of the word khaṭīm (seal/ring), along with a genealogy of seals from God to Solomon, son of David, that end with the Prophet Muhammad is an appropriate way to end the seven sanctuaries since they act like a khaṭīm (seal) that secures a legal document. In other words, the seven sanctuaries achieve God’s blessings through prayers and the selected Qur’ānic verses, God’s names sealed with His seven-sided seal, Solomon’s seal, and the Prophet Muhammad’s seal which together activate all the powers of creation.

With the reference to the most powerful seals at the end of the seventh haykal, known as khaṭīm Allāh al-musabiʿ (God’s seven-sided seal), which is also known as the seal of the heavens and earth, LNS 25 MS launches into the section ‘Awfāq al-ʿayyām al-sabʿ (“the magic squares of the seven days”); namely, seven magic squares in the shape of a Qur’ānic lawh (tablet) (fig. 40).

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528 Further research is needed on the significance of the number seven on seals. Meanwhile, it is important to put forward what Venetia Porter stated: “The group of symbols known as ‘the seven magical signs’ (sab’a khaṭawatim) have strong Qur’ānic associations and start to appear in texts and on objects from about the twelfth century onwards.” Venetia Porter, Shailendra Bhandare, Robert G. Hoyland, A. H. Morton, J. Ambers, and British Museum, Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum, p. 166.

529 Ibid., p.1.
It is meant to depict a writing tablet and not related to the heavenly tablet. The use of a tablet as a shape for amulets and talismans occurs on a number of material objects and in the primary sources. al-Bunī has a section for entry upon rulers, kings, viziers, and leaders that contains a tablet in same shape as the ones from LNS 25 MS. al-Bunī instructs his reader for the entry to the kings to create a table from gold, silver, or copper that is inscribed with the appropriate numbers and it must be perfumed with particular incense. In addition, there are number of amulets that are in the shape of lawḥ (tablet) that are represented in various collections. The magic numbers represent letters of the alphabet and depending on the book of magic they follow, the numbers spell out a particular phrase. These charts have not yet been deciphered and need further research.

The number seven is an integral part of talismanic literature. There is the general relationship to God and concepts of creation: God created the universe in seven days. In addition, as Tewfik Canaan has put forward, the number seven is also associated with the first chapter of the Qurʿān al-ʿFarṣa with its seven verses that correspond to the seven heavens, seven

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530 EI online, “Lawḥ,” (A. J. Wensinck [C.E. Bosworth]).

531 al-Bunī, Shams al-ʿmarif, pp. 239-241.

532 Ibid.


535 Ibid.

536 EI online, “Sabʿ, Sabʾa,” (Annemarie Schimmel).
planets, and seven days of the week.\textsuperscript{537} There are also magical symbols that are the “seven signs assigned to the seven days of the seven planets.”\textsuperscript{538} These seven signs represent seven prophets and when they are combined they reveal the hidden name of God.\textsuperscript{539} There is also the possibility that these seven sanctuaries could have developed out of a “pre-Fatimid cosmology” of the seven imams with the Prophet Muhammad being the seventh Imam.\textsuperscript{540} And then there is the Qur’ānic story of the seven sleepers.\textsuperscript{541} I believe that the seven sanctuaries on LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS do have a relationship to the Islamic signification of the number seven, and in particular, to Creation. As discussed above, the seven sanctuaries in LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS highlight the following themes: the oneness of God, Creation, and seeking refuge in God through His attributes and the Qur’ān. It seems that these three themes empower each of the haykal sections creating a unit that ends in the case of LNS 12 MS discussing demons and on LNS 25 MS with the angels that submit to God empowering the seal of God, Solomon, and the Prophet Muhammad. Like a \textit{firmān} scroll that is sealed with the authority of a ruler, these two devotional scrolls are a legal contract between the practitioner and God. Indeed the formulaic language and

\textsuperscript{537} Canaan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans,” p. 130.

\textsuperscript{538} Ibid., p. 169.

\textsuperscript{539} Ibid., p. 170.

\textsuperscript{540} \textit{EI} online, “Ismāʿīliyya,” (W. Madelung). This is a compelling theory needing further investigation; I plan to explore this further.

the appeal to God, is similar to Jewish texts on magic.\textsuperscript{542} The beginnings of the scrolls affirm God’s unity and creation, the middle of the scroll addresses individual thematic chapters that are linked to the practitioner’s particular interests.

(b) The Middle of the Scrolls: Division into Thematic Textual Sections

As one continues reading down the scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS), the petitioner’s direct interests are addressed and the psychology of the practitioner is understood. Each of the various chapter headings has a specific agenda from protection from the evil eye, to entry into a court of kings, to health related issues. As already mentioned, there is a clear language, structure and methodology in making these talismanic scrolls. In the following section, I chart the thematic and textual similarities between the two scrolls, and I assert that there are certain “key” headings, phrases, and Qur’ānic verses that constitute a talismanic scroll.\textsuperscript{543} In fact, it will become apparent that these two scrolls share a number of fixed chapter headings and Qur’ānic verses with a small hand-written scroll (16.5x 13cm) held by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (henceforth LACMA), Los Angeles (M.2002.1.372) (fig.17). These similarities constitute a “religious language” that causes these prayers and Qur’ānic quotations to be efficacious.\textsuperscript{544}

\textsuperscript{542} Michael D. Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts,” \textit{Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions} [2006]: 187-211. I discuss the relationship between Jewish and Islamic magical texts in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

\textsuperscript{543} Please see Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.

\textsuperscript{544} Keane, “Religious Language,” pp. 47-71. I discuss the idea of religious language and the efficacy of prayers later in this chapter and further in Chapter Four of this dissertation.
One of the objectives of the two talismanic scrolls is to provide protection at certain moments. Therefore, it is no surprise that a chapter titled *li‘l-dukhūl ʿalā al-mulūk* (“for entry upon the kings”), appears on both scrolls as well as on the example in LACMA (M.2002.1.372). The section is meant to calm the fears of the reader before entering the ruler’s court. The segment on all three scrolls begins with *a basmala* and the Qur’ānic verse from *al-Māʾidah* (5:23) that narrates the story of Joshua and Caleb entering a village with Moses’ prophetic message (figs. 22, 42). In addition, the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls have another set of verses in common, *al-Qaṣṣ* (28:end of 25, end of verse 28:31). These verses transmit that Moses should not be fearful in the court of the Pharaoh. The reader is meant to draw a comparison between himself and Moses, hence the verses are meant to calm the nerves of the supplicator who is reading this section for guidance before entering the court of the kings. There are many cases from a medieval context in which a practitioner enters upon a king, ruler, or vizier that needs “advice on the appropriate activities” before being received. One would enter upon a ruler to present a gift from another ruler. For example, in Ghada al-Qadummi’s translation of *Kitāb al-hadāyā wa al-tuhaf* (The Book of Gifts and Rarities) it states the following:

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545 There is one more example—a block-printed scroll (MMA 1975.192.21) that has *li‘l-dukhūl alā al-mulūk*. However, it is part of a list of supplications and does not include a Qur’ānic quotation similar to the above-mentioned scrolls. See Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums*, pp. 191-93. In addition, *li‘l-dukhūl alā al-mulūk*, as discussed in Chapter One, was an important part of the Ikhwān’s discussion of the Lunar stations. It is also an important part of al-Buni’ī’s discussion, as it was discussed above regarding *lawḥ* (tablet) as a representation for amulets to enter upon the kings. For further reading also see: Daniel Martin Varisco, “The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni “Kitab Al-Tabṣira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum” Of Malik Al-Ashraf.”

In the year 424 [1033] al-Mu’izz b. Bādis sent [al-Zāhir] one more extremely valuable gift, which included four lions (ṣibā’), the largest and most frightening ones possible; twenty Saluki (Ṣalūqī hounds); several leopards, many candles [or much wax]; many goods (matā’) of cloth [such as] pure silk and Susi and Sicilian [fabrics]; saffron; white and black house boy slaves (ʿabīd); wonderful slaves (raqīq); and other things.\(^{547}\)

There are other event in which one was received by a king or ruler, perhaps one was invited to a banquet, sending a gift for a birth of a royal, going to a funeral, or being an ambassador from one court to the other.\(^{548}\)

The textual overlaps between the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls and the LACMA (M.2002.1.372) scroll indicate some form of template or guide for making a talismanic scroll. The next two chapter headings appear on all three scrolls and are directly related to dispelling magic: \textit{Li’l-’ayn wa al-naẓra} (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”), and \textit{Ibtāl al-siḥr} (“for annulling magic”).\(^{549}\) In addition, these themes were highlighted in the primary sources of Ikhwān and al-Bunī discussed in the first chapter.\(^{550}\)

For \textit{Li’l-’ayn wa al-naẓra} (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”), both DAI scrolls contain the Throne verse (2:255) (figs. 23, 44). It is a suitable verse known for its apotropaic qualities. The title \textit{Li’l-’ayn wa al-naẓra} does occur on the LACMA scroll; however, it does not contain the Throne verse (2:255) (fig. 17). The LACMA scroll has two other appropriate verses

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\(^{548}\) Ibid., pp. 513-523. See the chronological table for a variety of events in which one may enter upon a king.

\(^{549}\) Again these titles occur in the primary sources discussed in Chapter One, and also see: Varisco, “The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni “Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum’” Of Malik Al-Ashraf,” pp.26-28.

\(^{550}\) Ibid.
addressing God’s creation and appropriately God’s control over vision: *Ghafir* (40:57) and *al-Mulk* (67:4) (fig. 17).

Besides the Qur’anic similarities in this particular section on the evil eye, it is important to address the direct conversation that the Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls have with the occult. There are certain linguistic phrases that make these scrolls talismanic. In LNS 12 MS, after the *basmala*, the text reads: ‘*aqadit ‘an ḥāmil kitābī hadhā kul ‘ayn mu‘ān min al-ins wa al-jānn* (“It has been summoned that the carrier of this book [this scroll] is protected from every person or *jinn* that has an [evil] eye”). It is written in a contractual voice that is distinct form everyday speech. In other words, this command protects the person from the evil eye, be it human or supernatural in cause. In LNS 25 MS, again after the initial *basmala*, it asks God to protect *ḥāmil kitābī hādha ‘an al-‘ayn wa al-naẓra* (“the carrier of this scroll from the evil eye and its glance”). Again, it is a contractual voice that summons God and asks for His protection. Although there is not a direct correlation to LNS 12 MS, there is a certain logic in addressing God and the carrier of the scroll. The inclusion of these particular phrases addresses the talismanic purpose of the scrolls. In addition, on LNS 25 MS at the end of the chapter on the evil eye, there are five lines of magic numbers. The exact significance of these has yet to be determined.

*Ibtāl al-siḥr* (“for annulling magic”) is another chapter that occurs in both of the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah and the LACMA scrolls. All three begin with the same Qur’anic verse from *Yūnus* (10:81). Again, since LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS are larger scrolls, they also both

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include *al-Aʿrāf* (7:118-119) (figs. 17, 29, 43). Of course, there are nuanced differences between the scrolls. *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* on LNS 12 MS is illustrated with a gold flame-like hand with blue accents and elaborates further in its quotation from *al-Aʿrāf* (7:118-122) (fig. 29). The illustration is most likely one of the signs of Moses’ prophethood: an abstracted depiction of Moses’ hand turning white. This illustration complements the Qur’ānic verses from *al-Aʿrāf* (7:118-122) that recount the other sign of Moses’ prophethood: the conversion of his rod into a snake and the submission of the magicians to God. Therefore, it is no surprise that these two signs are depicted in the section for the annulment of magic: Moses’ rod textually and the hand artistically. Besides the depictions of the Prophet Muhammad’s footprint on the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls, this is probably one of the earliest physical representations of a relic on an Islamic manuscript.\(^{552}\)

In LNS 25 MS, one sees a different elaboration on the theme of dispelling magic. After the Qur’ānic verses from *Yūnus* (10:81-82) followed by verses from *Al-Aʿrāf* (7:118-119), the text directly asks God to dispel all forms of magic from the carrier of the scroll: *abṭalt ʿan ḥāmilih siḥr kul saḥḥar*. It then calls on 1,000 recitations of *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112), which has the ability to dispel whatever (magic spell) was written on a piece of glass, lead, copper, and the two treasures of the land, be they water or the dove in the air. The structures of these prayers are, as Webb Keene has asserted, comparable to a performance and these words are, moreover, “independent of the speakers, and that this contributes to their power.”\(^{553}\)

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25 MS, there is a “ritual speech” through the repetition of certain phrases or Qurʾānic chapters, that creates its “power.” These “formal properties” of the prayers create an “expected outcome” of dispelling magic.

The Relationship of the Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah Scrolls to Health

As discussed in Chapter One, themes regarding one’s health are another important factors related to the occult. The idea of ʿilāj al-ṭilsamāt (healing of talismans) was discussed briefly in the analysis of Ikhwān. In addition, as understood from al-Bunī, certain prayers were read at certain times of the day to cure a fever or some other ailment. In LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS, there are distinct sections on each scroll that address health ailments such as headache, stomach ache, or other pains. The occult, devotion, and health were clearly interconnected.

In LNS 12 MS, the sections dealing with health occur one after the other in the middle of the scroll: Al-sāyir al-ʿawjāʾ (“For the relief of pain”), Bāb wa līʾl-dharbān (“the section for throbbing”), and Liʾl-maghas wa al-qawlanj (“For stomach aches and intestinal diseases”). In LNS 25 MS, the health sections are not grouped together; they occur on different parts of the scroll in the following order: Līʾwajiʿ al-raʾs (“for headaches”), Līʾwajiʿ al-ʿayn (“for eye pain”), Līʾhummā wa al-ḥumra (“for fever and redness”), Līʾshafaqa wa al-ḍarb (“for fear and throbbing”), and Lī-jamīʿ al-awjāʾ (“for all pains”). Each of the sections is concerned with a

554 Ibid., pp. 435-36.
555 Ibid., p. 437.
556 I would like to thank Ahmad Ragab for correcting the terminology in these headings.
combination of Qur'anic verses and supplications that are appropriately chosen to remedy an ailment.\textsuperscript{557}

**The Qur’ān: It Heals and Protects**

The use of Qur’ānic verses and Prophetic stories is something that occurs across both talismanic scrolls. After all, as asserted above, the Qur’ān offers the ultimate protection. Certain verses that occur multiple times across the scroll are applied in different circumstances. The quintessential chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112), as discussed above, appears all over the scrolls. It is inserted in the borders in red, and at the end of some of the various chapters. Then there are certain variations of verses that emerge within different contexts, such as the following verses from *al-Anbiyāʾ* (21:69-70). For example, on LNS 12 MS, *Al-sāyir al-ʾawjāʾ* (“For the relief of pain”) uses Qur’ānic verses from the chapter titled *al-Anbiyāʾ* (21:69-70) emphasizing the theme of God’s ability to relieve pain through the story of Abraham and the fire.\textsuperscript{558} On LNS 25 MS, a section that is missing its chapter heading uses a different variation of the same verses from *al-Anbiyāʾ* (21:69-71). In this particular section, it is related to the treatment of slaves and captives.\textsuperscript{559} The

\textsuperscript{557} See the catalogue for a full transcription of each of the sections and how the Qur’ānic verses are appropriately chosen to match a particular ailment.

\textsuperscript{558} The story is as follows: Infidels have trapped Abraham in a surrounding fire; God made the fire cold so that Abraham could walk on it and escape. The implied meaning is that God will relieve the supplicator’s pain just as God alleviated the pain of walking on fire for Abraham. Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English*, p.310.

\textsuperscript{559} Please see the catalogue for a full discussion.
moral in this section is about the rescue of Abraham and Lot from injustice. Therefore, the contextual use of a particular set of verses depends on the heading of that section.

The fluid use of Qurʾanic verses is illustrated by another set of verses, from *al-Isrāʾ* (17:45-46), that appears multiple times on both scrolls. Initially, the verses were discussed above in relation to the seven *haykal* sections as they state that whoever reads the Qurʾān will activate a hidden veil, which is a shield from all harm or pain. On LNS 12 MS, these sets of verses from *al-Isrāʾ* (17:45-46) were appropriately inserted into one other section: in *Al-sāyir al-ʾawjāʿ* (“For the relief of pain”) following the verses on Abraham discussed above—a very fitting use. On LNS 25 MS, it occurs on *Liʾl-hummā wa al-ḥumra* (“for fever and redness”); in other words, reading the Qurʾān is the ultimate protection from the pains of a fever. Ultimately, these verses address the power of the Qurʾān to protect and shield the supplicant from spiritual and daily harm.

(c) The Illustrated Sections: Last Third of the Scrolls

There is a spatial economy and pattern in these large talismanic scrolls. On both scrolls, the illustrated sections occur towards the end, before the final section with the magic square. Besides

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560 This particular set of verses is paired with another verse from *al-Anbiyāʾ* (21:78). Please see the catalogue for a full discussion.

561 In the addendum at the end of LNS 12 MS, the verses appear one other time. Please see the catalogue.

562 Again, the verses from *Al-Isrāʾ* (17:45-46) are used in a number of other sections on the scrolls illustrating the fluidity and flexibility in the use of the Qurʾān and particular verses. On LNS 12 MS, the verses occur on the fifth sanctuary and the addendum at the end of the scroll; on LNS 25 MS it also occurs on the fourth sanctuary. Please see the catalogue for a full discussion.
the large scale of these scrolls, it is their illustrations that make them unique and intriguing. There are a number of illustrated furūsīyah chapter headings that occur on both scrolls concerned mostly with military technology and their intersection with talismanic functionality.\textsuperscript{563}

Beginning with the chapter titled \textit{Lī-ṭaʾn biʾl-ramh} (“when pierced by a spear or lance”), a gold lance is depicted on the two scrolls (figs. 26, 46).\textsuperscript{564} Yet, the textual content is different in each case. First of all, LNS 12 MS does not contain any direct Qurʾānic verses but calls on the names of God and the mystical letters that flank the lance. These mystical letters are Qurʾānic in origin.\textsuperscript{565} They come from the beginning of \textit{Ash-Shūra} (42) and \textit{Maryam} (19), respectively.\textsuperscript{566} Through these letters and the names of God, the lance is charged with apotropaic significance. As for LNS 25 MS, the text is primarily Qurʾānic and invokes jihād.\textsuperscript{567}

\textit{Li-ḍarb al-sayf} (“for the striking of the sword”), with a depiction of the two intertwined swords, occurs on both scrolls (figs. 24, 47). The similarity between the representations of the two intertwined swords in gold reaffirms that the talismanic scrolls followed a particular format. Again, similar to the section on the lance, textually these scrolls do not share any common Qurʾānic verses. Yet, there is a thematic relationship—the first set of verses on each scroll deals with the materiality of the swords. Beginning with LNS 12 MS, the verses from \textit{Sabaʾ} (34:10-
11) instruct the Prophet David to make a coat of mail out of ḥadīd (iron), a highly appropriate verse given its implication that the swords should be made out of iron. As for LNS 25 MS, the Qur’ānic verses are from Al-Ḥadīd (57:25–mid-27), also quintessential armor verses, they highlight that God sent three forms of evidence that will benefit jihād: the kitāb (book…. i.e. the Qur’ān), a mizān (balance), and ḥadīd (iron). The use of the word ḥadīd (iron) in both scrolls is a clue about the materiality of the swords and is important to the text and the supplicant.568

Affirming that there was a “recipe” for constructing the scrolls, the section on li-ramī al-nashāb (“the casting of arrows”) that occurs on both DAI scrolls becomes all the more interesting. It could refer to the physical casting of arrows by an archer, or it could refer to the divinatory practice of casting arrows. 569 However, based on the textual content, it is most likely that the section related to the military activity of an archer. First of all, it utilizes a particular verse from Al-ʾAnfāl (partial 8:17) (figs. 25, 48). This is a pertinent verse, since it highlights the Battle of Badr, the Prophet Muhammad’s first victory. Prophet Muhammad throws dust into the eyes of the enemy. The verb ramī connotes both to throw and to cast. In other words, just as the Prophet Muhammad threw dust into his enemies’ eyes, the archer should cast his arrow. Both scrolls have different depictions of the bow and arrow. LNS 12 MS shows a bow and two arrows in gold with blue accents depicted at the center of the section. LNS 25 MS shows a gold bow with a black outline puncturing the text; and instead of two arrows it has two columns with

568 Al-Sarraf, “Mamluk Furūšiyah Literature and Its Antecedents,” p. 182. It is interesting to note that, from Al-Sarraf’s analysis of Abbasid and Mamluk primary sources, there are least thirty-five recipes for making swords.

magic numbers. It is believed that the numbers, which are substitutes for the letters, are “more active than the letters alone.”

In addition to this chapter’s fascinating illustrations, the textual content on the casting of arrows is especially interesting. LNS 12 MS uses some intriguing language that needs to be discussed. After the initial Qur’ānic verse, a striking phrase precedes the illustration of two arrows and a bow: ‘aqadit ‘an hāmil kitābi hādha (It has been commanded that the carrier of this scroll), will be protected from everything seen by the sons of Adam and the daughters of Eve. Again, as discussed above, it is the contractual voice with God that activates the prayers. On Islamic talismanic material, it is common to reference Adam in relation to God’s unknown name; yet, in this case it seems to reference the Islamic community, known as the sons and daughter of Adam and Eve. As for LNS 25 MS, a different format is pursued using a set of numerical values flanking the right side of the bow. Along with the use of the magic numbers, the choice of Qur’ānic verses at the end of this section is particularly gripping: they are from al-Naml (27:30-31), and al-A’rāf (7:196), respectively. The verses from al-Naml (27:30-31) occur a number of times on LNS 25 MS. It is the key phrase from Solomon’s letter to the Queen of Sheba (Bilqis) containing the basmala that causes her to become a monotheist. It is worth noting that the use of these verses, such as the one on Solomon and Bilqis, is an important part of later

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571 Ibid., pp. 136, 143. On LNS 12 MS, Adam and Eve together are referenced twice: on the section on the casting of arrows and on an earlier section titled: Lil-mahābah wa al-tā‘ah (For love and obedience). I find it interesting and worth mentioning that on LNS 25 MS, Adam and Eve are not mentioned together. EI online, “Ādam,” (J. Pedersen); EI online, “Ḥawwā‘,” (J. Eisenberg; G. Vajda).

572 On LNS 25 MS, the verses from An-Naml (27:30-31) occur on two other sections: al-fāris wa al-fars (“the horseman and his horse”) and Li’l-‘ayn wa al-na‘ra (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”).
talismanic culture exemplified by the *Falnāma* tradition of illustrating Solomon at Bilqis’ court. ¹⁵⁷³ The sanctity of the Qur’ān and the evocation of the names of God and prophetic stories on the two scrolls create a specific format for their talismanic textual and visual layout. I believe that these scrolls are precursors to the use of images in devotional and divination manuals such as *Dalāʿīl al-khayrat*, Ottoman devotional manuscripts, and Persian counterparts such as the *Falnāma*. ¹⁵⁷⁴

Focusing on the illustrations on the scrolls, there is one enigmatic section that occurs on both: it comprises two roundels and each scroll has its own title for that particular section (figs. 28, 45). Two roundels decorate the section in LNS 12 MS titled Tāʿa wa qubūl (“for obedience and acceptance”); in LNS 25 MS it is titled Ṭalʿa al-shams wa al-qamr (“the appearance of the sun and moon”). Indeed the titles differ, yet the scrolls do overlap in one set of Qur’ānic verses; they both contain verses from Yā-Ṣīn (36:38-40). LNS 25 MS has a longer set from Yā-Ṣīn (36:37-46) and LNS 12 MS has only (36:38-40). These verses are interesting as they address the movement of the sun and the moon. As I contend, and as indicated in the title of this particular chapter of LNS 25 MS, these two roundels (a form known as *shamsa*, lit. “sun”) are depictions of the sun and the moon. As discussed in Chapter One, particular times of the day and night, combined with Qur’ānic verses and the movement of the sun and moon, allow an object or a

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146
supplication to become talismanic. Therefore, it is appropriate that this particular section of the DAI scrolls is concerned with the sun and the moon.\textsuperscript{575}

There are two additional illustrated sections on LNS 12 MS that differ from the illustrated sections in LNS 25 MS: \textit{Iḥṭāl al-sihr} ("for annulling magic"), \textit{Liʾl-ḥayya wa al-ʿaqrab} ("for the snake and scorpion") (figs. 19, 27). As discussed above, \textit{Iḥṭāl al-sihr} ("for annulling magic"), on LNS 12 MS has a depiction of Moses’ white hand. \textit{Liʾl-ḥayya wa al-ʿaqrab} ("for the snake and scorpion"), contains a representation of a snake and scorpion that occurs only on LNS 12 MS. It is interesting that the partial Qurʾānic verse is from \textit{al-Baqarah} (2:243), in which Bani Isra’il is affected by an outbreak of the plague and God orders them to die. It can be assumed that this particular verse is re-contextualized as a command that orders snakes and scorpions to die.\textsuperscript{576}

Talismans against rodents and reptiles are often found on multiple surfaces in the Islamic Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{577} It is no surprise that these Qurʾānic verses are reinterpreted to ward off the danger of snakes and scorpions.

It is clear that the illustrated sections on the two scrolls repeat certain themes, such as the \textit{furūṣiyah} objects, while others are unique to each particular scroll. In addition to the common links between the two DAI scrolls and the one at the LACMA, two fourteenth-century scrolls thought to be made in Iran seem to have similar illustrations: the first was published in a

\textsuperscript{575} Please see Chapter One regarding the importance of the lunar stations for talismanic literature. Also see: Daniel Martin Varisco, “The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni “\textit{Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum}” Of Malik Al-Ashraf,” pp.19-28.


\textsuperscript{577} Finbar Barry Flood, “Image against Nature: Spolia as Apotropia in Byzantium and Dar Al-Islam,” \textit{Medieval History Journal} 9, no. 1 [2006]: 143-66. I discuss this further in the following section of this chapter: \textbf{Function of the illuminations and illustrations}. 

147
Christie’s catalogue, and the second Sotheby’s is identified as Ilkhanid. The Christie’s catalogue has a chapter titled in Persian that is illustrated with two bows and an arrow; the Qur’anic verse preceding the illustration is the exact verse used for the casting of arrows section on the two DAI scrolls: Al-ʾAnfāl (partial 8:17). The Sotheby’s scroll is similar to LNS 25 MS in that it contains “drawings of a sword, spear and bow and arrow,” yet it is in a section against “al-ʿadu.” It is unfortunate that both these scrolls are unavailable for study.

(d) The Ending of the Two Scrolls

 Appropriately, liʾl-muṭalaqa (“end and absolute charm”), is the title of the last uniform chapter on LNS 12 MS and the end of LNS 25 MS. They both make use of al-Inshiqāq: LNS 12 MS has (84:1-the middle 4); LNS 25 MS (84:1-3) (figs. 30, 49). Suitably, the verses at the end of the scroll address the signs of Judgment Day, and the powerful image of the sky tearing open. The two talismanic scrolls are supplications to God for protection in the afterlife. A magic square then seals both scrolls, as in a legal firmān bearing the seal of a ruler. On LNS 12 MS, the magic square is composed of mystical letters that are known as the seal of the “first nine letters of

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abdjadiyah,” also known as budūḥ and ajhzṭ (fig. 30).\textsuperscript{580} On LNS 25 MS, the square is left blank and has not been completed; one can imagine it would have been similar to LNS 12 MS (fig. 49).

Even if the magic square is incomplete, LNS 25 MS is a complete scroll ending with damaged concentric circles connected to the main text block via three rosettes (fig. 50). The text of al-Ikhlāṣ (112) is copied in red script in a fashion similar to the border; the black text that is also similar to the border is al-Anʾām (6:115) (fig. 51). The verse from al-Anʾām is poignant, as it states that one should trust in God and the Qurʾān\textsuperscript{581}—an appropriate way to end the scroll.

LNS 12 MS, on the other hand, has an extended section—an addendum—that has been glued onto the end of the main scroll. Executed on the same type of paper, it has been trimmed and penned in a different hand (fig. 31). The first four lines of the passage are written in a black muhaqqaq script, followed by a naskh script (fig. 31).\textsuperscript{582} It is reminiscent of features found on Mamluk works on paper and the arts of the book.\textsuperscript{583} Textually, it is similar to the rest of the scroll in that it is a mixture of duʿā and Qurʾānic content.


\textsuperscript{581} Bewley and Bewley, The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English, p. 127. The exact translation reads: “‘Am I to desire someone other than Allah as a judge when it is He who has sent down the Book to you clarifying everything?’ Those we have given the Book know it has been sent down from your Lord with truth, so on no account be among doubters.”

\textsuperscript{582} For a representation of each of the muhaqqaq and naskh scripts see, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art and David Lewis James, The Master Scribes: Qur’ans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD. For examples of naskh script, see pp. 24-27; for muhaqqaq script, see pp. 34-39.

\textsuperscript{583} The combination of the black and gold muhaqqaq script is reminiscent of a Mamluk style. I will discuss the issue of dating the scroll later in the chapter. For style comparisons see: James, The Master Scribes: Qur’ans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD. In particular, a single folio that has been attributed to Yemen that is a combination of muhaqqaq, thulth and naskh script: (Qur 850) pp. 160-161. Also see two folios from a Mamluk Qurʾān (Qur 582) that use the gold muhaqqaq script: pp. 184-182.
The text begins where the end of the scroll proper finished with the theme of Judgment day.\(^{584}\) This reminds the reader that the only protection at the end of time is the Qurʾān and God. It is a combination of direct and indirect quotations from the Qurʾān and this gives it “religious authority and ritual efficacy.”\(^{585}\) Similar to the beginning of LNS 12 MS, the text calls on the names of God and his attributes; and revisits the stories of Moses and the Pharaoh in a rhythmic pattern. I would like to focus on the last third of this section, the Qurʾanic verses are from two chapters: \(\textit{al-Qaṣaṣ} (28)\) and \(\textit{Ṭāʾ Ḥāʾ} (20)\) (sections of Qurʾān 28:31, 20:68, 20:77, and 20:46). These quotations are intriguing as all of the verses begin with the phrase \(\textit{lā takhīf} (“do not be scared”)\).\(^{586}\) It provides the text with a sense of an auditory performance.\(^{587}\) It highlights, as was mentioned above, that one must not be afraid when following God’s path, and creates relationship between the author of the text, the reader, and the hereafter.\(^{588}\)

The addendum of LNS 12 MS ends with three different scribal hands that do not echo the design scheme of the scroll proper, further indicating that it was a later addition to the main text (figs. 19, 31, 32). The brief, red, \(\textit{naskh}\) script thanks God. The gold and black text is a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad ending in a later scribal hand that spells out the Throne verse (2:255), an appropriate way to end the scroll. These last three different scribal hands seem to function like

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\(^{584}\) See the catalogue for a full transcription of the details and see Chapter Four for a theoretical discussion of the prayers and their language.


\(^{586}\) There is one typo for (20:46): Instead of \(\textit{lā takhīf} (“do not be scared”), it reads \(\textit{lā takhshā} (“do not be scared)\).


\(^{588}\) Ibid. I return to the conceptual understanding of the language of prayers (their agency and efficacy) in Chapter Four.
a signature that acknowledges that ultimate protection comes from God. As the three different hands do not follow the conventions of the formal text, this suggests a more private reader’s appeal to God.

From the preceding discussion of what is shared textually and visually between the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah scrolls, it is apparent that there is a process and format for the construction of these scrolls. They share a similar composition, yet differ in the details.\textsuperscript{589} It is apparent from the above analysis and the catalogue, that both scrolls are empowered by God through his names and the Qur’ānic verses. The next question is how the layout and visual illuminations and illustrations reference the occult.

\textbf{Function of the Illuminations and Illustrations}

The occult and the definition of talisman is an important part of this dissertation. As highlighted in Chapter One, the occult is part of a vast framework of medieval philosophy and science that plays a role in the road to asceticism. Through Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Bunī, a theory of licit practice of the occult was understood. The Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʾ provided a theory of the history of occult sciences with translations from Greek Neoplatonic sources, Biblical stories, and the Qur’ān. They divided occult sciences into five categories: chemistry, astrology, the science of magic and talismans, medicine, and \textit{tajrīd} (cleansing of the soul).\textsuperscript{590} Chapter One developed the ideas that the construction of a talisman was one of the basic skills of life and was considered to

\textsuperscript{589} I discuss the efficacy of these prayers in Chapter Four.

\textsuperscript{590} Ikhwān al-Safāʾ, 4:287.
be a religious science. Ultimately, knowledge of the occult comes from God and the Qur'ān. The science of the occult originated from the Prophets, beginning with Hermes, known as the prophet Idrīs. The Ikhwān transfer Greek knowledge of the occult and reposition it in an Islamic context with continuous references to the stories of the prophets, angels, and Satan found in the Qur'ān. Al-Bunī presents a more specific understanding of the occult. Rather than a history, it is a theory of practice. It was established that the ‘ilm al-ḥurūf (science of letters) consists of formulas that are organically interconnected to the names of God, stories of the prophets, and verses of the Qur'ān. Emilie Savage-Smith has argued that it is impossible to align a theory of the occult with the physical aspects of talismanic material objects. In this chapter, the application rather than theory of the occult on these talismanic scrolls is analyzed. It is evident from the use of the Qur'ān and du’ā on the two DAI scrolls that the names of God and the Prophetic stories, as conveyed in the Qur'ān, are an important part of the occult. Beginning with the Qur'ānic structure of the borders and the illumination on these scrolls, it becomes apparent that there are certain verses and Qur'ānic chapters that are more charged with the occult than others. It is apparent that these sanctioned chapters are important for the construction of the talismanic scroll and are efficacious. In this section, I discuss how the balance of manuscript illumination accentuates certain Qur'ānic verses and highlights their talismanic function.

592 EI online, “Ḥurūf (Ilm al-),” (T. Fahd) According to al- Bunī, the origin of the science is transmitted via Hermes and Aristotle. Also see: Fahd, “La magie comme “source” de la sagesse, l’après l’oeuvre d’al-Bunī,” pp. 61-108.
594 I discuss the efficacy of these Qur'ānic chapters and various phrases in the following chapter.
It bears emphasis that the block-printed talismanic scrolls of Chapter Two were monochrome while those from the DAI, studied in this chapter, are polychrome and, moreover, present their images and texts in a new and specific codicological format. After careful examination, it becomes apparent that there are specific zones in which various chapters and themes were placed on both scrolls. It is important to think about the visual experience of illumination, the division of the textual content into various distinct thematic chapters, and how the individual headings, borders, and rosettes on the scrolls function as a whole, providing a powerful gestalt for the reader (figs. 20, 33).

First, the illustrations on the two scrolls are an “integral part of the text” and are not a later addition.\(^{595}\) Also, they are not “technical illustrations” as those found in \(\text{fiur\textacutedit}si\text{yah}\) or science manuals.\(^{596}\) There is a direct relationship between text and image.\(^{597}\) In the case of the illustration of the various weapons, the prayers endow these iconic objects with potency. In fact, it can be asserted that the illustrations on these two scrolls function as talismans in their own right. In order to understand this statement, it is important to consider the design and illustration elements of the scrolls as a whole, beginning with the visual impact of the border. Once that is accomplished, one has to place these talismanic scrolls within a historical context. It is my contention that the scrolls, in their use of text and image, are a precursor for the later large

\(^{595}\) David James, “Mamluk Painting at the Time of ‘Lusignan Crusade’ 1365-70,” Humaniora Islamica II, [1974]: 73-87, p. 78.

\(^{596}\) Ibid.

\(^{597}\) Anna Contadini, “The Manuscript as a Whole,” in Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts, ed. Anna Contadini, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 3-16; Anna Contadini, A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the \(\text{Kit\textaeit}b\ \text{Na’it\textaeit} \text{Al-\textaeit}\text{Hayaw\textaeit}n)\) in the Ibn Bakhtishu’ Tradition (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp.1-10.
images found in the *Falnama*. The two DAI talismanic scrolls do come out of the tradition of
the earlier block-printed talismanic scrolls. In addition, as discussed above, there is a specific
format for these scrolls, and as in the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls there is a “reoccurring visual
program.”

(a) Visual and Textual Impact of the Border

The contrast of red and black defines the borders of both scrolls (figs. 20, 33). Carefully chosen
Qur’ānic verses reveal that this is “the most important divinatory text.” It is implicit that the
Qur’ānic verses endow the borders with an apotropaic function. On both scrolls, two bands of
minuscule red *naskh* script containing *al-İkhlāṣ* (112) repeated over and over again flank the
large black *naskh-thuluth* inscription on either side. The individuality of each scroll’s border
lies in the choice of the Qur’ānic verses enclosed in the central band. LNS 12 MS may be
missing its top, but it still can be read. The black marginal text comprises verses from *Yāʾ-Sīn*
(36:37-83) and its existing ending contains most of the Qur’ānic verse from *al-Baqarah*
(2:285). The initial verses of *Yāʾ-Sīn* (36:1-36) were most likely the missing text; perhaps
some other verses were used for the termination of the margin. The talismanic function of the

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599 David Roxburgh, “Pilgrimage City,” pp.767-770


602 LNS 12 MS most likely contained the whole of *Yāʾ-Sīn* (36).
scroll is emphasized in the designation and use of these two chapters of the Qurʾān within the border: ʿYāʾ-ʿSīn (36) and al-Ikhlaṣ (112). As discussed in Chapter One and above, these two chapters from the Qurʾān are known for their talismanic abilities. As narrated via a hadith, ʿYāʾ-ʿSīn (36) is the heart of the Qurʾān and through a discussion of al-Bunī (d.1225), al-Ikhlaṣ (112) is considered to be one of the chapters with the “strongest protection” on talismans.603 Both these Qurʾānic chapters are important and appear on architectural inscriptions such as those of the Dome of the Rock.604

LNS 25 MS: A Distinct Border Format

Once again, although the DAI scrolls overlap in their textual content, the LNS 25 MS border has its own internal make-up that requires further discussion. First of all, its border is a complete scroll divided into various sections. The first is an oblong section around the names of God (fig. 37). The black marginal naskh text quotes only the first word of ʿYāʾ-ʿSīn (36:1-14) that is known for its talismanic signification. The oblong frame around the main text block has a more elaborate Qurʾānic selection highlighting an eschatological theme (fig. 33). As mentioned earlier, the red naskh is al-Ikhlaṣ (112) repeated over and over again. The black marginal naskh script continues with carefully selected verses from ʿYāʾ-ʿSīn, followed by a basmala introducing al-Ikhlaṣ (112) a transitional chapter that launches into the right side of the border.605 All the

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605 It commences with (36:14-50); then continues twenty verses forward with ʿYāʾ-ʿSīn (36:68-83).
Qur’ānic chapters on the right side of the border are from the last third of the Qur’ān. Thus, they highlight the creation and the end of time, with the coming of Judgment Day. Themes of sovereignty and creation are highlighted with *al-Mulk* (67), which is a chapter of the Qur’ān known for its apotropaic function.\(^{606}\) In later periods it appears on devotional manuscripts, such as Ottoman prayer manuals.\(^{607}\) This is followed by a complete transcription of *al-Insān* (76). According to *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, the chapter emphasizes the benefits of being a Muslim and of the afterlife, over enjoying the pleasures of this life (*al-dunyā*).\(^{608}\) Moreover, certain verses of *al-Insān* (76) are known for their talismanic function.\(^{609}\) On the Qur’ānic trail, the next chapter is *al-Duḥa* (93); it was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad a number of days after he had not seen Jibril.\(^{610}\) The Prophet Muhammad was relieved to see Jibril again; and received the revelation of this chapter. In other words, it is an appropriate chapter, which implies that the reader of the scroll is calling on God and the angel Jibril for intercession. The margin then leads to a number of eschatological chapters from the end of the Qur’ān, highlighting the signs of Judgment Day and the importance of following the way of God: *al-Sharḥ* (94), *al-Tīn* (95), *al-Qadr* (97), *al-

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\(^{606}\) In my study of Ottoman prayer manuals *Du’an* (s), *al-Mulk* (67) configures as an important part of these devotional manuals: Yasmine Al-Saleh, University of Chicago. “18th Middle East History and Theory Conference,” paper presented: “An Ottoman Prayer Book Goes to War,” spring, 2003; Alexander Bain, “The Late Ottoman En’am-I Serif: Sacred Text and Images in Islamic Prayer Books.”

\(^{607}\) Ibid.


\(^{609}\) Canaan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans,” p. 129.

Lastly, there is one marginal section at end of the scroll that is in the shape of a concentric circle (fig. 51). Again the red text is al-Ikhlāṣ (112) and the black script is al-Anʿām (6:115). It is an appropriate verse for the ending of the scroll, as it highlights that the truth is in the word of God. In other words, the ultimate talismanic protection comes from God and the Qurʾān.

(b) Illumination and Illustration of the Main Text Block

Understanding the marginal text and the eschatological and talismanic function of the red and black texts that orbit the main text block, leads one to comprehend the balance of illumination on the main text block. For LNS 12 MS, the subject headings are a careful calculation between white script outlined in black on a gold background, or white script outlined in black on a blue background (fig. 23). LNS 25 MS is more elaborate in its design process. It is executed as a manuscript that has a frontispiece, illustrated sections that frame the text, and a distinct ending (figs. 34, 35, 36). The opening textual illumination on LNS 25 MS is a careful geometric construction of a teardrop, almond eyes, and six pointed stars that are flanked by a flattened “pen case” design all filled with Qurʾānic quotations (figs. 34, 35, 36). I discuss the symbolism of these designs in further detail.

LNS 25 MS:

Beginning with a set of three roundels, the central roundel is larger than the two flanking it. The central circle has a border that is inscribed with the all too familiar *al-Ikhlaṣ* (112) in red script. A teardrop palmette with the formulaic Qur’ānic verse from *al-Ṣaff* (61:13) is the first part of the central text (fig. 35). Although this particular verse is often associated with *jihād*, it also has an amuletic signification and occurs on a variety of talismanic material. For example, as mentioned elsewhere, it occurs on one scroll case from DAI, LNS 834 M (fig. 53). The verse is often seen on smaller silver amulet cases, along with magic-medicine bowls. As one moves down the scroll, the decorative motifs are an indication of the talismanic purpose of the scroll (fig. 36). The two sets of two circles enclosing a six-pointed star each frame an almond eye with red *naskh* text incorporated into the design, which is *al-Ikhlaṣ* (112). A six-pointed star references the “Seal of Solomon” and is known for its apotropaic signification. It can occur as either a five-pointed or six-pointed star; it is “the sign by which Solomon maintained his power over the *jinn* [supernatural beings].” As we have seen, the six-pointed star was represented on one of the talismanic block prints (MMA 1978.546.32) (fig. 6). Both the five-pointed and six-

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612 See the catalogue for a full description.


614 See the catalogue for a detailed description.


617 See the catalogue for a description of this block print.
pointed star occurs on a number of Fatimid and Mamluk ceramics.\textsuperscript{618} The Mamluk attribution of the DAI scrolls will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Cushioned between the two sets of circles, six-pointed stars, and almond eyes is an oblong cartouche in the shape of a pen case (fig. 36). In white floriated \textit{Kufic} set on a blue with gold vegetal scroll, it contains the following Qur’\textsuperscript{ā}nic verses from \textit{al-Wāqi’\textasciitilde a}(56:77-80). It instructs the reader of the importance of performing the ablution before reading or touching the Qur’\textsuperscript{ā}n. These verses appear on a variety of Qur’\textsuperscript{ā}ns; for example it appears on the bindings of Mamluk Qur’\textsuperscript{ā}ns (LACMA M.73.5.557).\textsuperscript{619} Although LNS 25 MS is not a Qur’\textsuperscript{ā}n, the reader is asked to treat the sacred text in a similar manner. Islamic techniques of the occult continuously invoke practices associated with the Qur’\textsuperscript{ā}n and “orthodox” Islam.\textsuperscript{620}

The visual impact of the black and red textual borders on LNS 25 MS and on its frontispiece serve as an excellent introduction to a number of significant talismanic design elements on the scroll proper. Following the frontispiece, there is a grid carefully divided into

\textsuperscript{618} On Fatimid material objects, both five-pointed and six-pointed stars are common. See: Marianne Barrucand, Élisabeth Antoine, and Institut du monde arabe, \textit{Trésors fatimides du Caire: exposition présentée a l'institut du monde arabe Du 28 Avril Au 30 Août 1998}, pp. 174, 176; Géza Fehérvári, Tareq Rajab Museum, \textit{Pottery of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum} (Hawally: Tareq Rajab Museum, 1998), pp. 49-51, 57; Géza Fehérvári, and Tareq Rajab Museum, \textit{Ceramics of the Islamic World in the Tareq Rajab Museum} (London; New York: I.B. Tauris 2000), pp. 246-259. There are a number of ceramics at the Tareq Rajab Museum in Kuwait that are Mamluk and contain the six-pointed star: a Mamluk bowl from Syria, 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} century (CER-506-TSR); a Mamluk bowl with pseudo Kufic inscriptions and four fish swimming around the star from Egypt, 14\textsuperscript{th}-15\textsuperscript{th} century, (CER-615-TSR); a Mamluk bowl 14-15\textsuperscript{th} century Syria (CER-1728-TSR); a panel of tiles, Mamluk, 15\textsuperscript{th} century Syria (CER-501-TSR); a fragment of a basin with a star dated as Mamluk Egypt, 14\textsuperscript{th}-15\textsuperscript{th} century (CER-609-TSR). Lastly, there is a glass bowl in the David collection with a six-pointed star: \url{http://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/mamluks/art/isl_223}

\textsuperscript{619} \url{http://collections.lacma.org/node/239924}

four columns, with the names of God that alternate between red and black script (fig. 37). The heading of this section is also meticulously constructed by two gold semicircles at the top and bottom of the oblong reading: \( \text{al-'asmāʾ al-ḥusnā} \) (“the beautiful names of God”). Tables with the names of God, like those on LNS 25 MS, are known for their talismanic protection.\textsuperscript{621}

Similar to later devotional manuscripts, the names of God either introduce or conclude a particular manuscript. Their purpose is to induce a deep veneration of the powers of God and his names. Ultimately, in talismanic manuals, God is the ultimate intercessor and whoever supplicates to the names of God will have his or her prayers answered.

The occult and the talismanic are continuously referenced on both scrolls. However, it is more prominent on LNS 25 MS, as the next important section that follows the ‘\( \text{Awfāq al- ayyām al-sab} \)’ (“the magic squares of the seven days”) is \( \text{al-kawākib al- dhurriya} \) (“the shining stars”).\textsuperscript{622} This comprises most of al-Būṣīrī’s (d. ca. 1294-97) \textit{Burda}, a poem on the “Mantle of the Prophet” known for its magical powers (fig. 41).\textsuperscript{623} The legend is that al-Būṣīrī suffered from paralysis, and had written this poem as a form of supplication to God and the Prophet Muhammad. One night he dreamt of the Prophet Muhammad and read his poem to him.\textsuperscript{624} The Prophet placed his mantle on the shoulder of al-Būṣīrī and when he woke up he was cured of his

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\textsuperscript{622} The title has a typographical error: it should be \textit{durriya}: “The shining stars.”


\textsuperscript{624} S. Stetkevych, “From Text to Talisman Al- Busiri’s \textit{Qasidat Al- Burdah (Mantle Ode)} and the Supplicatory Ode,” p. 145.
\end{flushleft}
paralysis. This miraculous event caused the poem to become a talisman, and it is no surprise that
it is included in LNS 25 MS. The power of the poem derives from its ability to immortalize the
miracle by calling for the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad.\(^625\) It is a textual relic, and in
fact, it seems to have been included in one other scroll.\(^626\)

Besides highlighting the visual impact of the talismanic, it is apparent from the textual
and visual analysis of the two scrolls that certain subjects were clearly part of the licit magical
practices. Examples include the chapter headings on dispelling magic and the evil eye: Li’l-‘ayn
\(wa\) al-naẓra (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”) and \(Ibṭāl\) al-sihr (“for annulling magic”); and the
magic squares at the end of each scroll. There are additional references to magic and the occult;
these are textual references to prophets such as Moses and Solomon, along with various angels
and demons. Ultimately, the scrolls seek protection through Qur’ānic verse and supplications to
God.

(c) The Occult and the Illustrations

The last question to consider is how do the illustrations function as talismans? As I argued
above, the illustrations are an “integral part of the text” and not a later addition.\(^627\) Nor are they

\(^{625}\) Ibid., p. 153.

October 5, 2011, “An Ilkhanid Illuminated Talismanic Scroll containing one of the earliest
complete copies of al-Busiri’s (d. circa 1294-6 AD) Al-Burda. A Poem in Praise of the Prophet
Muhammad. Persia. Late 13\(^{\text{th}}\)-14\(^{\text{th}}\) century,” lot 61.

\(^{627}\) James, “Mamluk Painting at the Time of ‘Lusignan Crusade’ 1365-70,” p. 78.
“technical illustrations.” 628 Rather, it is through a specific Qur’anic verse related to its function and through magic letters that a particular weapon or object is endowed with a talismanic function (figs.24-29, 42-48). In fact, it can be asserted that the illustrations on the two scrolls function first as talismans and second as memory aids. First, the talismanic signification of the images is similar to depictions of unwanted pests that occur on spolia of architectural buildings. 629 It is, as Finbarr Barry Flood has asserted in the case of snakes and scorpions, “the ability of the image to invert or negate the power of the imaged.” 630 Therefore, if one sees the combined image of the scorpion and snake on these talismanic scrolls, they serve as a protection against this arachnid and reptile. In the case of the various weapons (the image of the intertwined sword, or a lance, or a bow and arrow), the Qur’ān with its direct supplication to God charges that particular weapon with an amuletic function. In addition, similar to Jewish magical texts, the illustrations create a “visual element” to the talismanic aspect of the text. 631 These diagrams are part of an “iconography” of the magical text. 632 Thus, the combination of the illustrations and the illuminations of the scrolls create an “aesthetic” of what comprises a talismanic scroll. 633

There are two enigmatic illustrations: the representation of the white hand of Moses, and the depiction of the sun and moon. How do they function? In the case of the sun and the moon, perhaps the supplicant is seeking protection from natural disasters caused by their movements,

628 Ibid.

629 Flood, “Image against Nature: Spolia as Apotropia in Byzantium and Dar Al-Islam.”

630 Ibid., p. 143.


632 Ibid., p. 200.

such as harsh weather. In other words, the depictions of the two roundels have the ability to negate any harmful powers that occur from the movement of the sun and moon.

As for the white hand of Moses that occurs on LNS 12 MS Iḥṭāl al-sīḥr (“for annulling magic”), it functions as a relic (fig.29). I believe that this representation is a precursor to the Ottoman devotional manuscripts that are filled with such iconic devotional relics. As mentioned earlier, the hand of Moses is one of the earliest depictions of a relic on an Islamic manuscript. The only other depictions of a relic on paper that predate it are the Prophet Muhammad’s footprint at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem represented on Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls. Textually, relics are an intrinsic part of pilgrimage guides, like that of al-Harawi, which is filled with references to heads, fingerprints, and footprints of religious figures. Relics, prophets, and saints are an important part of the religious agenda of the practitioner, as noted by Frank Burch Brown:


635 Aksoy and Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,” page numbers; Gruber, “The Prophet Muhammad’s Footprint,” pp.116-153. The only other early works on paper that contain some relics and religious symbols are the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls. There are also verbal descriptions of relics in Harawi’s pilgrimage guide and other guides: Harawi and Meri, A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage: 'Ali Ibn Abi Bakr Al-Harawi’s Kitab Al-Isharat Ila Ma'rifat Al-Ziyarat.”

636 Ibid., pp. 12-14. For example, at the citadel in Aleppo, the head of Yahya bin Zakariya was visited; and there was a fingerprint of the Prophet Muhammad’s nephew, Ali b. Abi Talib, in Hims.

On the whole religion is concerned with living well, in its totality... To that end they provide special communities and leadership, and often they affect the shape and direction not just of individual lives but also of society at large. By means of sacred stories, symbols, doctrines, and rituals, religions convey a sense of what matters most in life and the cosmos as a whole; and by celebrating and recalling exemplary lives and thoughts of saints and sages they promote specific actions and attitudes among followers.\(^{638}\)

Religion as a way of living “invokes” and “evokes” the powers of the sacred and divine.\(^{639}\) It transcends everyday life.\(^{640}\) Therefore, the depiction of a relic, such as the hand of Moses, on a talismanic scroll taps into the culture of the cult of relics and personal devotion of the medieval Muslim practitioner. Textually, LNS 12 MS references the rod of Moses and visually it references the hand of Moses.

As Brown states: “The aesthetic object is constituted not just by what is seen but how it is seen—that is, by what it is seen as—which depends on the whole milieu, including the contexts of perception and various things that we know or we think we know…”\(^{641}\) In other words, what we see is not just the depiction of Moses’ hand on this scroll, but also how it plays into the interpretation of the Qur’ānic verses and its ability to dispel magic. As Josef W. Meri has asserted, and as I explained in Chapter Two, the sanctity of an object comes forth from the use of the Qur’ān in this context.\(^{642}\) In addition, thinking of the minuscule red script of \textit{al-Ikhlāṣ} (112) enclosing the larger black script filled with the Qur’ānic verses, this plays into the practitioner’s

\(^{638}\) Ibid., p. 113.

\(^{639}\) Ibid.

\(^{640}\) Ibid., p.114.

\(^{641}\) Ibid., p.75.

\(^{642}\) Josef W. Meri, \textit{The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria}.
religious and aesthetic experience of the scrolls. In fact, there is a cultural milieu in which these scrolls circulated. Visually, these scrolls seem to be precursors for the later Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal and Qajar talismanic shirts and charts that use a similar color scheme and Qur'anic content. The earliest dated talismanic shirt (1477-80) belonged to the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan. It has a combination of rows and columns of text that serve as a border for a number of magic squares filled with numbers. The design and color scheme echoes LNS 25 MS.

When thinking about the textual contents of the two DAI scrolls and how each corpus addresses the occult and healing through various contexts, one begins to think about how these scrolls fit into a historical context of medieval Arabic medical and talismanic compendia. It is important to note that these scrolls were near contemporary to the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls, medical manuscripts such as Kitāb al-Diryāq (Book of Antidotes) dated to 1199 and its situation between toxicology and medieval occult, the De Materia Medica of Dioscorides (dated to the thirteenth century), and astrological manuscripts such as al-Sufi’s (d. 986) Kitāb Ṣuwar al-Kawākih (also dated to the thirteenth century). Indeed, the illustrations on the two scrolls make

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644 See the following section of this chapter for a discussion of the historical context.


647 I discuss this further in Chapter Four.

them an important part of the discussion on medieval Arabic painting, in that they are from a similar shared intellectual culture. The scrolls most likely are from the fourteenth century, when more refined manuscripts dealing with devotion and health were being produced under Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Therefore, in the following section, I date the two scrolls by keeping in mind the above-mentioned manuscripts.

**Dating the Scrolls within a Historical Context**

Based on their illumination, calligraphy, and use of paper, I date these scrolls to the Mamluk period and most likely between the period of Sultan Baybars II (r. 1308-10) and Sultan Faraj Ibn Barquq (r. 1399-1402). There are two important dated Qur’āns that can be found at the British Library, London: the Qur’ān of Sultan Baybars II (BL Add 22406, Add 22408) is the earliest dated example from the Mamluk period; and the Qur’ān of Sultan Faraj ibn Barquq (BL Or. 848). The use of floriated *kufic* script set on an abstract vegetal scroll on the chapter headings


of these Qurʾāns is similar to the introduction heading in LNS 25 MS (fig. 36). LNS 12 MS is missing the beginning of its scroll, but based on the similarities in design and layout between the two scrolls, one can also date it to the Mamluk period. Unlike the lavish Qurʾāns of the Mamluks, which usually have the name of the patron and a date in the colophon, both scrolls lack this information. Another important factor that relates to dating these scrolls, is the appearance of *al-kawākib al- duriyya* (“the shining stars”) that comprises most of al-Būšīrīʾs *Burda*, a poem on the “Mantle of the Prophet” known for its magical powers (fig. 41). This poem was distinctly important for the Mamluks.

The DAI scrolls contain illustrations of mostly *furūsīyah* objects (swords, lance, and bow and arrow) (figs. 24-26, 46-48). The question then becomes how these illustrations and sections relate to the Mamluk *furūsīyah* manuals. Although not from the same textual or visual context, the *furūsīyah* manuscripts of the late Bahri (1350-1400) period are most likely from a similar milieu. It is the representation of the *furūsīyah* (art of riding and military technology) sections that help us place the scrolls in a historical context (figs. 24-26, 46-48). Both the Abbasids and the Mamluks were known for their *furūsīyah* literature (fig. 60). Yet, it was under the

http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/sultanfaraj_lg.html

652 Ibid., p. 42.


Mamluks that the *furūsīyah* manuals were illustrated. The *furūsīyah* sections that occur on both scrolls are further indicators of a Mamluk date. In LNS 12 MS there are a number of *furūsīyah* sections illustrated with various weapons that appear in the following order: *lī-ḍarb al-sayf* (“for the striking of the sword”), *li-rami al-nushāb* (“the casting of arrows”), and *lī-ṭaʾn al-ramḥ* (“if pierced by a spear or lance”) (figs. 24-26). In addition, there are non-illustrated *furūsīyah* sections on LNS 25 MS. The other scroll begins with unillustrated *furūsīyah* sections: *liʾl-naṣr ʿalā al-aʾdā* (“for victory over the enemy”), *al-fāris wa al-fars* (“the horseman and his horse”). Towards the end of the scroll appear illustrated military weapon sections: *lī-ṭaʾn biʾl-ramḥ* (“when pierced by a spear or lance”), *li-ḍarb al-sayf* (“for the strike of the sword”), *li-ramī al-nashāb* (“the casting of arrows”) (figs. 46-48).

It might be useful to create a context for these illustrations with a visual comparison to *Nihāyat al-suʿl waʾl-umniyya fī taʾallum aʾmāl al-furūsīyya* (“The Petition of Aspiration to Acquire the Works of Equitation”), manuscripts attributed to al-Ahsaraʾi (d. 1348) in Damascus published by David James. James studies various illustrated *Nihāyat al-suʿl waʾl-umniyya fī taʾallum aʾmāl al-furūsīyya* versions of the manuscript: one is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, dated 1366 (Inv. No. A21); another is in the British Museum, London, dated 1371 (Add 18886); and yet another is in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul, and is dated 1373 (A.2651).

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657 For a full transcription of each section see the catalogue.

658 James, “Mamluk Painting at the Time of ‘Lusignan Crusade’ 1365-70.”
James identifies the “manner” of the illustrations as an “Arabic ‘scientific’ illustration” because there is no foreground or context for the depictions—they are arbitrarily placed and seem to be “technical” in their representation. They represent knights in the middle of an exercise, they are posed, or have some form of energy regarding the action: the example of the knight on a galloping horse. Thus, it becomes clear that for the DAI scrolls in the their representation of the various weapons are not part of a furūsiyyah manual. In fact, as noted above that the DAI scrolls are not technical drawings, but rather have talismanic and scientific functions. Therefore, the two scrolls are from the same cultural milieu as the Mamluk furūsiyyah manuals but constitute a different genre. The illustrations of furūsiyyah objects on both scrolls are unique; they do not occur anywhere else except two other scrolls. One is a Qurʾān scroll dated to fourteenth-century Iran and shown in a Christie’s catalogue, the other is an Ilkhanid talisman.

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659 Ibid., p. 74.
660 Ibid., p. 75.
661 Ibid., p. 76.
662 Ibid, pp.76-77.
663 Ibid., see fig.9, Chester Beatty Ms, Miniature No.16, folio 162a. Indeed, the scrolls and the furūsiyyah manuals are of a different genre but one interesting connection is the depiction of the double-sworded horseman in Mamluk furūsiyyah manuals such as on the Chester Beatty Library’s Nihāyat al-su’l wa’l-ummīyya fī ta’āllum a’rā’il al-furūsiyya (Inv. no. A21, folio 162a). On both DAI talismanic scrolls, the section titled Li-ḍarb al-sayf (“for the strike of the sword”) is illustrated with two swords. I plan to study the relationship between the military weapons found on the scrolls and the furūsiyyah manuals in greater detail.

Besides the connection to *furūsīyah* manuals, these scrolls fall into the category of devotional manuscripts with illustrations. The two Mamluk talismanic scrolls are placed historically between the earlier devotional talismanic block-printed scrolls discussed in Chapter Two, and the later devotional manuscripts from the Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal and Qajar contexts. The Mamluk scrolls are devotional in their use of scripture and their illustrations for talismanic purposes. They are a licit form of magic in their authorized use of the Qur’ān. As discussed in Chapter One, *ṭilsāmāt* (talismans) are a form of *nīranj* (white magic), and the prayers on the scrolls are a *raqqī* (magical incantation) in the form of *riyādāt* (spiritual exercise).665 Both scrolls are further evidence of the merging relationship between the occult sciences and devotion.

As mentioned above, these two scrolls are an important part of the discussion of Arabic painting.666 Ana Contadini’s, Richard Ettinghausen’s, and Eva Hoffman’s seminal works on Arabic illustrated books set the tone for the discussion of dating and understanding the illustrations on the two DAI scrolls. The diagrams confirm that there were Mamluk “visual transformations” occurring in the context of the occult, science, and devotion.667 The Mamluk talismanic scrolls are no longer block-printed; unlike the Fatimid and Ayyubid examples, and they have an elaborate, carefully constructed structure. However, as was noted above, these two

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665 See Chapter One for a discussion of these terms.


scrolls constitute a genre of their own, with their own template of devotional script and representations.

The evidence that there was a model for these talismanic scrolls is in the similarities between the two DAI scrolls and three other scrolls: one at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.2002.1.372) (fig.17),\(^\text{668}\) the other, which does contain furūsīyah illustrations and prayers, was published in a Christie’s catalogue with a fourteenth-century Persian attribution; and the latest is the one recently published in a Sotheby’s catalogue is the Ilkhanid talismanic scroll.\(^\text{669}\)

Lastly, other comparative materials that contain talismanic illustrations are medicine bowls and ceramics from the Arabic speaking world that date to the Zangid and Mamluk period. There are a number of bowls that contain depictions of snakes and scorpions from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Egypt and Syria.\(^\text{670}\) In addition, as Savage-Smith has shown, there are a number of bowls for the ibtāl al-sihr (annulling of magic) and bowls used for physical

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\(^{668}\) There is one printed scroll from the Guttenberg-Museum Mainz (GM 03.1 Schr.) dated to the fifteenth-century that has certain structural similarities. The Guttenburg may be from a later period and does not have a direct textual connection to the Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyya scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) but its design layout is very similar. The Guttenberg scroll is a long scroll (7.4x124.6cm), and the text is organized in oblong cartouches. The language of the text has a thematic similarity to the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) in that certain key phrases are mentioned: haykal al-sharif (blessed sanctuary); takfī hāmilīhi min kul shayṭān (supplicates to God to protect the carrier of the scroll from all demons); and, in general terms, the hirz (amulet) will protect the carrier from the gaze of the evil eye, from a fever, hardships of childbirth, when entering on kings, for the dispensing of magic. See Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums*, pp. 103-110. The Guttenberg scroll was not discussed above in the visual analysis section as it is not directly related and is from a later time period.


ailments. One can perhaps argue that these bowls came from a cultural milieu similar to that of the two DAI scrolls.

**Early Mamluk Historical Connections to the Occult**

In a seminal article by Yehoshua Frenkel on “Dream Accounts in the Chronicles of the Mamluk Period,” the role of astrology, numerology, and dream interpretation is explained. According to Frenkel, the chronicles of the Mamluk period express that there was a “belief in the existence of an unseen world…belief in supernatural powers and miracles was widespread.” By investigating Mamluk primary sources, it becomes apparent that the use of the occult was important for the explanation of important historical moments, such as the coming of the Mongols and their defeat. In particular, the uses made by the Mamluk ruler Qutuz (r. 1259-60) of the occult—as described below—creates a framework to conceptualize the use and function of the two DAI scrolls. By investigating certain primary sources, a voice of the occult within a historical timeline of the devastation caused by the Mongols is revealed.

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671 Ibid., p. 76.


673 Ibid., p. 203.

674 Ibid.
Omens in Mamluk Chronicles

Omens, apocalypse, and the occult are part of medieval Islamic culture. From the thirteenth century onwards, material objects for the practice of the occult became increasingly popular.\textsuperscript{675} As Savage-Smith argues, from the twelfth century onwards, the magic manuals of al-Bunī (d.1225), studied in Chapter One, were “the most popular manuals.”\textsuperscript{676} The earliest known magic medicine bowl belonged to Nur al-Din al-Zangi (r. 1146-1174).\textsuperscript{677} In a medieval culture in which the Fatimid block-printed talismans and Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls and literature existed, it is no surprise that the Mamluk chronicles are replete with omens and predictions about their empire.

The chronicler Ibn Iyās (d.1524,), under the heading of the ruler al-Mu'izz in 650 (1252), states that a bad omen was in the air.\textsuperscript{678} The news came from Mecca on a Tuesday 18 Rabi Al-Akhir 648 (Tuesday, July 19, 1250) that Mecca had some strong winds that tore the kiswa of the Ka'ba and that the Ka'ba stayed for twenty-one days without a kiswa.\textsuperscript{679} This was the fā'l (omen) of the end of the Abbasid time; indeed, Hülegü destroyed Baghdad and killed al-Musta'sim Bi-Allah [several years later!].\textsuperscript{680} Ibn Iyās continues: 656 (1258) was a year of great devastation.

\textsuperscript{675} Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, \textit{Science, Tools & Magic}, vol.1, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{676} Ibid., p. 60.
\textsuperscript{677} Ibid., pp. 82-83.
\textsuperscript{678} EI online, “Ibn, Iyās” (W.M. Brinner); Iyās Ibn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, \textit{Badā’i’ al-zuhūr fī waqā’i’ al-duḥūr}, (al-Qāhirah: al-Hay’ah al-Miṣriyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1982), pp. 290-291. Please note the following is my translation and a paraphrase of Ibn Iyās’ text.
\textsuperscript{679} Ibn Iyās and Muṣṭafā, \textit{Badā’i’ al-zuhūr fī waqā’i’ al-duḥūr}, pp. 290-291.
\textsuperscript{680} Ibid.
News came that Hülegü had killed al-Musta‘sim, the last Abbasid caliph. And a man in Egypt by the name of Afif al-Din b. al-Baqa‘l had a dream about the destruction of a sea.\(^{681}\) Indeed, there was a flood in the Tigris that destroyed the market and there were no sermons in Baghdad for forty days. And then in this same year there was a fire in the east of Medina followed by an earthquake in the city. And that the people of Medina all prayed for their sins to be forgiven; and that al-Bukhari stated that the Prophet said that the signs of Judgment Day was a fire from the land of Hijaz.\(^{682}\) In other words, as the Mongols approached, there was a sense that the end of time was near and that natural disasters were predictive of the fall of the Abbasids.

In *al-Nujum al-zahira*, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1412) writes in the year 657 (1259) that no sooner had Qutuz been enthroned that he ordered a *munajjim* (astrologer) who used *‘ilm al-raml* (geomancy) to tell them who would defeat the Mongols. The prediction was that Qutuz would defeat the Mongols.\(^{683}\) The astrologer stated that a man with no dots in his name will defeat the Mongols, and Qutuz said that his non-Mamluk name was Mahmud b. Mamdud. In other words, Qutuz will defeat the Mongols.\(^{684}\) And Qutuz then paid the astrologer three hundred dirhams.\(^{685}\)

\(^{681}\) Ibid., pp. 297-299.

\(^{682}\) Ibid., pp. 297-99.


\(^{684}\) Ibid.

\(^{685}\) Ibid.
Another version of this story appears in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Ibn al-Dawādārī *Kanz al-durar wa jāmiʿ al-ghurar* (“Translation”) regarding the year 657 (1259). It is narrated that Qutuz ordered a munajjim (astrologer) who used ‘ilm al-raml (geomancy) to answer the following question: “Who will rule Egypt next and who will defeat the Tatars (Mongols)?” The astrologer then stated that it will be a person whose name has five letters and no dots. Qutuz told the astrologer the following name: Mahmud b. Mamdud. The astrologer said that this was the name of the person who would defeat the Mongols. Qutuz said: Mahmud b. Mamdud is my name.

Besides these descriptions from the chroniclers about the defeat of the Mongols and the use of geomancy in the court of Qutuz, there was a large amount of apocalypse literature circulating in Egypt around the time of Baybars’s rule (r. 1260-77). Indeed, as Baybars was responsible for Qutuz’s death, he too used astrology and geomancy in a similar fashion as Qutuz to assert his authority as a ruler.

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688 Ibid.

689 Ibid.

690 Ibid.


692 Ibid., p. 332.
In addition to the use of fortunetelling to predict major historical moments, there are other stories that include a clear relationship with the supernatural. Frenkel recounts a story from Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449): 693

A merchant from Damascus who claimed that when his town was struck by the plague in Ramadan 776/February 1375, he had seen the jinn riding on horseback carrying lances; he fought them and was fatally wounded. When the merchant actually died a short while later, the undertaker who washed the corpse saw wounds inflicted by the lances of the jinn. 694

In other words, rationalizing that the infliction of plague was the work of the jinn was part of everyday Mamluk psychology. Of course, there were also a few scholars that were trying to purify Islam from the occult; and both Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1292-1350) were trying to purify the Mamluk sultanate of the occult. 695 It is by piecing together various stories from the Mamluk chronicles that one can begin to conceptualize the use of the DAI talismanic scrolls. It is clear that practitioners were resorting to God and the Qurʾān for protection from natural, supernatural, and political traumas. For both Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, trusting in God and religious law was a sanctioned practice. 696

Interestingly, the most prominent geomancer from Mamluk times is the sixteenth-century geomancer Ibn Zunbul. 697 As Irwin states, it is most likely that Ibn Zunbul witnessed the entry of

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696 I discuss the category of “illicit magic” in Chapter Four.

Selim I into Egypt in 1517; as his historical accounts of this event are “vivid and detailed and realistic.”698 Ibn Zunbul was known for his skills in ‘ilm al-raml (geomancy) and continuously references the occult in his historical novel titled Kitāb infiṣāl al-awan wa ittiṣāl dawlat banī ʿuthmān (“The Departure of the Temporal Dynasty and the Coming of the Ottomans”).699 He prophesizes that the fall of the Mamluk sultan al-Ghawri (r. 1501-17) would be at the hands of a man whose name begins with the letter ‘S’: Selim (r. 1512-20).700 Selim, according to Ibn Zunbul, was also trained in firāṣa (a form of divination through physiology), and thus able to predict the defeat of al-Ghawri.701 More importantly, the demise of the Mamluk Sultanate was explained by divine decree.702 This is the key to understanding the Islamic occult. Everything is related to God, including protection from the unknown, whether it is natural or supernatural.

Again, it is not easy to align the sources with material objects; yet, the chronicles create a voice and context in which one can imagine the use of the scrolls as tools of assistance in times of need. Therefore, in a scroll format recalling a legal decree that has a set tone and protocol, it is not surprising that the two DAI scrolls have a careful textual structure that pleads for assistance in a contractual voice from God. They each begin by praying in the names of God and his oneness, then calling on his creative power and prophetic stories through the seven haykal.

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699 Ibid., p. 5.
700 Ibid., p. 7.
701 Ibid., p.7; EI online, “Firāṣa.” (T. Fahd).
sections. Eventually, each of the scrolls asks for assistance with certain things—such as to dispel magic or provide relief from bodily aches—ending with mostly prayers for assistance with objects of furusiyyah. Lastly, they both end with eschatological and Judgment Day themes that are sealed with magic squares. Therefore, it is not surprising that one would use specific Qur'ānic verses to seek protection from the evil eye, or from the bite of scorpion, or for travel by sea, and for empowering one’s weapons. The purpose of LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS was to assist the practitioner with the hardships of daily life through continuous supplications to God and the Prophet Muhammad.
CHAPTER FOUR

LICIT MAGIC: THE LANGUAGE AND EFFICACY OF THE OCCULT

“But at the same time we that the efficacy of magic implies a belief in magic. The latter has three complimentary aspects: first, the sorcerer’s belief in the effectiveness of his techniques; second, the patient’s belief in the sorcerer’s power; and finally, the faith and the expectation of the group, which constantly act as a sort of gravitational field within which the relationship between sorcerer and bewitched is located and defined.” Claude Levi-Strauss

“Religious contexts can be especially revealing for the study of linguistic form and action since they can involve peoples’ most extreme and self-conscious manipulations of language, in response to their most powerful intuitions about agency.” Webb Keane

In the previous three chapters of the dissertation, I have discussed the specific terminology surrounding the “licit,” or sanctioned, use of the occult within a specific context of Islamic talismanic scrolls from a medieval Islamic context of 900-1400 CE. I have investigated a number of talismanic scrolls, which are mostly imbued with the word of God. It is apparent that the authoritative and efficacious voice on these scrolls comes from saturating the text with the word of God, the names of God, sacred texts such as the Burdah of al-Būṣīrī and ‘ilm al-ḥurūf (the science of letters). It is clear from the textual analysis of the talismanic scrolls that they are tools of devotion. The existence of a specific religious language related to the occult is an unmistakable feature of the medieval primary sources and the material evidence of the scrolls investigated in this dissertation.

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By religious language, I am adopting Webb Keene’s theory, in that it is different from “everyday speech” and allows a practitioner to “talk to the invisible interlocutors.” As Keene defines it:

Language is one medium by which the presence and activity of beings that are otherwise unavailable to the sense can be made presupposable, even compelling, in ways that are publically, yet also subjectively available to people as members of social groups…Religious language is deeply implicated with underlying assumptions about the human subject, divine beings, and the ways their capacities and agencies differ.

This understanding of language as a way to communicate with the otherworldly, is something that is essential to understanding the Islamic talismanic scrolls. Therefore, in this chapter, I would like to place the practice of the talismanic scrolls within the larger context of the Islamic occult; and these nuances of language become apparent. As I have already made the connection between Islamic scrolls and Byzantine culture, I begin by mapping the practice of these scrolls as one that evolved from, and in conjunction with, a Jewish practice as both traditions seek to cure the effects of “magic” or ward off spells via the application of sacred language. Both the Byzantine Christian culture and medieval Judaism partook in comparable beliefs about the occult. Second—and building on the content of Chapter One—I expand upon ideas of licit and illicit concepts in the occult as they were described by two additional primary sources, Ibn Al-

706 Ibid., p. 48.
707 Ibid., p. 49.
Nadim’s (d. 991) *al-Fihrist*, and Ibn Khaldun’s (d. 1406) *al-Muqaddima*. I focus in particular on Ibn Khaldun’s *al-Muqaddima* to demonstrate his quite different understanding of sanctioned practices of the occult. I illustrate the formal connections and distinct talismanic language that connects the Islamic talismanic scrolls (Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk). Lastly, as a conclusion, this talismanic language connects to other objects of the occult and speculate about medieval Islamic hospitals being sites for the use of these scrolls.

**THE HEBREW CONNECTION: A THEORETICAL RELATIONSHIP TO ISLAMIC PRACTICE**

Michael D. Swartz, in his seminal article on Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts, affirms that “both types of speech acts rely on formulaic language to be effective.” Swartz studies late-antique Jewish amulet incantation texts from Palestine from the fifth to seventh centuries and their influence on the incantations from the Cairo Genizah dated from the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. In addition, he studies the visual elements of sixth-century Aramaic bowls from Iraq. The most important relationship between the Jewish and Islamic amuletic

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710 Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts,” p. 187. As this chapter progresses, I will highlight the main points of Swartz’s ideas on the repetitive and formulaic.

711 Ibid., p. 188-89.

712 Ibid.
texts is that they both have “textual reference from scripture and other sacred literature.”

There are certain linguistic and visual “motifs” that overlap with the Islamic tradition. If one merely glances at the objects reproduced in Swartz’s article, it becomes apparent that the Fatimid block-printed talismanic scrolls are textually and visually from a similar tradition.

The “the powers of the magical name” on Jewish magical texts, is an important component, which has parallels in late-antique texts and Mediterranean Christianity. This motif also corresponds to Islamic counterparts. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the Islamic talismanic scrolls rely upon the power of the names of God. From the fifteenth century onwards, on Ottoman devotional manuals and their Persian counterparts, this evolves into the power of the names of God along with the Prophet Muhammad, and a power in specific images such as relics, hilyahs (verbal descriptions) of the Prophet Muhammad, and the visual auguries of the Falnama.

Next, Swartz highlights another essential theme in the Jewish context, viz. the use of “lists” in “incantation texts.” The voice and the aura of the language of lists have a legal

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713 Ibid., p. 189.
714 Ibid., p. 190.
715 Ibid., p. 197, 204.
716 Ibid., p. 189-191.
717 See catalogue.
voice; similar to a legal decree, these texts are contracting with God for protection.\textsuperscript{720} This also occurs in related Islamic material. It is apparent from merely glancing at the block-printed scrolls and the DAI scrolls, that the names of God, names of the prophets, and the names of angels are usually listed.\textsuperscript{721} In addition (discussed in Chapter One), lists are an important element in the primary sources, such as al-Bunī’s \textit{Shams al-Ma’ārif} and \textit{‘ilm al-ḥurūf} (science of letters).\textsuperscript{722} First of all, there is a hierarchy of letters and they each have their individual devotions and incantations. Al-Bunī begins with the letter alif: the \textit{‘arsh} (throne) of God has the letter \textit{alif} (A) and the \textit{kursī} (seat) of God has the letter \textit{ba’} (B), and the letter \textit{jīm} (J) has the planet Saturn, and so each letter gets a designation until one reaches the moon.\textsuperscript{723} Thus, every letter has its own spiritual powers that connect to the planets or to the cosmos or to the throne of God, and in turn communicates with God.\textsuperscript{724} These lists and hierarchies related to the planets, cosmos and God illustrate to the “audience and to the powers being commanded or importuned his mastery over the secrets of the universe.”\textsuperscript{725} Lastly, the use of the scroll as a format for talismanic scrolls overlaps with legal decrees; and as discussed in Chapter Three and later in this

\textsuperscript{720} Ibid. Besides the legal aspect of lists, in Chapter Two it was put forward that Islamic talismanic scrolls are visually similar to legal \textit{fermans}, and in Chapter Three, the contractual voices of the two DAI scrolls was analyzed.

\textsuperscript{721} See the catalogue and Chapter Three. Also see Canaan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans.”

\textsuperscript{722} See Chapter One.

\textsuperscript{723} Al-Bunī, \textit{Shams al- ma’ārif}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{724} See Chapter One.

\textsuperscript{725} Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts,” p. 192.
chapter, there is a contractual voice in the language of the prayers and the way the appeal is
made to God. 726

The “graphic elements” of the objects of the occult is the third motif that Swartz
discusses, and this too is comparable to the Islamic scrolls. 727 Indeed, the “visual elements take
on several forms and serve several functions.” 728 On the Fatimid block-printed scrolls there is an
interplay between the legible larger text and the micrographic prayers. Occasionally, there are
diagrams. Examples include a seal of Solomon (fig. 6), two abstracted mihrab niches (figs. 10
and 14), and one talismanic block print with a demon-jinn figure (fig. 57). 729 For the DAI
scrolls, there is a sophisticated balance between the illumination and the arrangement of the text,
the illustrations, and magic squares at the end of each example that together create a distinct
visual language for the Mamluk scrolls. Thus, text and image work together to protect the carrier
of the scroll. They “link the mundane concerns of the humans in need of the incantation to the
alternate reality of demons, deities, and cosmic topography.” 730

726 See below and Chapter Three on the contractual voice of the scrolls. Also, as I discussed in
Chapter Two, the scroll as a format that was not just used for legal decrees and talismanic
scrolls.

727 Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of
Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts,” p. 195.

728 Ibid., p. 197.

729 There is one block-printed talismanic scroll that has the image of a demon. It is currently
block-printed talismanic scroll with an abstracted mihrab niche resides in a private collection in
1-48.

730 Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of
Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts,” Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
It is through the language of the prayers that one understands the fears and concerns of the medieval practitioner. In the preceding two chapters, I have touched upon the possible context and use of the talismanic scrolls; one can envision their use in pilgrimage, and amid a culture of continuous warfare and turmoil. It is clear from examining the scrolls that Arabic is a sacred language appropriate for the occult.\textsuperscript{731} The question then becomes, besides the geomancers in the Mamluk court and the voice of the historical chronicles and pilgrimage manuals, who are the people who followed the occult? What are the professions of these people? And what was considered a “licit” practice?

**THE PEOPLE WHO PRACTICED THE OCCULT**

Michael Dols, through an analysis of various primary sources, argued that the use of the occult in Medieval Islam was more widespread than previously recognized in scholarship.\textsuperscript{732} I fully agree with Dols: the continuous conquests in Islam engendered an increase in Islamic magical beliefs.\textsuperscript{733} One example, is that with the coming of the Mongols and the take over of Damascus in 1260, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350) writes that the “governor Mughīr, influenced by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d.1275) wanted to have Ibn Sīna’s *al-Tanbihat wa’l-Ishārat* replace the Qurʾān.”\textsuperscript{734} Besides these historical contexts, the two scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS)


\textsuperscript{732} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{733} Ibid., p.90.

\textsuperscript{734} Livingston, “Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya,” p. 607.
discussed in Chapter Three are illustrative examples in which the Qur’ān, along with the visual representation of various weapons, evidences this culture of continuous conquest and supplication to God. From the primary sources discussed in Chapter One, and the material evidence considered in the preceding two chapters, it is evident that Arabic via the Qur’ān was a “sacred language” that “was ideally suited to magical practices, whether written or oral.”

Through an investigation of Ibn al-Nadim’s *al-Fihrist* and Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddima*, a list of various people and professions that practiced the occult can be presented. Ibn al-Nadim devotes a chapter to “exorcists, jugglers, and magicians.” Ibn Khaldun discusses people with supernatural powers and the various sciences related to the occult. Both sources have created an inventory of what is considered an accepted practice and what is not.

**Ibn al-Nadim’s *al-Fihrist*: On People Who Practice Magic**

Written in tenth-century Baghdad, Ibn al-Nadim wrote the *Fihrist* as a “bio-bibliographic listing” on a number of subjects from calligraphy and calligraphers to various legal authorities. Pertinent to this discussion is his listing of mythical and actual people, angels, and demons when he treats the subject of magic. First of all, in the section that comes before Ibn al-Nadim’s

735 Ibid.


chapter on “exorcists, jugglers, and magicians,” he lists the “Names of the Humans in Love with the Jinn and the Jinn in Love with Humans,” making sure his audience knows that these beings are mostly in fantastic tales and are not “true” people. These people and jinn are not mentioned under the heading of magic, yet it is worth noting their existence in a culture where supernatural beings such as the jinn were being discussed.

Ibn al-Nadim’s text on the occult is unique in comparison to the other primary sources examined elsewhere in this dissertation. First of all, actual names of people, including the history of the transmission of the occult that incorporates Hermes as a sorcerer, along with other sources from ancient Egypt and Byzantium, are presented. As discussed in Chapter One, Hermetic knowledge is an important part of the transmission of the occult as a science into the Arabic sources. Another important figure is the Prophet Solomon. Ibn al-Nadim writes that he was the “first person to enslave the jinn and devils,” which he follows with a list of the names of demons “who attended Solomon.” It is interesting that Moses and his confrontations with the Pharaoh are not mentioned. As has been demonstrated, Moses is an important prophet for the two DAI scrolls. Returning to Ibn al-Nadim, he lists Ibn Hilal (Abu Nasr Ahmad ibn Hilal al-Bakil) as the person “who started this interest [in sorcery] in Islam,” yet, very little is known

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738 Ibid., volume 2, pp. 725-744.


about the life of Ibn Hilal. All that is known is the licit process began with Ibn Hilal who “was served and also spoken to [by the jinn], and was known for wonderful deeds and actions of goodness, as well as seals of tested value.” In other words, he practiced the occult in a way that was beneficial to people and this was wholly acceptable; and knew the seals that were considered efficacious. It is also interesting to note that Ibn al-Nadim lists Ibn al-Imam who lived under the Abbasid al-Muʿtaṣid (r.892-902) as “among the exorcists who worked by the names of Allah” and that his “system was praiseworthy.” This is important as it suggests there were exorcists in the Abbasid community; and that an efficacious and acceptable system for the use of talismans through the names of God. It provides a context for the Fatimid block printed scrolls which were activated through the use of the names of God.

An important part of Ibn al-Nadim’s discussion is “the condemned system” sources. Sihr (magic/sorcery) was what “Allah prohibited.” Ibn al-Nadim begins with a description of a system in which spells are related to Iblis’ daughter or son Bidhukh. One of the key sources mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim in this section is Ibn Wahshiya—briefly introduced in Chapter One—

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745 See the section of this chapter on religious language of the scrolls to understand this further.


who was known for his sources on magical scripts and dedication to Hermetic knowledge.  

Nevertheless, because Ibn al-Nadim’s work is a bio-bibliographic list, a clear understanding of why these sources are condemned is not possible. Therefore, I expand on what is considered to be an authorized system of magic by means of Ibn Khaldun’s *Muqaddima*, which has very specific language that articulates these rules perfectly.

**Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddima*: Licit and Illicit Practices**

Persis Berlekamp states in her recent publication, *Wonder, Image, & Cosmos in Medieval Islam*, that there are certain key “men of the pen” who were active during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and who are important to the understanding of talismans and their depiction in the manuscripts of *‘Ajāʾīb al-Makhlūqāt* (The Wonders of Creation). One of them is Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) whose analysis of science is important to the medieval conceptual understanding of what is considered the “licit” practice of the occult. He writes in the later Mamluk period, and his thoughts and classification of talismans and their conception as an *‘ilm* (science) is important. Because he discusses the occult in two different sections of *al-Muqaddima*, one

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751 Please see Chapter One and the classification of talismans as ‘*ilm* (science) in both Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Bunī.
can perhaps style Ibn Khaldun as a medieval anthropologist. He initiates his book with “Human civilization in general” and the people who practice the occult fall under the category of “human beings who have supernatural perception.” Once Ibn Khaldun has presented the various people of a community including their professions (royals, teachers, architects), he then dedicates the last chapter of his book to “the various kinds of sciences.” It is here that a “licit” practice of the occult is clarified.

For Ibn Khaldun, there is a clear tension between prophets and sorcerers. People who perform sorcery are similar to prophets; they have the ability to achieve some form of “supernatural perception,” which is ultimately guided by God. However, prophets are people who are fully aware of their supernatural perception. Soothsayers are people who practice the occult and claim prophecy. Ibn Khaldun states that soothsayers are the antithesis of prophets since they do not understand “real prophecy” or how to fully attain “supernatural perception.”

The ultimate difference between prophets and soothsayers is the source of their revelation. The prophet attains knowledge from angels while soothsayers get it from “taṣawwr help from foreign notions.” As Ibn Khaldun states, the soothsayers “received heavenly information from the

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753 Ibid., vol. 1, p. vi.

754 Ibid., vol. 3, p. v.

755 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 185-245.

756 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 185-191.

757 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 194, 202-204.

758 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 205.
devils.” Ultimately, soothsayers have a “misguided desire to become prophets.” One example of this type of person is Musaylima, the “false prophet.” Besides being false prophets, soothsayers include a different class of people who are diviners (i.e. they practice divination). It is here that one gets an idea of the various people who practiced the occult, which seemed to be a sanctioned practice because it was a “natural disposition.” These people have “sensual perception” opposed to the “supernatural perception” of the prophets. For example, according to Ibn Khaldun, the people who practice zajr (augury) “talk about supernatural things” but it is the “power of imagination” that brings out the “vision.” In other words, to have supernatural perception is a gift from God to the prophets, and the only other people who are able to attain some form of this ability of supernatural perception are the Sufis.

The people who do have “supernatural perception” are the Sufis because they have been trained religiously. Nevertheless, the Sufis “shun” this experience as they seek to get closer to God. This group of diviners are known as “‘arrāf” and they attain some form of the

759 Ibid.

760 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 207.

761 Ibid. Also see: EI online, “Musaylima” (W. Montogmery Watt).


763 Ibid.

764 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 217.

765 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 218.

766 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 222.

767 Ibid.
supernatural be it through mirrors or bowls, or those who “cast pebbles, grains of wheat, or (date) pits,” or those who have had “Sufi training” and “as acts of divine grace” have “obtained perceptions of supernatural things.”

This is an important description since it creates a visualization of how material objects such as talismanic mirrors, magic bowls, and other paraphernalia were used and that it was a sanctioned practice.

It is interesting that certain forms of divination are considered to be religious experiences. One, for example, is the Sufi conception of *karama* (acts of divine grace) that is manifest through *firāsa* (divination through physiognomy) and *kashf* (sense perception). For Ibn Khaldun, this ability is discernible in the Prophet Muhammad’s companions ‘Umar and Abu Bakr. ‘Umar, while preaching in Medina, was able to warn Sariyah b. Zunaym who was campaigning in Iraq that the enemy was waiting for him behind a mountain. This premonition by ‘Umar is a mystical state that pious people are able to experience. Thus, it is considered a sanctioned practice.

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768 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 214.


771 Ibid., p. 223.

772 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 223-224.

773 Ibid., p. 224.
Besides having mystical premonitions and practicing forms of divination, other people, such as astrologers, claim supernatural experiences. To Ibn Khaldun, these people “have nothing to do with the supernatural.” Geomancers practiced ‘ilm al-raml, which was considered a sanctioned practice. This practice is ascribed to the Prophet Daniel or to Idris, but Ibn Khaldun remained doubtful about its origin and called it a false practice.

There is another set of people who practice hisāb al-nīm, this practice is derived from Ptolemy and they discover the supernatural through “astral influences.” Again, this science maybe related to letter magic but, as Ibn Khaldun states, this process was “not verifiable.” This refutation of astrology is an important one as it is also highlighted in earlier Mamluk sources by the Hanbali Ibn Taymiyya and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. There is strong aversion to astrology.

The last group of people practice zā’iraja (a science related to astrology and the zodiac), and science attributed to Abu ‘Abbas al-Sabti, a twelfth-century Maghribi Sufi in “Marrakech during the rule of the Almohad ruler Ya’qub al-Mansur” (r. 1184-1199). Again, Ibn Khaldun

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774 Ibid., p. 225.

775 See Chapter One: al-Bunī discusses the sanctioned practice of ‘ilm al-raml.


777 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 234-238.

778 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 238.


states that these people do not have the power of supernatural perception.\textsuperscript{781} Similar to Ibn al-Nadim, Ibn Khaldun illustrates that the occult and its different forms were being practiced across the Islamic world from the Abbasids of Baghdad to the Almohads in Morocco and Spain.

As mentioned above, the first volume of Ibn Khaldun’s \textit{Muqaddima} was about the people who practiced supernatural perception. It is clear that astrologers and geomancers and those in other professions related to astrology were not sanctioned by him; and was something that was refuted by the earlier Hanbali scholars Ibn Taymiyya and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah.\textsuperscript{782} However, the devotion of a Sufi mystic or a companion of the Prophet Muhammad was a person who had the ability to have supernatural visions and premonitions. The third volume discusses the licit and illicit sciences and elaborates on the sciences that the aforementioned people practice.

From the third volume, Ibn Khaldun considers the “The science of dream interpretation” to be a “science of religious law.”\textsuperscript{783} This is important, as “religious law” is a significant part of the medieval consciousness of sanctioned practices. The story of Yusuf in the Qur’an illustrated the supernatural perception involved in dream interpretation.\textsuperscript{784} There are two types of dream visions: true visions and false visions.\textsuperscript{785} The false vision is the one empowered by memory; the

\textsuperscript{781} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{783} Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, \textit{The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,}, vol. 3, p. 103. Also see Chapter One, the Ikhwān and their discussion of dream interpretation.

\textsuperscript{784} Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, \textit{The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,}, vol. 3, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{785} Ibid., p. 105.
true vision receives it images from a “rational spirit.” Ibn Khaldun then proceeds to list the signs of a true vision, which is related to a prophetic vision. There is support from a pertinent hadith narrated by Sahih that Ibn Khaldun quotes: “There are three kinds of dream visions. There are dream visions from God, dream visions from angels, and dream visions from Satan.” The hadith authorizes the sanctioned practice of dream visions. In other words, this relates to the supernatural perception that true dream visions come from God and “need no explanation.” The ones from the angels “require interpretation” and the ones from Satan are “confused dreams.”

In the discussion of ‘ilm for both the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and al-Būnī, the movement of the stars and planets was an essential tool for the construction of talismans. And it is only natural that, for Ibn Khaldun, the science of astronomy and not astrology is considered “a noble craft” and a pillar of “the mathematical disciplines.” As will be noted below, it was used for the construction of talismans. Before delving into the science of talismans, it is also important to present Ibn Khaldun’s perspective on the science of medicine, as it has been noted throughout the previous chapters that the science of talismans is related to the science of medicine. It is

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786 Ibid.
787 Ibid., vol. 3, p.108.
788 Ibid.
789 Ibid.
790 See Chapter One.
792 See the past three chapters of this thesis in which the science of talismans and the science of medicine are shown to be interconnected. The Ikhwān directly discuss the connection of ṭibb to
interesting that the science of medicine, and physicians’ work, is presented as a science that imitates nature. It is not a supernatural force as are the other sciences related to the occult.

On “The Science of Sorcery and Talismans,” for Ibn Khaldun there is a distinction to be made between sorcery and talismans. Sorcery exercises “an influence on the world of elements” without any aid. Talismans activate their powers through “the aid of celestial matters,” which relate back to astrology. He makes it clear that religious law forbids both of these sciences. Ibn Khaldun then narrates the history of the occult from the Nabateans to Coptic Egypt and the Indians, and again it has a clear connection to astrology. Within Islam, the “chief sorcerer of Islam” is Jabir ibn Hayyan (active during the Abbasid period), followed by the Spanish al- Majriti (d. 1007), Ghayat al-hakim. In fact, as Dols suggested, for Ibn Khaldun “the souls that have magical ability are of three degrees.” Dols states:

There are three degrees of men with magical powers; in descending order, they are those who exercised their power only in their minds or spirits over others and the natural world; those who used astrology and various techniques to

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*sahir*: On LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS, there are individual sections related to the pain of a headache, stomachache, etc. See Appendix Two.


795 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 156.

796 Ibid.


**make talismans**; and thirdly, those **who played on people's imagination by creating phantoms and illusions.**

Ibn Khaldun then continues to address these three abilities in the text and considered any form of sorcery (that directs devotion to beings other than God) as “unbelief.” In other words, licit practices of the occult should be directed to, or seek refuge in, the power of God.

This assertion is exemplified through the practices of sorcery and talismanic power that he observed or heard about. For Ibn Khaldun, sorcery is shunned and talismanic power is a consented practice. There are a number of fantastic tales about the practice of magic and its “evil” side, such as the account that sorcerers from India are able “to point at a man, and his heart is extracted,” or the magicians in the Maghrib who can point at a garment and tear it to shreds with the assistance of jinn and stars. Yet, there are examples of licit practices in which the Qurʾān is consulted. One of them, transmitted via Sahih, is that the Prophet Muhammad was put under a spell and God revealed in the Qurʾānic chapter titled *al-Falaq* (113) to dispel the magic. This is a fascinating example, as *al-Falaq* (113) and the chapters known as *al-muʿawwidhāt* were known for their amuletic function. These Qurʾānic chapters occur repeatedly on the talismanic scrolls.

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804 See the catalogue and the Appendix One.
In addition, Ibn Khaldun, on the authority of al-Majriti (d. 1005), illustrates that particulars of making a talisman was an approved practice; and it is clear that astrology, numbers and magic squares are part of this culture. 805 There are two examples that relate to the material evidence and conceptually overlap with al-Buni’s science of letters. 806 The first is the efficacy of the numbers 220 and 284 for love and friendship. This recalls al-Buni’s theory of practice. 807 The second is the use of the “lion seal,” and its creation on a pebble with a snake: this finds its analog in a number of amulets with representations of a lion and snake at Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah and in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection. 808 Another connection between Ibn Khaldun and the material evidence is that he has a section on “the evil eye.” 809 This is not a “supernatural” power but a “natural gift.” Ibn Khaldun does not provide his readers with a clear example, but it seems to be a sanctioned practice. At least he does not say otherwise.

The next science, which is considered “licit,” is the “the science of the secrets of letters.” 810 The term Ibn Khaldun uses is sīmiyā, and it is a Sufi practice. 811 Ibn Khaldun quotes

805 It is clear here that certain astrological practices that differ from those stated in volume one are sanctioned.


807 Ibid. See Chapter One


811 Ibid. Also see: EI online, “Sīmiyā.” (D. B. Macdonald[T. Fahd]). It is interesting that he does not use the term ‘ilm al-ḥurūf.”
Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240) and al-Bunī as authorities, which is significant. The second vital point is that, “according to religious law,” the science of letters is a sanctioned and legal practice, and saints are able to activate this power by taking refuge in God. This has an immediate parallel to the language of the scrolls in which people are continuously taking refuge in God and seeking protection through the Qurʾān and the breakdown of the letters. One of the highlights of Ibn Khaldun’s text is that he provides examples from medieval life. For example, through supplication, Abū Yazīd al-Bīstami (d. 874) performed a miracle by joining the two banks of the Tigris because he was in a hurry. Therefore, by taking refuge in God dhikr is considered a sanctioned practice under the heading of letter magic.

The final section related to letter magic that Ibn Khaldun writes about is “zāʾirja.” This process is linked to divination using letters. It is not “supernatural,” but a technique of breaking down the letters.

From the previous discussion about Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn Khaldun, it becomes obvious that concepts of magic, science, and religion were intertwined through other sources such as Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and al-Bunī (which were treated in depth in Chapter One). However, Ibn al-

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812 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 172. This illustrates the significance of the discussion of al- al-Bunī in Chapter One. For Ibn ʿArabī see: EI online, “Ibn al-ʿArabī.” (A. Ateş). The relationship of the science of letters has to Ibn al-ʿArabī is an interesting one and I hope to return to this connection in the publication of this dissertation.

813 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 179.

814 Ibid. Also see: EI online., “Abū Yazīd (Bāyazīd) Ṭayfūr b. ‘Īsā b. Surūshān al-Bīstāmī,” (H. Ritter).


Nadim and Ibn Khaldun presented a precise understanding of the people and practices considered to be licit magic. In previous chapters, and here, I am communicating the significance of the Islamic talismanic scrolls to the larger medieval community. It is clear that the Islamic scrolls are related to the Jewish and Aramaic traditions; in that there are certain shared models: the importance of the names of God, the use of lists in occult manuals, and there is sometimes a graphic element to the scrolls. In addition, as discussed in Chapter Two, there is a clear relationship to the Byzantine conception of talismans and relics and their connection to a pilgrimage culture. Again, the Islamic talismanic scrolls and their continuous use of the Qurʾān and supplication to God are considered an authorized medium. Building on Dols’ research, I have touched on the idea that Arabic is a sacred language. This begs the question of what makes this truly efficacious and sanctioned? In the following section, it will become clear that the religious language of the scrolls allowed the religious authorities or medieval practitioners to endorse this system.

“RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE” OF THE SCROLLS

The efficacy of these scrolls, and the cases that enclose them, is in the repetition of certain Qurʾānic chapters such as al-Ikhlāṣ (112). In addition, the potency and power of a particular

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817 Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts.”

818 Dols, “The Theory of Magic in Healing.”

819 Keane, “Religious Language.” In the following, I am borrowing Webb Keane’s terminology and theory of religious language.
scroll is established through the order and the make-up of the prayers and Qurʾānic chapters and verses. For example, the same Qurʾānic verse from Yūnus (10:81) is used on the section titled Iḥṭal al-siḥr (“for annulling magic”), a chapter that occurs on both of the Dar al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) and also on the LACMA scroll (M.2002.1.372). This implies, as Levi-Strauss has stated, that there is a belief that this particular verse is potent. Secondly, both the maker of the scroll and the owner of the scroll have a shared ideology in the power of this verse. Thirdly, there is a group of practitioners that has faith and experience in this verse’s ability to annul magic. The verse from Yūnus (10:81) now functions as a directive from God to annul magic.

With this example, it is important to clarify that there is a religious language with a “linguistic form” that occurs on these scrolls and that it is “multifunctional.” First of all, the use of the Qurʾān on the scrolls brings into play the authoritative voice of God. Second, there are certain crucial phrases and words that make these scrolls talismanic and not Qurʾānic scrolls. These “direct quotations” are “framed” in a particular linguistic form that creates a “religious

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820 Based on the objects researched for this dissertation and the scrolls published by Karl Schaefer included in Appendix One, I concluded that the following Qurʾānic chapters and verses are the most popular. Qurʾānic chapters: al-Ikhlāṣ (112) occurs on thirteen objects, an-Nās (114) occurs on eight objects, al-Fātiḥa (1) and al-Falaq (113) each occur on seven of the objects. As for specific verses: Al-ʿImrān (3:18) occurs on ten objects, Al- ʿImrān (3:173) occurs all over LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, the Throne verse (2:255) occurs on five objects, Al-Anʿām (6:13) occurs on three scrolls, and At-Tawba (9:129) occurs on three objects.

821 See Chapter Three and the catalogue.


824 Ibid.
authority and ritual efficacy” for the “text and the context” in which it is used.\textsuperscript{825} For example, there are essential phrases that activate the text. On the scrolls, the act of summoning God’s assistance is structured through the use of the following verbs: \textit{as‘ālik} (“I ask you”) and \textit{a‘udhabik} (“I take refuge in you”).\textsuperscript{826} These verbs are placed strategically and create a cultural context for communication and “interaction” with God.\textsuperscript{827} As Webb Keane states:

Language is one medium by which the presence and activity of beings that are otherwise unavailable to the senses can be made presupposable… Religious language is deeply implicated with underlying assumptions about the human subject, divine beings, and the ways their capacities and agencies differ.\textsuperscript{828}

For the Fatimid block-printed talismanic scrolls, as mentioned above, the religious language of the incantations was comprised mostly of names of God and excerpts from scripture.\textsuperscript{829} However, there are phrases, verbs, and Qur‘ānic quotations that make them talismanic. There are the verbal phrases \textit{as‘ālik} (“I ask you”) and \textit{a‘udhabik} (“I take refuge in you”).\textsuperscript{830} In addition, a number of the talismanic scrolls refer to themselves textually as a \textit{kitāb} (book) and they seek protection for the carrier of the scroll: \textit{hāmilīhi}.\textsuperscript{831} For example, scroll MMA 1978.546.33 is a combination of floriated \textit{kufic} and angular headings for the textblock that I

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{825} Ibid., pp. 60-62.
\item \textsuperscript{826} For a full list of these phrases: see the Appendix One.
\item \textsuperscript{827} Keane, “Religious Language,” p. 48.
\item \textsuperscript{828} Ibid., p. 49.
\item \textsuperscript{829} See Appendix One.
\item \textsuperscript{830} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{831} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
attributed to a tenth/eleventh-century Fatimid context (fig. 7). The prayers begin with one line of the Islamic creed in floriated kufic that reads “There is no god but God.” The MMA scroll may not be fully legible, yet, there are certain key phrases that overlap with the later DAI scrolls. The MMA scroll is formulaic in that it begins with the basmala and a declaration on the oneness of God, the angels, and those with knowledge. The text then uses the verbal phrase asʾalik (“I ask you”) as a transition before launching into the names of God. Similar to the DAI scrolls, it references itself as a kitāb that is hung for protection. The prayers are not as elaborate in their formulation as they are on the DAI scrolls, yet it is a combination of a ritualized speech of appeal to God with quoted Qur’ānic texts as a form of reported speech. Some of the block-printed talismanic scrolls do not have a direct quotation from the Qur’ān, yet they borrow phrases that reference the Qur’ān (MMA 1978.546.34, fig. 8). For example, on this particular scroll from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the phrase kitāb al-maṣṭūr (“the inscribed book”) is a reference to the Qur’ānic verse from al-Ṭūr (52:2). A learned audience with knowledge of the Qur’ān would be able to identify this phrase.

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832 See Chapter Two.


834 Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, pp. 197, 199.

835 Ibid.

836 Ibid., p. 198, 200.


838 Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, pp. 201-205.

839 Ibid.
On the DAI scrolls discussed in Chapter Three, the religious language engages in a direct conversation with God in each of the individual sections. They each begin with a basmala (“In the name of God, the most Gracious, most Merciful”), followed by either the verbal phrase as’alik (“I ask you”) or a’udhabik (“I take refuge in you”) that asks God to protect the carrier of the scroll: ḥāmilīhi. After the recognized request, they each launch into a Qur’ānic verse or a set of verses that are related to the subject heading of that particular section, be it for the relief of a headache, or protection from a snake or scorpion. Each of the particular sections on the DAI scrolls ends with some formulation of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah (“There is no strength or power without God”), sometimes asking the reader to repeat this phrase 1,000 times. They then end with some form of a blessing on God and the Prophet Muhammad and his family. Thus, the formulation of the language activates the meaning and the intention for each of the specific subject headings in a particular scroll. The structured linguistic feature of each of these individual sections of the DAI scrolls creates a ritualized and performative aspect to the talismanic texts. The performative aspect of the text relates to the number of times the author of the scroll asks the reader/Animator to repeat lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah (“There is no

840 Keane, “Religious Language.”

841 See Chapter Three and the catalogue for an in-depth discussion of the text.

842 See the catalogue and Appendix One for the exact locations in which this phrase occurs. This is a fascinating phrase and it is repeated on nine of the objects.


844 Ibid., p. 63.
strength or power without God”), be it only once or 1,000 times. These formulaic forms of language activate the scrolls and turn them into talismans.

As mentioned above, each of the scrolls commences and ends in a particular manner that calls on God’s intercession. The language of the scrolls varies from one to the other, however, they are ritualistic in their linguistic form. There are certain patterns that are repeated over and over again. Based on the findings I have charted in the appendix, both the block-printed talismanic scrolls and the handwritten scrolls have a shared language. The block-printed scrolls become talismans in the way that they each call on the Qurʾān and the names of God. As for the two DAI scrolls and the one LACMA scroll discussed in Chapter Three, there seems to be an evolution of the language and style from the Fatimid block-printed scrolls into the Mamluk examples. They have a specific beginning, middle, and end for each of the individual chapters and, as noted, there is a particular template or some form of a ritual to the presentation of the text. For example, in the case of the seven haykal (sanctuary) sections on LNS 12 MS, they follow a similar formula for the second through seventh sanctuaries: they each initiate with the basmala and then proceed to seek refuge from God for nafsī (oneself) and for hāmilihi (the carrier of the scroll). This extends the protection to every man and woman, to freeman, slave, young and old, and to amirs, viziers, rich and poor. Thus, as Keane has proposed, the religious language creates agency through the practitioner and exploits “a wide range of the

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845 See the catalogue of the dissertation.


847 See Appendix One.


849 See the catalogue.
formal and pragmatic features of everyday language. The convention of this ritualistic language creates the efficacy of the talisman. The way the language is structured within these prayers establishes an “authoritative action” of ritual. This ritual speech found on each of these seven sanctuary sections of the two DAI scrolls produces a specific speech genre. Thus, this form of ritual speech introduces the direct quotations from the Qurʾān and a relationship is established with God who activates the talismanic scroll. In fact, the formation of the prayers on these scrolls are a combination of ritual speech (in the form of the basmala and the appeal to God to protect the carrier of the scroll), combined with reported speech (in the form of Qurʾānic chapters or verses), from God organized differently than a Qurʾān and in a particular way that gives the text authority. This establishes a distinctive talismanic power that is part of a complex structure of language.

The language of the talismans is specific. However, there are a number of unknown factors regarding these talismanic scrolls, such as the identities of the authors and animators of the text. At that point in time, as established in Chapters Two and Three, there was a context in which talismans were used, be it through astrology, Qurʾānic divination, or a culture of


851 Ibid., p. 433.

852 Ibid., p. 434.

853 Ibid., p. 435.


856 Ibid., p. 431.
pilgrimage. Further research is required to establish a clear historical context and cultural milieu for the individual talismanic scrolls.
CONCLUSION

There are certain themes and ideas have been communicated in this thesis about the foundation of the occult and its practice through the medium of talismanic scrolls. First of all, there is a deep sense of piety and belief in the structure of these scrolls that I have studied. The main theme being that the word of God and the Qur’ān empowers a talismanic text. Second, the field neglects the study of the talismanic scroll as a medium, and in my investigation of the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls I consider it to be my primary research. It becomes apparent that the language, structure, and visual aspects of the scrolls are a significant part of religious studies, Islamic material, and visual culture. Dating from the ninth century up to today, one can find a wide variety of Islamic talismanic scrolls when visiting museum collections or strolling on the streets of Cairo, Beirut, Istanbul, Lahore, and Muscat; not to mention African examples. These talismanic scrolls cannot be fully comprehended without knowledge of the Neoplatonic understanding of God and its interpretation within an Islamic context.

The Neoplatonic understanding of creation is an important part of the occult and is a basis for the primary sources discussed in the first chapter. Beginning with the Ikhwān, their synthesis of the Greek sources and sacred texts provide a basic understanding of the Islamic occult and its relationship to Neoplatonic theory. Their epistle begins with the premise that sihr (magic) is considered a ʿilm (science) and that it was based on five sources: 1) Plato; 2) a story from the court of al-Maʿmūn, and verses from scripture; 3) the Qurʾān; 4) the Bible; and 5. the

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857 I would like to thank F. Barry Flood for showing me scrolls from Ethiopia; and in particular the following book: Jacques Mercier and Museum for African Art, Art That Heals: The Image as Medicine in Ethiopia (New York, NY: Prestel; Museum for African Art, 1997).
There are vivid stories that the Ikhwān present illustrating the transmission of this knowledge from those sources. The other vital point made by the Ikhwān is that *sihr* (magic) is an Arabic word and is considered to be a *fann* (craft) that must be cultivated. This craft is tied to a Neoplatonic theory of God; and this *fann* is a learned skill that is provided from God. The proof for this assertion is found in the prophetic stories in scripture. Magic is activated via the soul and the science of astrology where the planets are considered to be God’s angels. The soul is an important part of the Islamic occult; especially in the primary sources where it later became evident in the discussion of Ibn Khaldun’s philosophy of what is considered licit magic and supernatural perception. And through the Ikhwān, one can understand the centrality of the practice of magic and the science of astrology to assist the court in their endeavors. All of these parts of the occult cannot be activated without the power of God; and the transmission of this knowledge is impossible without Hermes and the Prophet Idris.

The next source I tackled was al-Bunī—one of the most important sources of the science of letters. He illustrates that the science of letters is intimately connected to the word of God, the science of astrology, and the need to be closer to God. Through his text, the process of creating a talisman is transmitted. There is a deep understanding of the rituals connected to making a talisman from performing an ablution, to fasting and reading particular verses or chapters of the

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858 See Chapter One.

859 This word *fann* (craft) is fascinating and I hope to expand on its use in the publication of this thesis.


861 See Chapter One.

862 See Chapter Four.
Qurʾān a certain number of times. The intention of these rituals is that the human spirit is seeking a “revelation” from God.\textsuperscript{863} These themes and rituals are echoed in the language of the scrolls I investigated. For example, one of the Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls acknowledges the importance of ablution through Qurʾānic verse (fig.36). In addition, there is a certain language structure in the scrolls, such as the repetition of particular phrases and verses from the Qurʾān, that echoes al-Bunī’s text.\textsuperscript{864} Again, the intention of this structure is guidance from God be it for a particular ailment, assistance with a particular matter such as entering a king’s court, or on the use of the sword. Thus, al-Bunī’s and the Ikhwān’s division of the day into auspicious and inauspicious times is important to the theory of the occult; and informs the practitioner of the optimum time to conduct a particular activity.\textsuperscript{865} Ultimately, this strict religious regimen and structure, which resonates with Ṣūfī practices, activates the soul of the practitioner and cultivates certain spirits from God to trigger a talisman’s efficacy. The Sufi essentials: \textit{dhikr} (remembrance of God), \textit{khalwah} (spiritual retreat), and love/devotion of God are important to the understanding of al-Bunī. There are definite overlaps between occult theory and practice; and most importantly, there is a specific language of the occult that relates to Qurʾānic verses, prophetic stories, and repetition of the names of God and other pertinent phrases.

In Chapter Two, I discuss the current scholarship on talismanic scrolls and material evidence that began with the early history of printing on paper. I build on this scholarship and discuss the conceptual side of these talismanic block prints. First of all, textually—as transcribed

\textsuperscript{863} Doris Behrens-Abouseif, \textit{Beauty in Arabic Culture}, pp.108-09.

\textsuperscript{864} See Chapter One and Three.

\textsuperscript{865} For another text that is similar to the Ikhwān and al-Bunī in their division of the hours into auspicious and inauspicious times see: Daniel Martin Varisco, “The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni “Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum” Of Malik Al-Ashraf.”
by Karl Schaefer—there is the centrality of the word of God on these talismanic scrolls. I compare the talismanic scrolls to another corpus of block prints: the dated Ayyubid block-printed pilgrimage scrolls. My hope is that scholarship on talismanic scrolls will follow the example of the in-depth research on Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls. Thus, based on stylistic analysis, I firmly date and group the block-printed talismanic scrolls from Columbia University, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art into three distinct categories: Fatimid, Ayyubid, and one which is Nasrid. However, the important claim that I make is that both the talismanic block prints and the Ayyubid block-printed scrolls should be considered under the umbrella of portable devotional literature; and that they are conceptually linked.

Thus, the other focus of Chapter Two is the conceptual relationship and overlaps between pilgrimage and talismanic literature. These talismanic block-printed scrolls are representations of devotional literature from daily life. In fact, when one reads the pilgrimage guides such as those written by al-Harawi and Ibn al- Murajjā, it becomes clear that some of the pilgrimage sites have a talismanic function; and are based on a sanctified memory created by a group of pilgrims and narratives of the powers of this particular site. I speculate that these block-printed scrolls could be seen as tokens of visitation. Further research is needed on these claims and I hope to continue on this avenue of inquiry in the publication of this thesis. In particular, I hope to study the Ayyubid block-printed talismanic scrolls published by Aksoy and Milstein that I was not able to see when I was researching the collection at The Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul.

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866 Karl Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms.


868 See Chapter Two and the catalogue for the exact details.
Chapter Three illustrates the sophistication and elaborate development of the talismanic scroll from a block print to a handwritten form. Visually vibrant, the two Mamluk scrolls from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah display a careful use of color, illustration, and text that reads both horizontally and vertically. For example, the seven haykal sections of the two scrolls express the oneness of God as the ultimate creator and entrust in the power of the Qur’ān for protection. This concept of oneness overlaps with the Neoplatonic theory of God’s oneness discussed in Chapter One. Besides these textual relationships to the primary sources, I have provided an in-depth analysis of the text and assert that there is a template for the creation of these scrolls. There are certain themes and overlaps across both Dar Al-Athar scrolls and one from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. I speculate that there are additional talismanic scrolls within this category. In fact, I have seen two scrolls in recent auction catalogs that would have represented superb comparative material. Unfortunately, even after contacting the individual auction houses, I was not able to study them. Besides comparisons to other talismanic scrolls, the next avenue of research that I hope to undertake is discovering where the scrolls were used and in which contexts. I briefly touched on those issues in my study of the Mamluk chronicles.

Lastly, in Chapter Four I discuss the language and efficacy of these talismanic scrolls, whether they are block-printed or handwritten. There is a specific religious language that sanctifies these talismans. The structure is formulaic and is a type of religious speech. The Qur’ān as the word of God is considered to be religious speech. In addition, the pattern of listing names of God on a grid offers a visual and oral configuration for the practitioner. The grid listing the names of God is considered to be an icon and is a sign that triggers the practitioner to recite the names of God. The recitation of the names of God is a sanctified practice in Islam that I
highlighted in al-Buni but it occurs across the primary sources and within devotional literature.\textsuperscript{869}

The use of lists and hierarchies—be they names of God, prophets, angels, or planets—is something that overlaps with Jewish and Christian communities in the practice of the occult.\textsuperscript{870}

In addition to the language, there are visual elements that trigger the talismanic function of the text, be they seals of Solomon, the layout of the text in a vertical or horizontal manner, or the use of magical numbers and symbols.\textsuperscript{871}

Another avenue of research I pursued was the discussion of the people who practiced the occult. Through the writings of Ibn al-Nadim and Ibn al-Khaldun, different perspectives can be understood. Ibn al-Nadim included a list of people who practiced the occult, such as Hermes; and there was a sense of the people who were condemned, such as those related to Iblis (Satan). Ibn Khaldun offered a sophisticated system of analysis through which one could determine who among the practitioners of the occult used a sanctioned or licit methodology. Thus, they opened a small window into medieval society. However, as I mentioned above, further research is needed to understand the exact contexts in which these scrolls were used and who commissioned their manufacture. In the Mamluk context, there is a definite tension between licit and illicit practices that one encounters by simply reading sources such as Ibn Taymiyya and his student, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.\textsuperscript{872} Although I do not have complete information on how these scrolls were


\textsuperscript{870} Michael D. Swartz, “The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts,” pp.191-192.

\textsuperscript{871} Ibid., p. 197.

used, I can state that there are visual and textual overlaps between the scrolls and other objects of the occult.

The scrolls stem from a manuscript tradition that is part of the history and evolution of religion and science where linguistic and iconic talismans are an important part of the dialogue.\textsuperscript{873} The talismanic scrolls are related to the Arabic and Persian traditions of ‘\textit{Aja’ib al-Makhluqat}, the Ottoman devotional manuals such as the \textit{Du’a-name}, and Persian divination manuals such as the \textit{Falnama}.\textsuperscript{874} Chronologically, the ‘\textit{Aja’ib al-Makhluqat} of Qazwini (d.1283), written in Wasit, Iraq, comes from a contemporaneous cultural milieu in which the Neoplatonic model of creation is embraced.\textsuperscript{875} The scrolls which are more Qur’ānic and cosmological have an absorbed understanding of creation and the power of the oneness of God.

As for the \textit{Falnama}, which came into fruition during the fifteenth century, it stems from a culture in which “the practice of Koranic prognostication” had been established by the Prophet Muhammad.\textsuperscript{876} It is clear from the use of the Qur’ān on the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk scrolls, that the \textit{Falnama} is founded on a similar system. However, it is worth mentioning, that:

\begin{flushright}


\end{flushright}
The earliest *Falnama-i Jafar* appears in the *Kitāb al-bulhan* by Abu Mashar al-Balkhi (died 866)…a copy of this text was illustrated between 1334-1435 (734-839 AH) during the reign of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir (reigned 1382-1410) and includes a *Fal-i anbiya* (auguries of prophets), a *Fal-i maqbul* (well-liked auguries), and a section on interpreting bodily twitching (*ikhtilaj*). Thus, it becomes apparent that the occult and the practice of divination were developing into various genres during the late-fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries. The Islamic talismanic scroll, established as a genre with the Fatimid block-printed scrolls, was simultaneously progressing into its own type that eventually included a set of illustrations that do not depict demons as do the Fatimid examples or *furūsīyah* objects found in the Mamluk scrolls. The later scrolls—from the nineteenth century to those found in various bazaars today—including architectural landmarks (Mecca, Medina) and relics such as *Dhu’l-Fiqār* (the two-bladed sword of the Prophet given to Ali). However, the greatest cultural, textual, and visual overlap appears in how these scrolls are related to prayer manuals and the Ottoman devotional manuals, *Du’a-name*. Having studied a number of *Du’a-name*(s), I would assert that the use of the Qur’ān and the religious language of the scrolls have definite and clear affinities to the Islamic talismanic scroll. Although in Ottoman and Arabic, they use a similar religious language they are a combination of Qur’ānic chapters, prayers, and illustrations of relics. I plan to show/affirm/confirm that connection in the publication of this dissertation. In addition, later prayer manuals—such as *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, which venerates the Prophet Muhammad and was

877 Ibid., p. 21.

878 As part of this dissertation, I studied Columbia University’s collection of Islamic talismanic scrolls. I did not include them, as they are from a later period. For example, Islamic Talisman 8 contains depictions of Mecca, Medina, and *Dhu’l-Fiqār*. I plan to research these scrolls in further detail as an independent project.

composed by Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazūlī’s (d.869/1465)—also shares similar pattern of religious language with the scrolls.\textsuperscript{880} There is a textual and auditive aspect that calls on the names of God and the prophet Muhammad a certain number of times. In addition, in Jazulī’s text there is a sense of time and place; the text recommends the prayers be read on a Friday, and if they are read, eighty years of sin will be forgiven.\textsuperscript{881} However, on the talismanic scrolls, God is the intercessor; on the \textit{Dalā‘il al-khayrāt}, the Prophet Muhammad is the intercessor. Regarding God as the intercessor, I would like to end this section with two questions similar to those addressed by Gary Vikan in his analysis of Byzantine icons: What makes these talismanic scrolls sacred? And what gives them power?\textsuperscript{882} In Byzantium, the “icon becomes one and the same with what it portrays.”\textsuperscript{883} The icon in Byzantium was “a door to heaven,” and more importantly it was “a channel through which Christ, the Virgin, or saint could exercise sacred power.”\textsuperscript{884} These icons are not just “devotional images, but miraculous images, for converting the heathen, for preserving the Empire, and especially for healing the sick.”\textsuperscript{885} If I apply Vikan’s questions to the Islamic talismanic scrolls, then what makes them sacred for the practitioner? As I discussed in


\textsuperscript{883} Ibid., p. 136.

\textsuperscript{884} Ibid., p. 140.

\textsuperscript{885} Ibid.
Chapter Two: The sanctity of the object comes from the names of God and the Qur’ān.\textsuperscript{886} Thus, in the study of Islamic talismanic scrolls from Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk contexts, it is the names of God and the Qur’ān that make them sacred. However, as mentioned above, the Islamic talismanic scroll developed into its own genre.

Therefore, I would like to end by briefly describing a number of objects that relate to the larger dialogue of the occult. Through these objects of the occult, it becomes apparent that there is a continuum in the religious language and structure of the prayers; and that on most Islamic objects, God is the intercessor for the suppliant.

First of all, as one looks at objects across various mediums—such as metalwork, for example—it becomes apparent that the religious language of talismans is used for various minuscule seals and amulets, magic bowls, mirrors, and armor.\textsuperscript{887} I investigated one interesting Seljuq mirror currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 1978.348.2, fig.61-62). Secondly, it becomes apparent that the power of the religious language transfers to other arms and armor. I presented a nineteenth-century Ottoman sword with a Mughal grip, also owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 36.25.1293), and although it is not a direct correlation to the scrolls, it uses a similar religious language (fig. 63).\textsuperscript{888}

\textsuperscript{886} See Chapter Two.


\textsuperscript{888} Please see the essay for a wide variety of objects from various geographic regions related to the occult, from manuscript folios to metalwork to textiles and jewelry. Yasmine al-Saleh,
Objects of the Occult: Mirrors and Swords

The Seljuq bronze mirror has a fantastic scene in relief that decorates the circular frame (figs. 61-62). A narrative scene plays out: Protected by a split palm tree at the top of the mirror, a cross-legged enthroned figure is flanked by two birds appearing in profile. On the right and left sides, a total of twelve demons (six on each side) in various half-human and half-animal shapes run towards the ruler. At the bottom of the circular frame, in line with the enthroned ruler, a small figure (perhaps the ruler’s protector) holds two mythological winged dogs. The talismanic function of the mirror is understood once it is turned over and the protective Qur’anic Throne verse (2:255) engraved into the rim of the non-reflective side is read. It is here that the religious language discussed above comes into play. This is a unique mirror and begs further research that is beyond the scope of this dissertation. My intention here is simply to note the link between demons and efficacious religious prayers.

The throne verse is efficacious across objects. Therefore, it is no surprise that a sword with a precious Mughal grip made of black jade and a gold Ottoman guard that reads in naskh script “Sultan son of Sultan son of Sultan son of Suleyman Khan” and on the back “the name of God most compassionate and merciful,” is also decorated with the Throne verse (fig 64). The beautiful steel blade with its inscriptions indicates its talismanic function. The inscriptions in square kufic script state the proclamation of faith along with the valuable Qur’anic Throne verse (2:255) all damascened in gold. The back of the blade is stamped in gold with the seal of

Solomon (a six-pointed star) and various cartouches calling on the name of God. Although the name of an Ottoman Sultan decorates the guard, it is not an indication of the provenance of the sword because swords were appropriated through the spoils of war and the recycling of material.

Through these two examples, I hoped to have illustrated that the objects of the occult, that the talismanic material culture existed, in a fluid context. The crucial point about these scrolls and other objects is that the word of God, or some form of scriptural language (science of letters), gives them potency.
CATALOGUE OF TALISMANIC SCROLLS AND CASES

SCROLLS:

1.  
Subject: Block-printed amulet/talismanic scroll  
Date: 10th-11th century, Fatimid  
Provenance: Egypt  
Paper: un glazed with visi ble chain lines and even texture  
Ink: black; smudged on verso of the scroll  
Script: floriated kufic and angular kufic  
Dimensions: 5 x 13.5 cm  
Collection number: Columbia University Papyrus 705b  
Purchased by Professor Jeffery, Egypt, 1946  
Figure 1

Description:

The paper fragment comprises two block imprints. The first is a white floriated kufic on a black background and occupies the top part of the scroll. A teardrop pal mette is attached to a rectangular frame. The Qurʾānic verse, known also as the Throne verse (2:255), begins in the rectangular portion and ends in the palmette.

The next part of the scroll is a long rectangular text block in black ink on a white background. The black angular script is divided into various sections. It begins with the Qurʾānic sūrat al-fātiha (1) and the al-muʿwadhāt (in the order they appear on the scroll: sūrat an-Nās, al-Falaq, al-Ikhlāṣ: 114, 113, and 112).889 This is then followed by the Throne verse and sūrat Fusṣilat (41:41-42). Next, the text calls on itself as the kitāb al-ʿazīz (powerful scroll) that is

empowered by the preceding Qurʾānic verses; and asks the reader to hang this scroll upon himself. Although not all the lines of the text are decipherable, what can be read assures the carrier that calling on these particular Qurʾānic chapters and verses along with the name of God, the carrier will be protected from all harm. For example, al-Bunī states that if a person is sick, he should begin by reading al-fāṭiḥa, then the Throne verse from al-Baqarah seven times along with the al-muʿwadhāt seventy-one times over some water. al-Bunī’s recipe for health allows one to imagine how this amulet was used.

2. 
**Subject:** Talismanic scroll  
**Date:** 10th-11th century, Fatimid  
**Provenance:** Egypt  
**Paper:** dark beige with damage  
**Ink:** black and red  
**Script:** floriated kufic and angular kufic  
**Binding:** leather pouch with a string to be worn around the neck  
**Dimensions:** 105 cm x 7.6 cm; 1st sheet of paper is 43 cm x 7.6 cm; 2nd sheet of paper is 32 cm x 7.7 cm; 3rd sheet of paper is 30 cm  
**Collection number:** Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah (DAI) LNS 350 MS  
**Literature:** unpublished  
**Figures 2,3,4**

**Description:**

A tattered block print with considerable damage to the paper, LNS 350 MS is a fascinating amulet because one can distinguish the impression of the block-print matrix on the reverse side of the scroll. The impressions are rectangular blocks placed at various intervals on the verso of the paper. The scroll consists of three pieces of paper that have been glued together. It is mostly a

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891 al-Bunī, *Shams al-maʿarif*, p. 80. All translations of al-Bunī are mine.
monochromatic block print with red watercolor ink that has been inserted at particular points. The beginning of the scroll is missing, yet, the sophistication of the construction remains.

Viewing the initial nineteen lines of mostly decipherable floriated kufic text, one realizes the extreme precision required to cut the text into the block. These lines are seeking refuge and supplicating to the names of God. A red line cuts across the space marking an introduction to the next section of text. The red illumination is not part of the block print but has been executed using red watercolor ink. The text continues with another twenty-one lines of text that seem to be a form of a magical incantation that culminate in a separate block-printed floriated kufic heading that runs across the sheet. It is a magical incantation as it begins with words related to the environment and elements such as wind, earth, and sea but then it is interspersed with references to siḥr (magic). It calls on God, the angel Gabrial, the Prophet Muhammad and hādhā al-kitāb min al-siḥr (literally this book of magic). It then ends by asking God for protection. The heading is in a larger script: Muhammad Prophet of God. This next section is mostly Qurʾānic it begins with the basmala followed by a verse from Al-ʿImrān (3:18). This particular verse occurs on a number of the talismanic block printed scrolls. The block print is a larger rectangular monochromatic block that contains an extra carving running vertically down the text. It reads: al-Malik ilāh al-wāhid al-qahār (“Sovereignty belongs to God, the only One, the One who

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892 I would like to thank Sue Kaoukji and, in particular, Manijeh Bayani for the transcription of the text of LNS 350 MS.

893 Ibid.

894 See Appendix One.
In between the carvings are nine repetitions (not all complete) of al-Ikhlāṣ (112) and three more repetitions of a partial Al-ʿImrān (3:18). It then ends with sixteen more recitations of Ikhlāṣ (112). The next heading is a dual-colored block. It has a black background with a red outline that is smudged into the words. The heading reads: al-Mulk lillāh (“Sovereignty belongs to God”). Next, one encounters a longer monochromatic block that is almost identical to the one above; it is missing the last line. The vertical text reads: Al-Malik ilāh wāhid al-qahā(r).

On the second sheet of paper, the section comprises smaller rectangular and undecipherable monochromatic block prints; on its verso, one can make out the impressions of the individual block prints. The third sheet of paper seems to have been glued onto the second sheet so the end of the second sheet is missing. However, the next block print is complete and the words Allah al-Malik (“God the King/Lord”) have been carved out of the text. Again, the horizontal text has yet to be deciphered. Lastly, the end of the text initiates with a heading that reads: Lā ilāh ilāh Allah (“There is no god but God”) which has been shaded with tomato-red watercolor ink. After the heading, the spaces between text blocks have been filled with this same red color. The textual content again begins with the verse from Al-ʿImrān (3:18) asking God to protect the carrier of the kitāb (scroll). Again, it is seeking refuge from the devil, demons, and magic. This is a fascinating text that is discussed in Chapter Four. The last two textual


896 For a discussion of the significance of the repetition of certain chapters of the Qurʾan, see Chapter Four of the dissertation.


898 Again, this is based on Manijeh Bayani’s reading.
paragraphs seem to be covered by a wax-like material that was most likely the result of the process of rolling up the scroll.

Besides the interesting textual content of this scroll, it is accompanied by its leather scroll case and original twine, which provide the context for how this scroll was carried.

3.
Subject: Block- printed talismanic scroll
Date: 10th-11th century, Fatimid
Provenance: Egypt
Paper: laid paper of hemp and flax
Ink: black
Script: floriated *kufic* in the outer border and angular script within the rectangle
Dimensions: 15.6x 3.8cm
Collection number: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975.192.20
Gift of Richard Ettinghausen 1975
Literature: Schaefer 2006 p.188-191
Figure 5

Description:

This is a small talismanic scroll. The text is rectangular in shaper with the outer border in white floriated *kufic* on a black background, and the inner rectangle in black script on a white background; both seem to provide the names of God. The text is the partial text of a Qur’ānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʻImrān* (3:18). It is interesting that this particular verse occurs on two other scrolls from The Metropolitan Museum of Art: MMA 1978.546.33 and MMA 1978.546.38 and LNS 350 MS from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah.

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900 See Appendix One.
4. 
**Subject:** Block-printed talismanic scroll  
**Date:** 10th-11th century, Fatimid  
**Provenance:** Egypt  
**Paper:** laid paper of hemp and flax  
**Ink:** black  
**Script:** floriated *kufic* and angular *kufic*  
**Dimensions:** 23x 8.2cm  
**Collection number:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.32  
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978  
**Figure 6**  

**Description:**

This scroll can be divided into two block-print matrixes. The seal of Solomon, enclosed in a square, decorates the top of the talisman. The text inside the star reads: “The authority to its owner.” The floriated white *kufic* on a black background reads: “God be praised! Praise to God! There is no god but God.” The text block begins with “In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful,” the *basmala*, followed by invocations in the names of God, Qur’ānic verses from *Al-Baqarah* (2:1) and *Al-‘Imrān* (3:1), and references to *jinn* (supernatural beings). The full text is not decipherable. However, it is interesting to note that the Qur’ānic verses include one of the “crowning words” of the Qur’ān: A-L-M. These words are known for their talismanic power.

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902 Ibid., pp. 194-195.  
5.
Subject: Block-printed talismanic scroll
Date: 10\textsuperscript{th}-11\textsuperscript{th} century, Fatimid
Provenance: Egypt
Paper: laid paper of hemp and flax
Ink: black
Script: floriated kufic and angular kufic script
Dimensions: 27.2 cm 8.5cm (top)/8.1cm (bottom)
Collection number: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.33
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978
Literature: Schaefer 2006, p.196-201
Figure 7

Description:

The text is dominated by a monumental floriated kufic declaration of: Lā ilāh ilā Allah (“There is no god but God”).\textsuperscript{904} It begins with four lines of angular kufic that quote the Qur’ānic Al-‘Imrān (3:18).\textsuperscript{905} The Qur’ānic verse is an introduction to the textual content of the scroll that calls on the names of God. In addition, there are eleven lines of floriated kufic interspersed with lines of angular script.\textsuperscript{906} However, the floriated kufic is indecipherable; at this point of time, one can assert that these prayers are supplicating in the names of God. There are some interesting phrases in this talismanic scroll such as referring to itself as a kitāb (book) and seeking refuge in the names of God that I discuss in Chapter Four of the dissertation.\textsuperscript{907}

\textsuperscript{904} Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, pp. 197-201.

\textsuperscript{905} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{906} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{907} See Appendix One.
6.
Subject: Block-printed talismanic scroll
Date: 10th-11th century, Fatimid
Provenance: Egypt
Paper: laid paper of hemp and flax
Ink: black
Script: floriated kufic and angular script
Dimensions: 24.9 x 7.9cm
Collection number: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.34
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978
Literature: Schaefer 2006, p. 201-205
Figure 8

Description:

In tattered condition, this block print is distinguished by two lines of floriated kufic interspersed by fifty-one lines of angular script. Although the full content of the scroll cannot be deciphered, it is important to note the language of the lines that are readable and how it is part of the talismanic vocabulary. The talisman consists mostly of a supplication to God; it also calls on the language of the Qurʾān. In other words, it does not directly quote from the Qurʾān, but it uses its phraseology. For example, al-shihāb al-thāqib (piercing flame) is a phrase from sūrat Aṣ-Ṣāfīt (37:10); and another important phrase, al-kitāb al-maṣṭūr (the inscribed book i.e., Qurʾān), is from a number of Qurʾānic verses. In addition, there are words that are not directly quoted from the Qurʾān but have been reordered for the purpose of the talisman’s efficacy. At certain parts in the text, there is mention of shayātīn (devils) and al-jān (the race of supernatural beings

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known as *jinn*), both in the plural form.\(^{910}\) On another line, the word *al-sumūm* (searing wind) appears; readers familiar with the Qurʾān know the word it is related to *al-jān* from *Al-Ḥijr* (15:27). The *jinn* are created from “fire of the searing wind.”\(^{911}\) It is clear from the decipherable words and phrases that the talisman is seeking refuge in God and protection from the evils of *shayātīn* and *al-jān*. The talisman ends with similar language to that found on the Dar al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS) by asking God to protect the carrier of *ḥādhā al-kitāb fi ḥirz Allah* (i.e., this scroll that is protected by God). This is an important phrase: The word *ḥirz* (talisman) is used in the primary sources discussed in Chapter One.

\(^{7}\)  
**Subject:** Block-printed talismanic paper roundel  
**Date:** 10\(^{th}\)-11\(^{th}\) century, Fatimid  
**Provenance:** Egypt  
**Paper:** laid paper of hemp and flax  
**Ink:** black  
**Script:** floriated *kufic* and angular *kufic*  
**Dimensions:** 7 x 7.45cm  
**Collection number:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.37  
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978  
**Literature:** Schaefer 2006, p. 209-211  
**Figure 9**

**Description:**

A talisman in the shape of a circle may seem peculiar amid all the rectangular ones; however, it is an important shape. In fact, al-Bunī dedicates a number of sections of his book to the shape of

\(^{910}\) Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 201-205.  
circles and the prayers one should inscribe within them.\textsuperscript{912} The shape of the circle aids a person to discover the hidden name of God.

In this particular talisman, black geometric shapes interspersed with teardrops outline the circular frame.\textsuperscript{913} The outer circle comprises texts in a black floriated kufic with the basmala and phrases entrusting the bearer to God. The inner circle is white floriated script outlined in black comprising the Qur'ānic chapter titled al-Ikhlāṣ (112). Although the text block has not been fully deciphered, it can be established that it seeks God’s protection through his various blessed names. As this is a small text block, it ends with the familiar Qur'ānic verse from sūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff (61:13) that occurs on two other scrolls and a metal case including in this catalogue: MMA 1975.192.21, DAI LNS 25 MS, and DAI LNS 834 M. The verse states that a speedy victory shall be granted from God, which might imply that this particular talisman was used during a time of war or unrest.\textsuperscript{914}

\textsuperscript{912} al-Bunī, \textit{Shams al-ma'arif}, pp. 38-64.

\textsuperscript{913} Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, pp. 209-211.

\textsuperscript{914} Bewley and Bewley, \textit{The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English}, p. 552.
8.
Subject: Block-printed talismanic scroll
Date: 10th-11th century, Fatimid
Provenance: Egypt
Paper: laid paper of hemp and flax
Ink: black
Script: floriated kufic and angular kufic
Dimensions: 27.6 x 4.6 cm
Collection number: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.38
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978
Figure 10

Description:

The paper is water-damaged and the top part of the scroll has been trimmed to fit the shape of the pointed arch of the text. The top of the block print was probably imprinted with a matrix separate from the rest of the scroll. It is in the shape of a mihrab niche with a palm leaf in the center. As read by Schaefer, the outer border of the mihrab niche is the Qur’ānic chapter titled al-Ikhlāṣ (112).915 The two lines inside the niche are the proclamation of faith: “There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet.” The main text block has not been fully deciphered. However, similar to other scrolls, it opens with al-fāṭiḥa (1) and then is followed by Al-‘Imrān (3:18) from the Qur’ān and seeks refuge in God from demons.

915 Ibid., pp. 211-215.
9. 
Subject: Block-printed talismanic scroll  
Date: 10-11th century, Fatimid  
Provenance: Egypt  
Paper: laid paper of hemp and flax; water damaged  
Ink: black  
Script: floriated kufic  
Dimensions: 28.3x7.6 cm  
Collection number: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.39  
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978  
Literature: Schaefer 2006, p. 216-17  
Figure 11  

Description:

This is an interesting scroll because it consists of two different block prints on a single piece of paper. The bottom block impression is a circular medallion that extends into two finials on one side and a rectangle on the other. The circle resembles the concentric circles used in Fatimid art and architecture. The decorative motif of the rectangle resembles the ceiling of Cappella Palatina in Palermo. The text of the block print evokes the name of God and one verse from the Qurʾān sūrat Fuṣṣilat (41:41). This particular verse occurs on a number of talismans. The second block print is done in a darker shade of black ink and seems to be a rectangle that encloses a minbar and mihrab niche. It does not contain any text.

916 Please see the following Fatimid dinar: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/cm/d/dinar_of_the_fatimid_dynasty.aspx  
917 Please see the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: http://www.discoverislamicart.org/database_item.php?id=monument;ISL;it;Mon01;10;en  
918 Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, pp. 216-217.
10.
Subject: Talismanic scroll
Date: 11th-12th century, Ayyubid
Provenance: unknown
Paper: fragmentary dark brown paper with stains associated with excavation finds
Ink: black with a red ocher stain in the headings
Script: naskh and thuluth with diacritics
Dimensions: scroll consists of two fragments of paper; top section is approximately 8 x 8.5 cm; bottom section is 13.5 x 7.5 cm
Collection number: Columbia University, Islamic Talisman Uncatalogued Ms. Oriental 4/24/1974
Literature: unpublished
Figure 12

Description:

This is a block-printed talisman with a heading in black thuluth script that invokes the names of God. The headings, which carry remnants of red ocher applied as a wash, have not been deciphered. The thirteen lines of text appear to address the mightiness of God and his dominion across the seas, waves, nights and days. The language of the scroll is similar to the primary sources discussed in Chapters One and Two in that it seeks protection through God’s greatest name. The bottom part of the scroll is tattered, yet an important word, ḥāmilīh, is decipherable; it is a reference to “the carrier” of the scroll.
11.
Subject: Block-printed talismanic scroll  
Date: 1000-1250, Ayyubid  
Provenance: Egypt  
Paper: beige hue, seems to be made from various fibers; evidence of being folded  
Ink: black  
Script: floriated *kufic* and *naskh-thuluth* with diacritics  
Dimensions: 34.92 x 7.62 cm (bottom); trimmed so the top is 6.6 cm  
Collection number: Los Angeles County Museum of Art M.2002.1.371  
The Madina Collection of Islamic Art, gift of Camilla Chandler Frost  
Figure 13

Description:

There is variation in the style and size of the script on this block-printed scroll and it differs from the Fatimid scrolls mentioned above. The top part of the rectangular scroll is missing. Twenty-six lines of script distinguish it with varied script sizes that fluctuate between a large- and medium-sized *naskh-thuluth* script. The bottom part of the scroll, missing a heading, is a grid with the names of God. Similar to the earlier examples, the top line is a larger floriated *kufic*. This scroll is hard to decipher because the ink has faded.\(^{919}\) From the lines that have been read by Schaefer, part of two Qur’ānic verses are apparent: sūrat Ṭā Ḥa (20:105), and Al-ʿAnfāl (8:11).\(^{920}\)

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\(^{920}\) Ibid.
12.

Subject: Block-printed talisman.
Date: 11th-12th century CE, Ayyubid
Provenance: Egypt
Paper: laid paper of hemp and flax.
Ink: black
Script: floriated kufic and naskh script with diacritics
Dimensions: 14 x12.1 cm
Collection number: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1971.237.1
Fletcher Fund
Figure 14

Description:

This fragment of a block-printed talisman is tattered. Regardless, the iconography and design layout are fascinating. Two black banners with white inscriptions mark the bottom of the fragment. The left one is legible and it reads: Al-Waḥid Al-Qahhār, “The one, the victorious,” both names of God and as noted by Porter occur frequently in amulets. The proclamation is also known as taqdiṣ (stating God’s holiness). The banners flank a mihrab niche. Two knotted bands with inscriptions from al-Ikhlaṣ 112 are above the banner. Since this is a fragmentary block print, one questions whether it is in fact a talisman; it is possible that it was the top part of a pilgrimage scroll.

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922 Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 66.

13.

**Subject:** Block-printed talismanic scroll  
**Date:** 11th-12th century CE, Ayyubid  
**Provenance:** Egypt  
**Paper:** laid paper of hemp and flax  
**Ink:** black and red  
**Script:** floriated *kufic* and *naskh* with diacritics  
**Dimensions:** 16.6 x 19.1cm  
**Collection:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975.192.21  
Gift of Richard Ettinghausen 1975  
**Literature:** Schaefer 2006, pp.191-193  
**Figure 15**

**Description:**

The black script and red outlining recalls an amulet at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M. 2002.1.370). The black floriated *kufic* occupies the top part of the fragment. It is an incomplete *basmala*; all that remains is *Al-Rahmān Al-Rahīm*. The second line of text in red ink and *naskh* script is a Qur’ānic verse from *Aṣ-Ṣāf* (61:13) both were block printed. The text block is enclosed by a fragmentary red and black rectangle. The right side has seven lines of text in black *naskh*; the text resembles the headings from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS. On the left side is a circle within a circle within a square. The black *naskh* script enclosed in this space comprises the names of God. The paper has fold marks and one could speculate that it was carried in a metal case.

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924 According to Annemarie Schimmel, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art electronic database, the red and black block-printed ink is most likely a later addition.

925 Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, p. 192. See Chapter Three for a detailed discussion of this scroll.

926 This is asserted by Stefano Carboni in the electronic database of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
14.
**Subject:** Block-printed talismanic scroll
**Date:** 11\textsuperscript{th}-12\textsuperscript{th} century, Ayyubid
**Provenance:** Egypt
**Paper:** laid paper of hemp and flax
**Ink:** black
**Script:** floriated *kufic* and an elongated *naskh* script.
**Dimensions:** MMA 1978.546.35: 7.9 x 13.4 cm; MMA 1978.546.36: 8 x 27.6 cm
**Collection number:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1978.546.35 and 1978.546.36
Gift of Nelly, Violet and Elie Abemayor, in memory of Michael Abemayor, 1978

**Figure 16**

**Description:**

Based on stylistic and paper analysis, these two block prints must be treated as one complete scroll.\textsuperscript{927} Smudges in the ink perhaps resulted from folding the scroll or from the imperfect impression of the block-print matrix. Unlike some of the other scrolls, the text is supplied with diacritics. The scroll begins with an eight-pointed star consisting of two squares within a double outlined square. The prayers invoke God’s names and ask God for protection, or what is known as *ta’wīdh* (refuge seeking).\textsuperscript{928} The text also evokes the names of God,\textsuperscript{929} and asks Him to protect the bearer from the harshness of life, sadness, and fear. The second fragment (MMA 1978.546.36) is mostly Qur’ānic. It contains the last word of *al-fātiḥa* (1) and *al-mu‘wadāt* (*sūrat al-Falaq, an-Nās*:113 and 114) known for their protective function.

\textsuperscript{927} I would like to thank Yana Van Dyke in the Department of Paper Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum of Art for discussing these two objects with me in great detail.

\textsuperscript{928} Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 84.

\textsuperscript{929} Ibid., p. 66.
15.
Subject: Folded amuletic fragment
Date: 13th-14th century, Mamluk
Provenance: Egypt
Paper: Laid paper of hemp and flax; fold marks on the paper look like cottons under the microscope
Ink: black and red
Script: naskh script
Dimensions: 16.5 x 13cm
Collection number: Los Angeles County Museum of Art M.2002.1.372
The Madina Collection of Islamic Art, gift of Camilla Chandler Frost
Literature: unpublished
Figure 17

Description:

This interesting amulet is handwritten. The text is divided into approximately seven rows of text blocks with various columns ruled in red ink. Each section has a heading written in black naskh script that is larger than the individual text blocks. In the top row, the amulet is severely damaged. The Throne verse (2:255) occupies the central medallion and is flanked by two circles. The circles on the right seem to be the names of God with a combination of magic letters and numbers. On the left, another circle is depicted: It contains two inner circles touching the circumference of the outer circle. The words in the circle may be the name of God, but cannot be deciphered. At the top of the second row is a heading in black ink: the Qur’anic verse sūrat Al-Fath (48:1). The text block under it seems to conjure up the name of God and talks about the creation of the earth in seven days. The most important part of the talisman is at the bottom where there are five columns, each with a heading. The first one has been effaced so the heading cannot be read. The center two can be distinguished by their headings and the Qur’anic verse: Li’l-dukhul ’alā al-mulūk (“for entry upon the kings”) Al-Mā’ idah (5:23), Iḥtīl al-siḥr (“for
annulling magic”) sūrat Yūnus (10:81). As for Li’l-‘ayn wa al-naẓra (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”) has two appropriate verses: Ghafir (40:57) and Al-Mulk (67:4). Although, the scroll is severely damaged and cannot be fully deciphered, these three headings are important because they directly relate to the headings on DAI LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS.930

16.
Subject: Block-printed amulet
Date: probably 14th-15th century, Nasirid
Provenance: Spain
Paper: beige-hued, laid paper with visible chain lines and fold marks
Ink: red and black
Script: naskh
Dimensions: 11 x 14.4 cm; square: 9.4 x 9.4 cm; diameter of outer circle: 6.5 cm
Collection number: Los Angeles County Museum of Art M.2002.1.370
The Madina Collection of Islamic Art, gift of Camilla Chandler Frost
Figure 18

Description:

This square amuletic folio is distinguished by fold marks that run horizontally and vertically. The eye-catching red naskh script reads: Lā ḡālib ilā Allah (“There is no victor but God). This phrase is known as the Nasrid creed.931 This declaration is known as tasbīḥ and taqādis (uttering of God’s holiness and greatness). It sits above devotional prayers that are inscribed in a black circle set within a square.932 One can see the effect of the ink of the block print matrix as it seeps

930 See Chapter Three for an in-depth discussion.

931 Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain, pp.285-287, 326-327.

932 Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 66; Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, pp. 181-82.
through to the back of the paper. The diacritics on top of the black script allow the viewer to decipher the text inside the square and inner circle.\textsuperscript{933} However, the outer frame of the circle is a mixture of letters and numbers that cannot as yet be deciphered.\textsuperscript{934} Besides the textual content, there is some smudged red ink that probably resulted from folding the folio.

\textsuperscript{933} Schaefer, \textit{Enigmatic Charms}, pp. 181-82.

\textsuperscript{934} Ibid.
17.

Subject: Talismanic scroll
Date: undated, attributed to the 14th century

Provenance: Mamluk (Syria or Egypt)

Paper: laid paper, tarnished to beige from time; scroll has been trimmed and mounted on a sheet of burnished paper
Ink: black, red, blue, and gold
Script: naskh and thuluth
Dimensions: 11.3 x 545 cm
Collection number: Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS

Literature: unpublished
Figures 19-33

Description:

With a vertical orientation, the beginning of the scroll is lost. To the left and right of the main text block, margins ruled with thin gold and black lines enclose horizontally aligned Qur'ānic text in red and black naskh and thuluth script. The red script is a repetition of sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112) and serves as a border that curves above and below a monumental black naskh-thuluth inscription. The black marginal text comprises verses from sūrat Yā-Sīn (36:37-83) and ends with most of the Qur'ānic verse from sūrat Al-Baqarah (2:285).

The extant text block is written in black naskh. The text opens with the names of God and a prayer duʿā thanking God for his eternal blessings. Similar to most medieval manuscripts, each subject in the scroll has an illuminated heading that serves to introduce the section. Each illuminated heading alternates between two color compositions, either a white naskh-thuluth text

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935 In Chapter Three, I date both LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS (the following scrolls) to the 14th century.

936 For script identification, see: Nabil Safwat and Mohamed U. Zakariya, The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries, p.234.

937 Please see Chapter Three for the eschatological significance of the borders.
outlined in black on a gold, abstracted vegetal background, or a white naskh-thuluth text outlined in black on a blue and gold background. There are gold rosettes throughout the text and the pattern is either one or two rosettes every seven to eight lines. The content of the various chapters in the scroll are predominantly Qur’anic quotations and devotional prayers used in a talismanic context.

The first heading reads: al-haykal al-’awwal (The first sanctuary). LNS 12 MS is a white naskh script set in a gold rectangle and is the first of seven sanctuaries: All seven seek refuge in God and his creations including protection against demonic power. The first one begins with the basmala (In the name of God, the most gracious, most merciful) and asks for the personal refuge of the scroll’s carrier: ḥāmilīhi. The content of the section is activated by the protective Throne verse (2:255) followed by two other verses from sūrat Al-Baqarah: (2:284, and the partial text of 2:286). The Throne verse states that God alone can intercede in time of need. As for the last two to three verses of sūrat Al-Baqarah, they are known as beneficial for the person seeking forgiveness. In other words, the al-haykal al-’awwal (the first sanctuary) is seeking protection and forgiveness in God. The first sanctuary ends with a phrase that will become an essential part of most other sections of this scroll: to recite one thousand times the phrase lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah (“There is no strength or power without God”).

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938 For a historical and textual analysis of the scroll see Chapter Three of the dissertation. Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 86. Padwick translates haikal as a sanctuary against demonic power.

939 Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 83-93.

940 Ibid., p. 39.

941 Ibid., p.116.

942 I discuss its significance in Chapters Three and Four.
phrase trusts in the power of God. The section ends with a prayer and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad *khātim al-nabīyīn* (last of the Prophets) and 'ālih wa ṣuhbih ajmaʿīn (his family and companions): This is known as the formulated prayer, *taṣliya*, which is part of the Islamic creed.⁹⁴³ It is a form of salvation and devotion.⁹⁴⁴ The epithet, Prophet Muhammad *khātim al-nabīyīn* (last of the Prophets), “derives from the Qurʾān”: *Al-ʿAḥzāb* (33:40).⁹⁴⁵ The basic structure of this first sanctuary sets the tone for the next six.

However, the second through seventh sanctuaries each commence in a related but different style from the first. They initiate with the *basmala* and then proceed to ask God for personal refuge and protection for the carrier of the scroll. This extends to every man and woman, freeman, slave, young and old, emirs, viziers, rich and poor.

The theme of the first sanctuary is the oneness of God. The second sanctuary continues with the proclamation of God’s oneness and proceeds with the revelation of God: Moses receives the *alwāḥ* (tablets) from God. The subsequent Qurʾānic verses from *sūrat Al-Aʿrāf* (7:partial 143-partial 146) narrate the story of Moses speaking to God and receiving the tablets, and of the importance of recognizing that God’s revelation in the tablets is one of the signs of God’s existence.⁹⁴⁶ The section ends in a similar manner to the first sanctuary by asking the reader to recite one thousand times the phrase: *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or

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⁹⁴³ Ibid., p. 154. Please note that when the Prophet’s family and companions are mentioned in this catalogue, it is usually a translation of this particular Arabic phrase: his following (*alīh wa ṣuhbih ajmaʿīn*).

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid.


⁹⁴⁶ *EQ* online “Moses,” (C. Schöck); *EQ* online “Commandments,” (K. Lewinstein),
power without God,” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad, the khātim al-nabiyyīn (last of the Prophets) and ʿālih wa suḥbih ajmaʿīn (his family and companions). This includes the Prophet Muhammad’s family, companions, and preceding prophets recognized by Islam.

As mentioned above, the third sanctuary opens in a similar manner as the second sanctuary. The focus of the Qurʾānic verses in this section is to highlight God’s attributes and the sign of God’s revelation in Islam, which is the Qurʾān from three sūra(s) Al-Ḥashr (59), Al-ʿIsrā (17), al-Ikhlāṣ (112). The first set of verses comprises sūrat Al-Ḥashr (59: middle 22-24) which stress God’s attributes and names. In talismanic literature, the names of God and the Qurʾān contribute to the efficacy of a talisman. In this case, the names of God are recited through a Qurʾānic verse sūrat Al-Ḥashr (59: middle 22-24). The authority of the Qurʾān emphasizes the importance of the text and the value of reciting the names of God. The importance of the Qurʾān and its revelation is highlighted in the following verse sūrat Al-ʿIsrā (17:105). It is interesting that this verse from sūrat Al-ʿIsrā (17:105) is inserted, as for any reader familiar with the Qurʾān will know that this particular verse follows an important set of verses (17:101-104) that reference Moses’ nine signs of prophethood.947 It is interesting that the scroll’s scribe included this particular verse, which is a direct allusion to the above second sanctuary and Moses’s tablets. It asks for forgiveness by reading sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112), and repeating lā hawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times. This particular section, begins to end the text with the usual blessing on the Prophet Muhammad, the khātim al-nabiyyīn (last of the Prophets), along with ʿālih wa suḥbih ajmaʿīn (his family and companions), and the preceding Prophets. It then adds an extra couple of lines, which are unique to this sanctuary. The text is thankful of God’s assistance that comes from reading the Qurʾān,

947 Ibid.
but as the text block reads, the Qur’ānic text protects ḥāmilīh kitābī hādhā (the carrier of this book [scroll]). The sanctuary ends with one final lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.”

The fourth sanctuary continues with the theme of God’s oneness, dominion, and creation. Through Qur’ānic verses from sūrat Ṭā Ha (20:5-8), it asserts the significance of the ability to know everything—whether it is hidden or not—as expressed through His ninety-nine names. Similar to the third sanctuary, the importance of God’s attributes and ninety-nine names is emphasized. Again, it is interesting that the scribe chose the following verses, which the person familiar with the Qur’ān would know are a prelude to sūrat Ṭā Ha (20:9-36) that are dedicated to the story of how God chose Moses to be his prophet. In addition, the particular verses sūrat Ṭā Ha (20:5-8) quoted on the scroll, are verses that also reference the Qur’ān sūrat Ṭā Ha (20:1-4) that refer to the Prophet Muhammad’s “sign of prophethood”: The Qur’ān. Again, this connects the fourth sanctuary with the third. Similar to the other sections, the text then asks the reader to repeat lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times, followed by a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad khātim al-nabiyyīn (last of the Prophets), his progeny, and preceding prophets. However, the passage has a unique ending. It asks God to protect the carrier of kitābī hādhā (my book) referring to the scroll itself. God knows what is between al-kāf wa al-nūn (the letters K and N). These letters are an abbreviation for the word kun (“be”): an “utterance” that gives a thing its ability to be created by God. The sanctuary then ends with a blessing upon God and a fraction of a Qur’ānic verse from sūrat Al-

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949 Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 246.
'Imrān (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians.” This Qur’ānic verse is repeated over and over in this scroll and on LNS 25 MS.

The fifth sanctuary returns to the theme of Qur’ānic recitation and the power found in it using sūrat Al-‘Isrā (17:45-46). The verses state that whoever reads the Qur’ān will activate a hidden veil, which is a shield from all harm. In addition, one should continuously remember the names of God (17:110), recall his magnificence, and be thankful for God’s blessings. Both of these sets of verses have talismanic connotations in that they call upon the Qur’ān to create a shield and protect the reader, and they call upon the ninety-nine names. The last verse, also from sūrat Al-‘Isrā (17:110), affirms the oneness of God and that there is “no partner in His Kingdom.” The sanctuary ends with the phrase lā ḥawl wa lā quwwā ilā bi‘l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” along with the Qur’ānic verse from sūrat Al-‘Imrān “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians” (end of 3:173) and a tahmīd (praise of God).

Although the sixth sanctuary has the same beginning as the preceding five, its textual content is mostly non-Qur’ānic. The passage lists God’s creation on earth and in the sky including the sun, moon, and stars. The inventory ends with a curious finale: arziq al-waḥsh fi ‘l-ghlūt (“bless the demon [a being related to the jinn] in his mistakes / in the extent of his speed”). The two protective Qur’ānic chapters, al-Falaq, an-Nās (113 and 114) that follow it suggest that the mysterious phrase refers to some form of a demon. These chapters are known as

950 Bewley and Bewley, The Noble Qur’an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English, p. 64.
951 Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 30.
953 Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 65.
954 EI online “Waḥsh (a.),” (W. P. Heinrichs, ).
al-mu‘awidhatān (the two-refuge seeking [chapters]). Once again, the text asks the reader to utter: lá ḥawl wa lá quwwa ilā bi‘l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times. It ends with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and alīh wa ṣuhbīh (his family and companions) the Qur’ānic verse from sūrat Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173) “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians.”

The seventh sanctuary has a beginning that is similar to the sixth, and continues with the list of God’s creation. However, the list includes non-tangible items such as the truth and blessings of God. Once again, the passage blesses the demon: al-wahsh fi al-ghaltat. It proceeds to ask the reader to repeat the phrase lá ḥawl wa lá quwwa ilā bi‘l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times, followed by the Qur’ānic verse from sūrat Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians.”

It ends in a unique way by asking God to bless the Prophet Muhammad and each of his individually named ten companions. This is followed by a request to God to make ḥāmilīh (carrier of the scroll) victorious. It is an appropriate transition into the next part of the scroll, which, unlike the interconnected seven sanctuaries, have specific themes mostly referenced through Qur’ānic verses and prophetic stories.

The section, Li‘l-dukhūl ‘alā al-mulāk (“For entry upon the kings”), begins with the basmala (“In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful”) and enters into a continuous Qur’ānic text comprising verses from various chapters Al-‘Imrān (3) Al-Mā‘idah (5) and al-

955 Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 85.

956 This phrase needs further analysis; I plan to investigate it in the publication of the dissertation.

957 Please see Chapters Three and Four on the auditive and visual aspects of the scroll.
Qasas (28) in the following order: 5:23, end of 28:31, end of 28:25, 3:37. They are all stories of prophets, mostly from the life of Moses and one verse narrates the story of Mary.

The first verse from Al-Māʾidah (5:23) recounts the story of two of Moses’ messengers: Joshua and Caleb. They were afraid to enter a village with Moses’ prophecy and God advised them not to be scared for they carried the message of God. They entered the gate of the village and trusted in the power of God to guide them. In other words, if one has faith in God, then there is no fear when one enters upon the kings. The next story from al-Qasas (end of 28:31) explicitly deals with the theme of kingship: Readers familiar with the Qurʾān and the full verse would know that Moses has just thrown his rod and it has changed into a snake. In the final part of the verse (end of 28:31) that is included on the scroll, God tells Moses not to be afraid of the Pharaoh because he carries the message of God. Subsequently, the next verse from al-Qasas (end of 28:25) continues with the theme of not being afraid if one has faith in God. The partial verse is the end of another story regarding Moses’ virtues. He was at an oasis where he helped two daughters of a shepherd get water for their flocks. The father of the two daughters is an esteemed leader who later helps Moses. In other words, one should not be afraid of assisting a leader or king. It is interesting that the text on the scroll only references the end of each of the verses, which highlight the importance of not having fear when one is in the presence of a king or leader. Yet, for those who are familiar with the Qurʾān, the fuller content of each story is implied.

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The last verse, *Al-ʿİmran* (3:37), narrates the story of Mary, daughter of Zakariya, who was protected by God. This is a peculiar verse since it does not directly fit into the theme of kingship. However, it does address God’s dominion and God’s protection of Mary through her pregnancy. The section ends with the staple request to repeat *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times, followed by a blessing for God via the Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʿİmran* (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his *ʿālih wa suhbih ajmaʿīn* (his family and companions).

The beauty of this scroll lies in its written calligraphy. The following heading, which shows wear from rolling and unrolling the scroll, reads: *Lil-mihābah wa al-ṭāʿah* (For love and obedience). It is a typographical error it should read: *maḥabba* (love/affection). In other words, the title is: “For love and obedience.” The text opens with Qur’ānic verses from *sūrat An-Najm* (53:59-62) where the theme is obedience to God. The last verse quoted from *An-Najm* (53:62) is traditionally marked by a prostration sign in the Qur’ān; the scroll does not have this indicator. Perhaps the reader already knows of the convention and will prostrate regardless. The passage resumes with the recitation of *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times, followed the Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʿİmran* (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians.” The section proceeds with a *taṣliya* (prayer) for the Prophet Muhammad and each of his ten companions who are individually named. The theme of love is emphasized at the end of the passage. A *duʿā* asks God for longing in the hearts

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960 *EI* online “Maryam,” (Wensinck). In addition, the Mihrab of Mary is located at the south wall of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. It is known as the spot where the angels brought fruits to her. See: G. Necipoğlu, “The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: ‘Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses,” p. 27. Also see: Ibn al-Murajjá. *Faḍāʾ il Bayt Al-Maqdis*, pp. 176-181.
of the sons and daughters of Adam and Eve including all jinn (supernatural beings) and human beings.

In the above passages, the boundaries between devotional and talismanic text are blurred; yet, in the subsequent section the talismanic is explicitly evoked. The title of the section is: Lil-‘ain wa al-naḍra (“For the evil eye and its gaze”). The word for gaze is misspelled by the scribe; it should be nazra. It begins with the familiar basmala (“In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful”). The text reads: ‘aqadit ‘an ḥāmil kitābī ḥādhā kul ‘ayn mu ‘ān min al-ins wa al-jānn (It has been summoned that the carrier of this book [this scroll will be protected] from every person or jinn that has an evil eye). The text then proceeds to the most powerful refuge-seeking Qur’ānic verse, the Throne verse (2:255). 961 Succinctly, the passage seeks protection in the name of God and the repetition of: lā hawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times. It ends with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and ‘ālih wa suḥbih ajma‘īn (his family and companions).

As the reader progresses down the scroll, the headings and the intention behind the Qur’ānic verses become more specific. The next three sections deal with bodily healing. The next heading reads: Al-sāyir al-‘awjā’ (“For the relief of pain”). It begins with the invocation of the name of God. Qur’ānic verses from the chapter titled Al-Anbiyā’ (21:69-70) emphasize the theme of God’s ability to relieve pain through the story of Abraham and the fire.962 The infidels have trapped Abraham in a surrounding fire; God made the fire cold so that Abraham could walk on it and escape.963 The passage proceeds by “summoning” God to protect the carrier [of the

962 The trail of scribal error continues as the last word of verse Al-Anbiyā’ (21:70) was replaced with a synonym.
963 EI online,“Nār,” (T. Fahd).
scroll] from all forms of sickness: ‘aqadit ‘an hāmilīh jami‘ al-amrād. After all, as the text asserts, the Qur’ān is a form of healing and peace for all believers in God. The text then recites two verses from Al-‘Isrā‘a (17:45-46) that further elaborates on the power of the Qur’ān.964 The section ends with one thousand recitations of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” along with the Qur’ānic verse from Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad khātim al-nabiyyin (last of the Prophets) and ‘ālih wa ṣuhbih ajma‘īn (his family and companions).

Certain headings in the scroll are more enigmatic than others. The next one Bāb li’l-ḍarbān (“the section for throbbing-pain”)965 The section highlights God’s creation by specific Qur’ānic quotations and devotional prayers. The first Qur’ānic verse from the chapter titled Al-An’ām (6:13) communicates that God brought peace to the creation of night and day.966 Therefore, God will create peace for pain and throbbing by controlling the movement of the hours of the day and night, and by commanding the throbbing to cease. After all, the text quotes a section of a Qur’ānic verse from Al-Ḥajj (22:65) that emphasizes God’s strength in creation: The miracle of the sky that stands without pillars. In other words, if God can create the sky then God can command the throbbing and pain to cease. Of course, the passage continues, the glory of God’s creation is stressed through one thousand recitations of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” along with Qur’ānic verse from Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians”, and a blessing on the Prophet passengers.

964 Al-‘Isrā‘a (17:45-46) may also be found in the fifth sanctuary.
965 I would like to thank Ahmed Ragab for his help reading this title.
966 EQ online, “Day and Night,” (A. Dallal).
Muhammad \(khātim\) al-nabi\(yīn\) (last of the Prophets). The section ends in rhythmic verbs that are thankful to God and describe his attributes: \(āfī\) (forgives), \(ishfī\) (heals), and \(ikfī\ \text{wa}\ \text{int}\ \text{al-mukfī}\) (protects as you are the protector).

The next section is particularly interesting because it addresses stomachaches and intestinal diseases. The title reads: \(li\’l-maghaṣ\ \text{wa}\ \text{al-qawlanj}\) (“For stomach aches and intestinal diseases”).\(^{967}\) The Qur’ānic story that is emphasized is part of the story of Abraham smashing the idols from the chapter titled, \(Ash-Shu’ařa\)’ (26:78-83, 26:85-89).\(^{968}\) Yet, the message that this particular quotation communicates is that God has provided sustenance and healing in life and the afterlife. God feeds and heals a person, has the ability to create and cause death, and the ability to forgive. God will grant who he wishes a place in Heaven. The passage ends with the familiar repetition of one thousand \(lā\ \ḥawl\ \text{wa}\ \lā\ \quwwa\ \ilā\ \text{bi’l-Allah}\) “There is no strength or power without God,” along with the Qur’ānic verse from \(Al-‘Imrān\) (end of 3:173) “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians,” and a blessing for the Prophet Muhammad \(khātim\) al-nabi\(yīn\) (last of the Prophets) and \(‘ālih\ \text{wa}\ \šuhbih\ \ajma’īn\) (his family and companions). The significance of the Qur’ānic verses used in this passage is that the outcome of a stomach ailment or an intestinal disease is in the hands of God.

One of the most fascinating components of the scroll is the illustrations on its last six segments. These drawings are talismanic in function; they are meant to ward off the misfortune related to each illustration or to conjure up the spirit of the item illustrated. They are meant to “clarify the subject.”\(^{969}\)

\(^{967}\) This particular section has a number of typographical errors.

\(^{968}\) \(EQ\) online, “Abraham,” (Firestone).

\(^{969}\) Eva Hoffman, “The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book,” p. 46.
The first illustrated segment is titled, \textit{Lī-darb al-sayf} (“For the striking of the sword”). Similar to the other sections, it is predominately Qur’ānic. The first two verses from the chapter titled \textit{Saba’} (34:10-11) relate the story of the gifts that David received from God.\footnote{\textit{EQ} online, “David,” (Hasson).} In particular, God instructed David to “make coats of mail,” an appropriate verse for protection from a sword.\footnote{Ibid.} The section continues with a verse from the chapter titled \textit{Muḥammad} (47:4) which is a clear \textit{jihād} message. It instructs the reader confronted by enemies to strike their necks, and lets the reader know that God will not forget those slain in the name of war. The drawing of two intertwined swords represented in gold and blue are intermingled amid the text of this verse. The theme of striking the enemy’s neck continues in the next verse from the \textit{Al-ʾAnfāl} (the end of 8:12-13). The section ends by reiterating, \textit{lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah} “There is no strength or power without God,” along with the Qur’ānic verse from \textit{Al-ʾImrān} (end of 3:173), “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians,” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad \textit{khātim al-nabiyīn} (last of the Prophets).

A gold and blue image of two arrows and a bow illustrate the next section, which is titled: \textit{li-rami al-nushāb} (“The casting of arrows”). The passage states that once the name of God is evoked and the bow had been strung and cast. The text through the Qur’ānic verse from \textit{sūrat Al-ʾAnfāl} (partial 8:17) recalls a moment from the Battle of Badr, the Prophet Muhammad’s first victory,\footnote{\textit{EQ} online “Badr,” (Nawas).} when he throws dust into the eyes of the enemy. This verse is a perfect linguistic play on words, because the Arabic verb “to throw,” \textit{rami}, also means “to cast.” In other words, the arrows that are cast are like the sand that was thrown by the Prophet Muhammad. Again, the text

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{\textit{EQ} online, “David,” (Hasson).}
\item \footnote{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{\textit{EQ} online “Badr,” (Nawas).}
\end{itemize}
reads: ‘aqadit ‘an hāmil kitābi hādhā (It has been commanded that the carrier of this scroll) will be protected from everything seen by the sons of Adam and the daughters of Eve. This is followed by the illustration of two arrows and a bow. Once again, the section ends with one thousand repetitions of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad khātim al-nabiyyīn (last of the Prophets) and ‘ālih wa ṣuhbīh ajma‘īn (his family and companions).

A gold spear with blue accents adorns the next section lī-ṭa‘n al-ramḥ (“If pierced by a spear or lance”). Without a direct Qur’ānic quotation, yet calling on the name of God, the text’s voice is understood. The rhythmic pattern in the following verbs call upon the basmala: sammayt (to call on the name of God), laghayt (to nullify in the name of God), rannat (to reverberate in the name of God) ‘aqabt (to succeed in the name of God). Lastly, with the aid of the names of God and the echo of the verbs mentioned, ta‘annt (to pierce in the name of God) the humans and jinn. The text poetically states that one should pierce and swallow the purpose of one’s enemies.

The text continues vertically around the left and right sides of the illustrated spear. The passage begins on the left side and reads: “One should pierce whomever with Ḥā Mīm‘Ain Sīn Qāf: and protection comes from Kaf Ḥā Yā ‘Ain Ṣād.” These mystical letters are from the beginning of sūrat Ash-Shūra (42) and sūrat Maryam (19), respectively. Therefore, the Qur’ān is indirectly referenced by these mystical letters which “represent the heavenly language” of God. The passage ends with an evocation of one thousand lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad khātim al-nabiyyīn (last of the Prophets) and mursilīn (the preceding prophets).


974 Ibid.
In the section titled *Lil-hayya wa al-‘aqrab* (“For the snake and scorpion”), gold and blue illustrations of a snake and scorpion are found. The section begins with the name of God and a partial Qur’ānic verse from *sūrat Al-Baqarah* (2:243). It is a captivating verse that recounts the tale of the forced migration of Banī Israel due to a plague infection; God orders them to “die” and they die. However, the scroll utilizes the context of the verse to force the snakes and scorpions out of their homes and to die when God orders them to die. The text prescribes one thousand *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God,” and the *taṣliya* (prayer) on the Prophet Muhammad *khātim al-nabīyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʿālih wa suhbih ajmaʿīn* (his family and companions) are interrupted by the depictions of the snake and scorpion.

The sun and the moon decorate the next section titled *Ṭāʿa wa qubūl* (“For obedience and acceptance”). The text is mostly Qur’ānic from *sūrat Yā-Sīn* (36:38-40), which highlights God’s regulation of the movement of the sun and the moon along with its mansions. The passage continues by asking God to protect the carrier of *kitābī hādhā* (my book, referring to the scroll itself) from the eyes of people and may the supplication of the reader be accepted by God as if it were a piece of *sukr* (sugar) or a *jawhra* (jewel). Two abstracted gold and blue roundels most likely represent the sun and the moon. The section ends with a supplication to God reiterating *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God,” the Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173): “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians,” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his family and companions.


976 *EQ* online “Sun,” (Kunitzsch).
The talismanic nature of the scroll is explicitly understood in the next heading, *Ibtāl al-siḥr* (“For annulling magic”). Appropriately, the passage recounts various Qur’ānic verses dealing with Moses and the magicians in the Pharaoh’s court. The first verse from *sūrat Yūnus* (10:81) is the confrontation between Moses and the magicians. Empowered by God, Moses informs the magicians that their magic is invalid. When the magicians see Moses’ rod convert into a snake, they drop down and prostrate to God as is stated in *sūrat Al-A’rāf* (7:118-122). The gold flame-like hand with a blue outline and faded blue accents located at the center of these verses is most likely an abstract depiction of Moses’ hand that turns white (also known as the yad al-bayḍa).⁹⁷⁷ After all, there are two signs of Moses’ prophethood that appear before the Pharaoh and his magicians: his staff turning into a serpent, and his hand turning white.⁹⁷⁸ It is no surprise that in the section for the annulment of magic, these two signs are depicted: Moses’ rod in text and the hand in illustration. The section ends by asking God to protect the carrier of the scroll from magicians and deceitful people with one thousand *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” and the Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173), “Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians.”

The last of the headings on the oblong portion of the scroll is titled, *Li’l-Muṭalaqa* (End and absolute charm). Initiating with a Qur’ānic quotation, *Sūrat Yā Sīn* (36:1-5), although not the same verses, it is part of the same chapter that is in the margin of the scroll. These verses are a perfect transition from the above section; they discuss the sign of Mohammad’s prophethood which is the Qur’ān. This is similar to earlier in the scrolls, between the third and fourth sanctuaries, where there is a conversation between the two sections. The third sanctuary is about

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⁹⁷⁷ *EQ* online, “Moses,” (C. Schōck).

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid.
Moses’ nine signs and the fourth is about the ninety-nine names of God and the implied miracle of the Qur‘ān. Here, the text transitions from the two important signs of Moses’ prophethood (the white hand, and the rod) to the Qur‘ān Sūrat Yā Sīn (36:1-5). In addition, Yā Sīn is known for its apotropaic significance and its association with death and the Last Judgment.979 An appropriate theme for the last section of the scroll, after addressing all the worldly concerns it asks for protection in the afterlife and on Judgment Day. Therefore, it is no surprise that the next set of verses sūrat Al-Inshiqāq (84:1-the middle 4) describe the signs of Judgment Day. The image of the sky tearing apart and the earth separating is a perfect metaphor for the following textual affirmation that Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Amna the mother of Muhammad, each had a safe childbirth with the assistance of God. In other words, thank God for the miracles of prophethood. The text then reiterates the familiar phrase lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” along with the Qur‘ānic verse Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173), and a blessing to the Prophet Muhammad khātim al-nabiyyīn (last of the Prophets). It ends with a magic square comprised of mystical letters that are known as the seal of the “first nine letters of abdjadiyah,” which is known as budūh and ajhż.980 The seal is rumored to have been on the ring of Adam and to have been transmitted via the eighth-century founder of alchemy, Jabr ibn Ḥayan.981 With this magic square, the text is completed in a golden semicircle that reads “the blessed sanctuary is completed.”


981 Ibid., p. 158. Also see the box with a lid: MMA 91.1.538; it is inscribed with the word budūh. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/91.1.538
The last section of the scroll is not part of the main text block and has been penned in a different hand. The extension seems to be pasted on the same kind of paper with evidence that it has been trimmed. Unlike the rest of the scroll, the passage initiates in a black muhaqqaq script and then transitions into a naskh script.982 It is reminiscent of features found on Mamluk works on paper and art of the book.983 The black ink, gold rosettes, and the red circular markers create a visual rhythm to the section. The content is similar to the rest of the scroll in that it is a mixture of Qur’ānic verses and prayers that offer supplications in the name of God to protect the carrier of the scroll through prophetic stories and acknowledging God’s creation.

It begins with a large black, but incomplete, basmala (“In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful”), which has been trimmed. Directly below it in yellow-gold pigment with a black outline, is a complete basmala with red diacritics. The text begins with a Qur’ānic verse from Al-An’ām (6:1), which thanks God for creation. As the script becomes smaller in size to accommodate the trimmed paper, the passage continues with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and Tāriq al-dār (“the person who knocks at the door,” but the phrase connotes the knocking of a spirit/angel of some form). It is a reference to the Qur’ān At-Tāriq (86:1-2), and Judgment Day. An appropriate text, as the scroll continues with supplicating in God for assistance on Judgment Day.

982 For representations of each of the muhaqqaq and naskh scripts see: James, The Master Scribes: Qur’āns of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD. For an example of naskh script: pp. 24-27; for muhaqqaq script: pp.34-39. For an analytical discussion of this section see Chapter Three of the dissertation.

983 The combination of the black and gold muhaqqaq script is reminiscent of a Mamluk style. See James, The Master Scribes: Qur’āns of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD, pp. 160-161, 184-182. They are representations of a single folio that has been attributed to Yemen that is a combination of muhaqqaq, thulth and naskh script: (Qur 850). The other set are two folios from a Mamluk Qur’an (Qur 582) that uses the gold muhaqqaq script. I discuss the issue of dating the scroll in Chapter Three.
The next paragraph is the main text block of the section. Opening with a Qur’anic verse from *Ar-Rahmān* (55:35), it reminds the reader of the punishment the *jinn* and *ins* will endure. This verse, again, is a prelude to verses on Judgment Day. The only protection from God’s wrath is recitation of the *kitāb* (book of God/and the scroll) as demonstrated in the Qur’anic verse from *sūrat Al-Jāthiya* (45:29), along with the mystical letters from the beginning of *sūrat Ash-Shura* (42:1-2): Ḥā Mim, ‘Ain Sin Qāf and the phrase “There is no strength or power without God.”

After all, the word of God can protect the believer from things that come knocking at night or in the day.

After listing a series of God’s attributes, it continues by affirming the oneness of God, his strength and ability to protect ḥāmilīḥ (the carrier of the scroll), and that God rules alone without a son. With a repetition of the *takbīr* (God is great), the text returns to a Qur’anic verse from *sūrat An-Naml* (27:30) that illustrates the power of the name of God. Solomon sent a letter to Bilqis (Queen of Sheba), and on this letter is written the name of God. When she sees the letter, Bilqis converts to monotheism. Therefore, the believer in God will be victorious. This is reaffirmed in the text by the Qur’anic verse from *sūrat An-Nisāʾ* (4: end of 75).

The passage reminds the reader of God’s miracles, especially through the stories of Moses. Here we are reminded of the miracle of Moses’ return to his mother from *sūrat Ṭā Ha* (20:40) and the story of Moses’ assistance to the two women by the oasis from *sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ* (end of 28:25). The fragmentary Qur’anic quotations from these two chapters, *al-Qaṣaṣ* (28) and Ṭā Ha (20) (sections of Qur’ān 28:31, 20:68, 20:77, and 20:46), reiterate stories from the life

984 See above for the explanation of these mystical letters.

985 Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p.29.

986 See above for a discussion of verse (28:25).
of Moses and the messages they contain, then continue by focusing on the stories of Moses and the Pharaoh. In addition, there is a rhythmic pattern to these five verses that were included (end of 28:25, 28:31, 20:68, 20:77, 20:46). All five quotes begin with the phrase lā takhīf (do not be scared), there is one error when (20:46) lā takhshā (do not be scared) is used. This leads the text to sūrat Al-Māʾīdah (5), a verse quoted above in the Lil-dukhūl ʿalā al-mulūk (“For entry upon the kings”) section, the story of Moses’ messengers Joshua and Caleb who were afraid to enter the village with God’s revelation (5:23). In fact, three of the verses are similar to the Lil-dukhūl ʿalā al-mulūk (“For entry upon the kings”) section (28:25, 28:31, and 5:23); but are not in the same order. The message that one should not be afraid when one has faith in God is repeated. Appropriately, the passage revisits the theme of trusting in God and the power of the Qurʾān through verses from the following chapters: Al-Burūj (85:20-22), Al-ʾImrān (3:173), Al-ʾIsrā (17:45) and Yā-Šīn (36:9). The paragraph ends by asking God to protect ḥāmilīḥ (the carrier of the scroll) from the evils of humanity and the jinn and recalls the Qurʾānic verse sūrat At-Ṭāriq (68:51-52) with the story of Jonah: People mistook him for a madmen but he was actually carrying the message of God.

In yet another scribal hand, a red naskh text gives thanks to God. Underneath it, in yellowish-gold ink with a black outline in yet a different hand, a final blessing to the Prophet Muhammad along with the familiar verse from Al-ʾImrān (end of 3:173) occurs. Lastly, like an epilogue to the text, the scroll ends with the apotropaic Throne verse (2:255) written in black scribal script. This seems to be a later addition.

Finally, on the back there is a basmalah on the last end of the scroll that seems to be a later addition.

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987 See above for a discussion of verse (5:23).
18.

**Subject:** Talismanic scroll  
**Date:** undated but attributed to the 14th century  
**Provenance:** Mamluk (Syria or Egypt)  
**Paper:** trimmed, burnished and treated paper; on the back of the first sanctuary is a letter in Latin; the second sanctuary is backed with contemporary white-lined paper  
**Ink:** blue, gold, red, black, and white  
**Script:** *Naskh*, floriated *kufic*, and *thulth*  
**Dimensions:** 9.6 cm x 205.7 cm  
**Collection number:** Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS  
**Figures 34-51**

**Description:**

This is a beautiful scroll with elaborate decorations. Unlike LNS 12 MS, it is complete and one can reconstruct the visual and textual impact of the scroll. Although the scroll’s paper is somewhat damaged, one can observe the planning and detailed construction of the scroll. Geometric circles, a palmette, and almond eyes frame a central medallion. The first and third circles of the scroll are outlined in blue and gold ink and contain two six-pointed stars—one in red, the other in gold. The second and central circles are outlined in blue and gold ink and enclose a circular red *naskh* script of the Qur’ānic chapter entitled *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (112). The elaborate teardrop palmette is illuminated with a similar color motif in gold, blue, red, and black. The central smudged white *naskh-thuluth* text in red ink reads “*Naṣr min Allah wa fathun qaribun,*” and a formulaic Qur’ānic verse from *sūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff* (61:13) set on a blue background with a gold vegetal motif that is framed by black lines and dots. The red *naskh* text, similar to the upper circles, is the familiar *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) and decorative motifs frame it. The outer-
frame of palmettes, where the pigment has faded, seems to alternate with smaller tear-drops in gold, blue, and red outlined in black.

The spatial economy and layout have been carefully conceptualized. As the eye moves down the scroll, two sets of two circles with an almond-shaped eye are framed by eight gold roundels; between these two sets is a central oblong medallion. With close study one notices fine red naskh text incorporated into the design which offers sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112). There is a careful balance of the colors red, blue, black and gold that compliments the oblong medallion. Within the oblong medallion, the white floriated kufic script is set on a blue and gold arabesque background. The Qur’ānic verses from sūrat al-Wāqi‘a (56:77-80) instruct the reader about the importance of performing the ablution before reading or touching the Qur'ān. It reads, “It truly is a Noble Qur'ān in a well-protected Book. No one may touch it except the purified. Revelation sent down from the Lord of the Worlds.”

Unlike LNS 12 MS, which is organized as a continuous text block, the next section is another oblong medallion. The paper surrounding it has been trimmed. Continuing in a similar color scheme, the color blue is used as the frame of the medallion. Red ink is used for the outline and frame of the interior medallions and rectangular table. The outer red naskh text repeats sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112). The black marginal naskh text quotes sūrat Yā-Sīn (36:1-14[only the first word]). The gold semi-circle at the top and the bottom of the medallion is inscribed with a white naskh script that reads: Al-ʿĀsmāʾ al-ḥusnā (“the beautiful names of God”). The table with twenty-six rows and four columns ruled in red has gold rosettes that enclose one-hundred-and-four names of God written in alternating black or red script. Although the convention is ninety-

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nine names, some of the extras were variations of the same root such as Malik (King) and mālik (owner).

The next oblong cartouche, introduced by two gold roundels, contains the main text block and continues until approximately the end of the scroll; it has been subdivided under various headings. Again, the paper surrounding it has been trimmed. Geometric forms begin this cartouche with twenty black-outlined circles filled with text set on a gold background.

The marginal texts in black and red script are Qurʾānic in content. First of all, the red naskh is sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112) repeated over and over again. The black marginal naskh script is sūrat Yā-Sīn (36:14-50) it begins where it stopped in the above margin. The text continues with sūrat Yā-Sīn (36:68-83) but moves twenty verses forward. Once sūrat Yā-Sīn (36) is completed, the basmala is followed by sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112). A basmala then precedes the beginning of sūrat Al-Mulk (67:1-19, 21-22), skipping one verse (67:20), perhaps a typographical error by the scribe. On the right side of the margin, the text continues with sūrat Al-Mulk (67:23-25). It then briefly returns to sūrat Yā-Sīn (36:49), but only includes part of the verse: Mā yanżurūn ʿilā ʂihatun wāḥida (“What are they waiting for but one Great Blast”), and continues by returning to sūrat Al-Mulk (67:26-27, 67:30).989 Another basmala marks the transition with a complete transcription of sūrat Al-Insān (76). On the Qurʾānic trail, with another basmala and sūrat Ad-Duḥa (93), the scribe missed one phrase from (93:3): ma qalā. Lastly, a number of chapters from the Qurʾān have typographical errors: Al-Shārḥ (94) with two mistakes, At-Tīn (95), Al-Qadr (97) is missing verse (97:2), Al-Zalzalah (99), Al-ʿĀdiyāt (100), Al-Qārī’a (101), Al-Takāthur

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989 Ibid., p. 428.
(102), Al-‘Asr (103), An-Naṣr (110), Al-Masad (111), al-Ikhlāṣ (112) follow each with their own basmala.  

In the main text block, the heading is written in a white naskh script inside a gold semicircle, and reads: al-Duʿā al-sabʿ (“the seven supplications”). The twenty circles are mostly supplications to God. The first circle initiates with the basmala and recognizing God’s sovereignty through his attributes: al-malik al-ḥaq (the King, the Truth). The combination of these two attributes occurs twice in the Qurʾān: sūrat Ṭā Ha (20:114), Al-Mūʾminūn (23:116). In the second circle of the duʿā, the text then seeks forgiveness from God when entering different lands: ḥīn adukhūl? fī al-mawāṭin. The voice of this duʿā is one that addresses God as the King of the dominion with phrases such as yā mawlāyi (your sovereignty) in the third circle. There is a sense that the duʿā seeks God’s protection and forgiveness, but the full content is enigmatic. For example, there are a number of references to Hind (India) at the end of the fourth circle, and the kings of India at the end of the sixth circle, mulūk al-hind. There is one reference to Sind (another reference to India) in the seventh circle. The text of the duʿā is very mysterious, yet based on the references to India, one wonders if the owner of the scroll was a traveler. For example, in the eighth circle, the text asks for protection from night and day and the extreme weather of the desert and the sea. The text continuously addresses God as the King of sovereignty or the Sultan. Continuing with the possibility that the owner was a traveler, in the fifteenth circle, the duʿā asks for protection from earthquakes, the plague, the cold, and hunger and thirst. After this request, the text paraphrases the Qurʾān from sūrat Ar-Raʿd (13:31): inak lā

990 These chapters from the Qurʾān convey a Judgment Day theme that I discuss in Chapter Three.

991 sūrat Ṭā Ha (20:114), Al-Mūʾminūn (23:116)
takhlīf al-mīʿād (Allah will not fail to keep his promise).\textsuperscript{992} In other words, God controls all hardships in life and the afterlife. Towards the end of the duʿā, in the seventeenth circle, the text is similar to LNS 12 MS in that it asks God to protect ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of this book, i.e., the scroll). The conclusion of the text appears in the eighteenth circle with one thousand sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112) and lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” A familiar approach to a conclusion, and very similar to LNS 12 MS; the text continues to remember God, and assert the healing power of the Qurʿān in the nineteenth circle, and with one more repetition of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” between the nineteenth and twentieth circles. The finale of the duʿa occurs in the twentieth circle with an Al-ʿImrān (3:173) blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his wives and aṣḥābih (his companions). It is interesting that the wives of the Prophet are mentioned.

The next section of the scroll is similar to LNS 12 MS in that there are seven sanctuaries. Each of the sanctuaries is set in a separate oblong frame punctuated by gold rosettes.\textsuperscript{993} Beginning with al-haykal al-ʿawwal (the first sanctuary), the heading is written in a white naskh script set in a gold circle. This is the format used for the remaining six sanctuaries. The first sanctuary is tied to the content of the above seven supplications. It begins with the essential basmala and a number of Hamd Allah(s) (Praise God) that both thank and praise God through his attributes. This leads into the all-too-familiar phrase of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” The passage continues by thanking God for one’s

\textsuperscript{992} Bewley and Bewley, The Noble Qur’an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English, p. 233.

\textsuperscript{993} See Chapter Three of the dissertation for a detailed comparison between LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS.
bodily parts, hair, skin, and bones, and that willingness to dedicate one’s blood for God’s with one thousand lā hawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” And directs the readers to the Qur’ānic verses from the following chapters: Al-ʾImrān (3:173-175), Al-Aʾrāf (7:196), At-Tawba (9:129), and Yūnus (10:62-65). The first set of verses from Al-ʾImrān (3:173-175) narrate the story of the Prophet Muhammad and his confrontation with Abu Sufyān at the market of Badr. The Muslims with the Prophet Muhammad entrusted their fear in God. Due to the power of God, who had listened to the prayers of the Muslims, Abu Sufyān and his companions retreated. Thus, with Al-Aʾrāf (7:196), the Qurʾān protects the Muslims. What is interesting about the verse from Al-Aʾrāf (7:196) and the remaining verses from At-Tawba (9:129) and Yūnus (10:62-65), is the concept of walī Allah (friends of God). The same theme of trusting in God and his dominion will allow one to befriend God. This is a popular theme for Sufi saints and it is the reward of jihad. The section ends by calling on one thousand recitations of al-muʿwadāt from the Qurʾān (al-ʾIkhlāṣ 112, al-Falaq 113, an-Nās 114) and once again the phrase lā hawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” It ends with the familiar Al-ʾImrān (3:173) and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and al-ṣaḥāba (his companions).

From the second sanctuary to the sixth, we find a similar beginning with the basmala, a request to God for personal refuge and for ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll). The latter refers to the carrier of the scroll. In the second sanctuary, the protection is

995 Ibid., p. 224.
996 Taylor. In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt, pp. 80-82.
activated by the Throne verse (2:255) which shields the carrier from evils, doubt, worries, and the harshness of life. The passage continues with Qurʾānic text from sūrat Al-ʾImrān (3:190-195). The verses stress the importance of salvation and the contemplation of God through the signs of creation which will protect the believer on Judgment Day and from the harshness of Hell. God will guard those who fight in the name of Islam and those who were forced to immigrate in its name. They are the men and women who migrated from Mecca to Medina with the Prophet Muhammad.997 It continues by asking the reader to obey God, neither straying in the evils of the Arabs and non-Arabs nor in the evils of Satan and his followers.998 It ends by asking the reader to seek refuge in one thousand lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” followed by sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112) one thousand times, and again with lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” one thousand times. Similar to LNS 12 MS, it ends with the Qurʾānic verse from sūrat Al-ʾImrān (end of 3:173) and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad his sunnah (the Sunnah) and aṣḥābih (his companions).

The third sanctuary, after a similar beginning to that of the second sanctuary, launches into Qurʾānic verse from Al-Ḥashr (59:22-24). This is exactly the same set of initial verses as LNS 12 MS. There is small typographical error in the first word of the verse: huwa Allah (“He is God”) reads bi-Allah (“by God”). Nevertheless, the verses call upon the attributes of God which will protect the reader from all sharr (evils), sihr (sorcery), mākr (deceit), and the ‘adū (enemy). The passage asks the reader to recite sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (112) one thousand times and to submit to


998 EI online, “ʿAdjam,” (F. Gabrieli).
God and ask for refuge from Satan. Additional Qur’anic verses from *Al-A’rāf* (7:54-58) express God’s creation of the world in six days and suggest that because God is the creator, it is important to supplicate in His name.⁹⁹⁹ Thus, the implication is that one should be a non-destructive person because God has the power to create and destroy. The text then suggests that taking refuge in God will offer protection from *sharr kull shaytān* (the evils of all demons) and all evils. It stresses the magnitude of following the *ṣirāṭ mustaqīm* (the right way) through the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and the Prophet Ya’qūb (Jacob). Why Ya’qūb? In the context of talismanic literature and material culture, such as the talismanic shirts, Ya’qūb is blinded by his sadness over the loss of his son, Yusuf. Ya’qūb eventually regains his eyesight when Yusuf is returned to his father and he wipes Ya’qūb’s eye with his shirt.¹⁰⁰⁰ Once again, the section ends with one thousand *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God,” the Qur’anic verse from *sūrat Al-‘Imrān* (end of 3:173), and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and āl Muhammad (his family, i.e., his progeny) up until *yawm al-dīn* (Judgment Day).

After the initial refuge-seeking phrase of the fourth sanctuary, the text continues with a Qur’anic verse from *sūrat Țā Ha* (20:mid4-8), which references God’s creation and ability to know all that is hidden and visible. Submission to God will protect the reader from all ill fortune and “the secret” of the night [evil spirit?]. The Qur’ān offers the ultimate protection with the

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⁹⁹⁹ A little later in LNS 25 MS, a similar set of verses *Al-A’rāf* (7:54-57) is used in the section for the cure of headaches: *Lī-waji’ al-ra’ās* (“For headaches”).

¹⁰⁰⁰ *EQ* online “Jacob,” (A. Rippin); Roxburgh, *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600*, pp. 458-9.
verses from *Al-ʾIsrāʾ* (17:45-46); this allows the scroll to turn into an amulet.\(^{1001}\) The text continues with *sūrat Al-ʾIsrāʾ* (17:50-54), which illuminates a discussion that believers in God have with the unbelievers. Ultimately, the believers are rewarded with the afterlife and God’s mercy. The section ends by stating that one should submit to God and be wary of Satan. However, in these last lines the text has a different rhythm; it might be a form of magical incantation. Once again it ends by soliciting refuge in one thousand repetitions of Qurʾānic chapter *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) and *lā hawā lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God,” with the Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʾImrān* (end of 3:173), and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and ʿāl Muhammad (his family, i.e., his progeny) up until *yawm al-dīn* (Judgment Day).

The fifth sanctuary is particularly interesting because it mentions the names of the angels. After the initial *basmala*, a request to God for personal refuge and for the carrier of *kitābī hādhā* (my book), the voice of the text begins by using nouns in the feminine form: *al-ʿāmāt* (commoners), *al-ṭāghiyāt* (deviators), *al-mustaḥfiyāt* (shameful). It states that whenever one encounters the commoners, deviators, and shameful (all in the feminine form), one should seek refuge in the great names of God. The implication is that the text is addressing the deviant angels. Therefore, the following Qurʾānic verses from *sūrat Fuṣṣilat* and *sūrat Ar-Raʾd* are appropriate (41: mid11-12, 13:11-14). The first set (41: mid11-12) addresses the submission of the sky to God.\(^{1002}\) God completed the seven heavens in two days and the lower heavens were adorned with lamps and guards (i.e., angels).\(^{1003}\) It continues with verses from *sūrat Ar-Raʾd*

\(^{1001}\) This particular set of verses were discussed above under LNS 12 MS: the fifth sanctuary and *Al-sāyir al-ʾawjāʾ* (“For the relief of pain”).


\(^{1003}\) Ibid.
by illustrating that every person has a number of angels that follow him/her: the angels’ actions are dictated by God. The passage then seeks refuge in God who is the God of Jibrīl, Mikāʾil, ʿIsrāfīl, and ʿAzrābīl.\textsuperscript{1004} These four archangels, according to the text, are known to surround the throne of God, and hāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of this scroll). Jibrīl is the support and pillow of the throne, Mikāʾil is on the left of the throne, and ʿIsrāfīl is in front of the throne. God protects the carrier of the scroll.\textsuperscript{1005} The reader should repeat God’s names continuously, which leads the passage to the Qurʾānic verses from Al-ʿImrān (3:26-27). These verses convey the power of God and his creation. It ends with lā ḥawl wa lā guwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” the familiar Qurʾānic verse from Al-ʿImrān (end of 3:173), and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and ʿal Muḥammad (his family, i.e., his progeny) up until yawm al-dīn (Judgment Day).

The sixth sanctuary initiates with the familiar beginning as the above, continues with the theme of creation and leads into two interesting Qurʾānic verses from Al-Ḥajj (22:18) and Ar-Raʿd (13:15). The pair of verses has a prostration marker in a traditional Qurʾānic reading. However, the text of the scroll does not have a special indicator. Perhaps the reader was aware of the custom. After all, the first two verses from Al-Ḥajj (22:18) and Ar-Raʿd (13:15) both express that all of God’s creation prostrates to Him. The subsequent verses from sūrat Sabaʾ (34:48-50) develop the context by reminding the reader that God carries the truth for believers. More importantly, the reader should obey God, lord of Jibrīl, Mikāʾil, ʿIsrāfīl, Ṭ Qrābīl by reciting one

\textsuperscript{1004} T. Canaan, “The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans,” pp. 137-139. Cannan states that these four angels (Jibrīl, Mikāʾil, ʿIsrāfīl, Ṭ Qrābīl) occur on most hujub (amulets).

\textsuperscript{1005} The implication and voice of the text is that these angels surround God and the carrier of the scroll.
The word ḥirz means “protect” and is the word most commonly used for an amulet.
saying that the seven sanctuaries terminate with the bī khātim Allah al-musabi’ (seal of God that has seven sides), which is also known as the seal of the heavens and earth. Along with God’s seal are the seal of Solomon, son of David, and the seal of the Prophet Muhammad. Again, the text calls on one thousand lā ḥawāl wa lā quwwa ilā bi ’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” along with the Qur’ānic verse from Al- ‘Imrān (end of 3:173) and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and ālih (his progeny), his wives who are the pure ones who have sworn an oath to him. It ends by asking God to protect the Prophet Muhammad and his sahāba (followers) up until Judgment Day.

The theme of the number seven continues in the next part of the scroll. It is titled ‘Awfāq al-‘ayyām al-sab’ (“the magic squares of the seven days”). First of all, the heading is vertically aligned in a white naskh script set on a gold and black-outlined abstract vegetal background. The title is set in an oblong gold with black outlined frame that is set within a gold and black rectangular box. Under the heading are seven magic squares in the shape of a rectangle.

The arrangement of the seven squares resembles the shape of a Qur’ānic lawh (tablet). There are seven rectangles defined by a gold frame with a black outline. At the top of each rectangle there is a gold triangle outlined in black centered between two gold rosettes that have also been outlined in black. Each of the magic squares (actually in the shape of rectangles) consists of nine or ten rows with either twenty or twenty-one magic numbers interspersed with certain letters.

1007 This fascinating phrase is discussed in further detail in Chapter Three.

The next section is the longest text in the scroll. Written again in white naskh script on a gold vegetal background with black outlines and set inside a rectangular frame, it is titled: al-kawākib al-dhurriyya. The title has a typographical error: it should be durriya: “The shining stars.” The text contains most of the Burda of al-Būṣīrī (died 1294-1297), a poem on the Mantle of the Prophet known for its supernatural powers. The idea is that by reciting the poem one is able to see the Prophet Muhammad who has the ability to cure all.

The subsequent heading read Maḥabba? wa qubūl (“Love and acceptance”). The indication that the section is about love and acceptance is expressed through the first Qur’ānic verse from Al-Baqarah (partial 2:165) that appears after the initial basmala. The verse communicates that those who love God overflow with love. It elaborates further with a verse from Al-ʿAnfāl (8:63) that illustrates that God creates affection and devotion among his followers. The subsequent Qur’ānic verse from Al-Anbiyā’ (21:78) includes an interesting verse. First of all, the scribe adds Jesus’ name to the prophets already mentioned in the verse, viz. Solomon and David. This is perplexing as the verse is about a specific incident that happened

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1009 Hereafter, all the headings have a similar design scheme of white naskh script set against a gold vegetal background with black outlines in a rectangular frame.

1010 Based on the following reading of the poem: http://www.deenislam.co.uk/burdah/burdah.htm. The text consists of: Chapter 1 lines: 1-12, 16-24; Chapter 2 lines: 1-32; Chapter 3 lines: 1-14, 24-28, 55-56, 59-60; Chapter 4 lines: 3-26; Chapter 5 lines: 1-4, 7-26, 29-34; Chapter 6 lines: 1-2; Chapter 7 lines: 23-26; Chapter 8 lines: 1-30, 37-38, then jumps back to 35-36, then goes back to 39-40, 43-44; Chapter 9 lines: 1-10; Chapter 10: 1-16, 21-22; EI online, “Burda,” (R. Basset); EI online, “al-Būṣīrī,” (E. Homerin); S. Stetkevych, “From text to talisman: Al- Būṣīrī’s Qaṣīdat al-burdah (mantle ode) and the supplicatory ode,” pp. 145-89.

1011 Stetkevych, “From text to talisman: Al- Būṣīrī’s Qaṣīdat al-burdah (mantle ode) and the supplicatory ode,” p. 151.

when Solomon was eleven years old. Solomon had solved a problem in which a shepherd’s sheep had eaten the crops on cultivated land. Solomon resolved the issue by telling the owner of the crop to keep the sheep until he had been repaid their damage. God guides Solomon in his decision. The question then becomes why was Isa (Jesus) included in this story? The message perhaps is that God is the ultimate guide for a prophet and the people as conveyed in the verse from Al-Mumtaḥana (60:7). The last set of Qur’anic verses from Al-‘Imrān (3:31-35) is interrupted by five rows of magic numbers and symbols, which most likely invoke the names of God. The implication is that God forgives those who love the Prophet Muhammad and the past messengers: Adam, Noah, the progenies of Abraham, and of ‘Imrān (the father of Mary). The most fascinating Qur’anic verse is the last one, again from Al-‘Imrān (3:35). In it Mary’s mother dedicates her unborn child to God. The section ends by asking God to protect ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll), the name of these ayat (verses/signs of God) and the names of God. Lastly, it closes with the all-too-familiar phrase: lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allāh “There is no strength or power without God.”

This scroll, LNS 25 MS, is similar to the previous scroll, LNS 12 MS, in that there are prayers against specific dangers. Li’l-dukhūl ʿalā al-mulūk (“For entry upon the kings”) has a similar beginning to the LNS 12 MS section with the same title: a basmala and the Qur’anic verse from Al-Māʿidah (5:23) that narrates the story of Joshua and Caleb entering a village with Moses’ prophetic message. Continuing with the story of Moses, the verses from sūrat Yūnus (10:85-86) stress the importance of trusting in God when dealing with the Pharaoh. One’s faith in

1013 Ibid., p. 311.

1014 There are seven sections within the scroll that contain magic numbers and symbols, not including the last section of the scroll which has a magic square.
God is reiterated through the Qur’ānic verses that follow from ʿAṭ-Ṭalāq (part of 65:3) Al-Furqān (25:58) and Ash-Shuʿarāʾ (26:217-218). In addition, when in God’s hands one should not be fearful, just as Moses did not have fear at the Pharaoh’s court (al-Qaṣṣ 28:end of 25, partial 28:31, Ṭā Ha 20:46, end of 20:77) and Abraham was asked not to be alarmed when the angels came with the news regarding his unborn son (Adh-Dhāriyāt partial 51:28). Once again, the section includes five rows of magic numbers and symbols, perhaps calling on the name of God. It ends with the familiar phrase lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allāh “There is no strength or power without God” along with the Qur’ānic verse from Al-ʿImrān (end of 3:173).

Ibṭāl al-siḥr (“for annulling magic”), begins with the same Qur’ānic verse from Yūnus (10:81) as in the preceding scroll, LNS 12 MS. However, the text block is configured differently. LNS 25 MS opens with Qur’ānic verses Yūnus (10:81-82) and then verses from Al-Aʿrāf (7:118-119). Both sets narrate the story of Moses and the magicians at the court of the Pharaoh. The magicians throw their rods but nothing compares to the reality of God’s power that converts Moses’ rod into a snake. As God dispels the magic of the magicians and affirms his authority, the scribe then asks God to dispel the magic and to protect the carrier of the scroll: abṭalt ʿan ḥāmilih siḥr kul saḥḥār. By reciting al-Ikhlāṣ (112) one thousand times, it will dispel whatever [magic] that was on a piece of glass, lead, copper, and the two treasures of the land, be it water or the dove in the air. The text then has five lines of magic numbers and symbols. It continues to ask God to dispel the acts conjured by the moon, the air, and all the spells, be it on paper or any other material by the recitation of one thousand “There is no strength or power without God”

1015 The order of the verses from Ṭā Ha (20), al-Qaṣṣ (28) Adh-Dhāriyāt (51) dealing with the theme of fear are as follows: (end of 28:25, 51:28, 28:31, 20:46, end of 20:77). The same order of verses, excluding (51:28), occurs at the end of LNS 12 MS, in the addendum. Two of these particular verses were on Liʾl-dukhūl alā al-mulūk (“For entry upon the kings”) LNS 12 MS (28: end of 25, end 28:31).
along with the Qur‘ānic verse Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173). It ends with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.

Unfortunately, the next heading is not fully legible because the ink has been erased due to wear on the scroll. One can read the word: Ghafr? Al-Alsin? (forgiveness of tongues). However, based on the context of the passage, one can speculate that the title is perhaps related to the forgiveness of the ill-spoken tongue. After the basmala, the text reads: ‘aqadit ‘an ḥāmilih alsinat al-mutakalimīn (asking God for protection from the talking tongues) from all forms of evil of the ill-spoken tongue. It then embarks on a series of Qur‘ānic verses from Al-Baqarah (partial section of 2:18 or 2:171) Yā-Sīn (partial 36:9) Al-Mū‘minūn (23:115), most of An-Naml (27:85), Al-Mursalāt (77:35-36), An-Nabaa (partial 78:38), which seem to build on each other in context. All of the verses include the word lā (“no,” or some negative connotation), which creates a rhythmic pattern. The interesting part is that the scribe has omitted the remainder of each verse that comes after the word lā in three of the verses (Yā-Sīn (partial 36:9) Al-Mū‘minūn (23:115), most of An-Naml (27:85)).

The first Qur‘ānic verse is unusual because it could be part of two verses from Al-Baqarah either, 2:18 or 2:171. However, it is the context of this verse that sets the tone for this section of the scroll: The unbelievers will become deaf, dumb, and blind by the word of God. The implied meaning is that God will create an imaginary barrier that will cause them to be deaf, dumb, and blind as expressed in Yā-Sīn (partial 36:9). The text continues with a Qur‘ānic verse from Al-Mū‘minūn (23:115) in an authoritative voice that ridicules the infidels asking them if

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1016 One interesting pattern in each of the verses is that they all contain the word lā (no) which is either positioned at the front or at the end of a respective verse.

God created them in jest. After all, as stated in An-Naml (27:85) and Al-Mursalat (77:35-36), God will not listen to the unbelievers’ pleas on Judgment Day for the unbelievers will not be able to speak nor will their excuses be accepted. The text continues with the last section of An-Nabaa (78:38), and builds on this theme of the infidels being unable to speak when they hear the word of God. An-Nabaa (78:38) states that on Judgment Day, no one is able to speak without God’s permission. The scribe, with the aid of the Qur’anic voice, asks God to protect ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll) from kul lisān nātiq bī sirr (any eloquent tongue that speaks the secret of) one thousand recitations of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa īlā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” In other words, it is implied that a person cannot speak without the permission of God. The final section launches into the last set of Qur’anic verses from Al-Qadr (97:1-5), interrupted by five lines of magic symbols. The verses are dedicated to laylat al-qadr (the Night of Power: 27 Ramadan). It is a night of deep spirituality when one should pray continuously for the angels to come down and listen to the faithful Muslim’s supplications. In other words, it is implied that all the ill-spoken tongues are silenced by the Qur’anic verses mentioned at the beginning of the section; and on the Night of Power, the angels are able to hear the devotee supplicate to God. The passage ends with a Qur’anic verse from Al-’Imrān (end of 3:173) and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment Day.

The heading has been retouched with white paint and reads Lī-wajiʿ al-raʾs (“For headaches”). After the basmala, it opens with a Qur’anic verse from sūrat Al-Furqān (25:45) stating that God has the ability to cause a shadow to remain sākinan (stationary). The scribe builds on the context of the Qurʾān through a play on words by asking God to iskin (calm) the

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1018 EI online, “Ramadān,” (M. Plessner).

headache—both sākinan (stationary) and iskin (calm) are part of the same root, sakan (to be peaceful, tranquil, live, dwell). After all, just as it transitions into the next Qurʾān Al-Anʿām (6:13), God dwells in the night and day.\textsuperscript{1020} The scribe asks God to protect ḥāmil kitābī ḥādhā (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll) from headaches with lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” The text returns to supplication by a set of Qurʾānic verses from \textit{Al-Aʿrāf} (7:54-57) that emphasize God’s creation of the heavens and earth in six days and the importance of praying in the name of God and being respectful to land, rain, and the sustenance He has produced. Once again and similar to the above passage, the verses are interrupted by magic numbers. The text ends with a repetition of the phrase lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” and a blessing to the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment Day.

\textit{Lī-wajiʿ al-ʿayn} (“For eye pain”): After the \textit{basmala}, this section of the scroll opens with the quintessential \textit{Nūr} (Light) verses (24:35-38).\textsuperscript{1021} Being that God is the light of this universe and has the ability to illuminate a person’s life, remembering God continuously guarantees that a person’s eye and heart will be able to see. The verses are followed with five lines of magic numbers and symbols. The text then asks God to bless ḥāmil kitābī (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll) with the light to see through one thousand recitations of lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” Regarding this illumination, the two almond eyes surrounded by stars and circles filled with Qurʾānic verse at the beginning of the scroll show the prayers lighting up the eyes. The passage ends with a Qurʾānic verse from \textit{Al-ʿImrān} (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment day.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1020} Ibid., p.114; \url{http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/quran/verses/006-qmt.php}
\item \textsuperscript{1021} \textit{EI} online, “Light,” (J. Elias.).
\end{itemize}
The next two sections are related to military accomplishments. The first one, *li’il-naṣr ‘alā al-a’dā* (“For victory over the enemy”), begins with the *basmala* followed by Qur’ānic verses that emphasize the victory stories of the Prophet Muhammad, but one set returns to the theme of Moses and the Pharaoh. The most important Muslim victory is the reentry to Mecca. Therefore, it is no surprise that the text begins with *An- Naṣr* (110), a chapter that was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad after the conquest of Mecca. The passage continues to highlight the reality that victory comes from God as conveyed in the verses from *Al-ʿAnfāl* (partial 8:10) and *Al-ʿImrān* (3:160). It recalls God’s assistance with “Islam’s first victory” at Badr, which is “explicitly” mentioned in this verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (3:123). Indeed, God aided the Muslims in a number of victories (Badr, Qurayṣa, Naḍīr). However, at the battle of Ḥunayn, the Prophet Muhammad was ambushed; but with the will of God and patience there was victory, as stated in *At-Tawba* (9:25-26). Besides the Prophet Muhammad’s victory, the Qur’ānic verses from *Aṣ-Ṣāffāt* (37:116-118) emphasize Moses’ victory over the Pharaoh as confirmed in the Torah. Five lines of magic numbers and symbols interrupt this set of verses, which then

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1023 Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar, *Al-Qur’an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-ʿUthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn*, p. 82; *EQ* online, “Badr,” (Nawas). Please note that the battle of Badr was discussed in LNS 12 MS.


reiterate that Moses was set on the path of God. The passage ends with two more verses from Ṣāfīt (37: 172-173) carrying the message that God will assist His soldiers towards a victory. The verses lead the reader to the important phrase, lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” along with a Qur’ānic verse from Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny and companions.

The second section dealing with military accomplishments is titled, al-fāris wa al-fars (“The horseman and his horse”). It begins by seeking refuge in God with a reconfiguration of al-Ikhlās (112) into a devotional prayer. In other words, it invokes the act of calling on the oneness of God and three of the archangels: Jibrīl, Mikā‘il, ʾIsrāfīl. It asks each of the angels to be on a particular side of the horseman and his horse: Jibrīl on the right, Mikā‘il on the left, ʾIsrāfīl in front, with God protecting them from above. Once again, the theme of the Qur’ānic verses is that God is watching over the believers and He will reward them in the afterlife as conveyed in sūrat Yūnus (10:62-64). The verses from At-Tawba (9:21-22) continue with the blessings of Heaven and that God will protect the person with angels as stated in Ar-Ra’d (13:11). As stated in Al-Ḥijr (15:9), it is important to remember the recitation of the Qur’ān. Speaking of the power of the words of God, the text recounts the Qur’ānic verses that remind the reader of the story of Solomon and the conversion of the Queen of Sheba from An-Naml (27:30-31). She converted because of the letter that carried the name of God. The text seeks refuge in one thousand recitations of al-Ikhlās (112) and the phrase: lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” It concludes with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his companions.

The next heading is not as clear as the others. It reads: li’l-Hummā wa al-ḥumra (“For fever and redness”). The theme of this section is that the Qur’ān and the word of God are the
ultimate protection as conveyed in *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:45-46). More importantly, when the unbelievers are scornful of the Qurʾān, they need to be reminded that they will return to God *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:50-51). The text reiterates the reward for those who have followed the path of God and His prophets as declared in *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17: mid 52-54). Lastly, it states that God preferred certain prophets, such as David and his book *al-Zabūr*, over others. The section ends with *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” along with a Qurʾānic verse (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny forever.

_Liʾl-ʾayn wa al-nazra* (“For the [evil] eye and its glance”): After the _basmala_, the text asks God to protect ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of the scroll) from the evil eye and its glance with one thousand recitations of *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” and *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112).1027 The Qurʾānic quotations continue with the ultimate apotropaic verse, The Throne verse (2:255). The inclusion of this verse is similar to an LNS 12 MS section. The passage then repeats the two verses associated with Solomon from _An-Naml_ (27:30-31) mentioned in the section on the horseman and his horse.1028 It continues with _Al-Aʾrāf_ (7:196), that one is protected by the declaration of God’s oneness, the power of the Qurʾān, and that with these two tools one will _yatawalla Allah_ (befriend God). This particular verse was quoted in the first sanctuary above, at the beginning of the scroll. Again, as mentioned above, this verse does have Sufi undertones. The verse is broken up by five lines of magic numbers and symbols. The passage continues to quote the Qurʾān, with a verse from _Yūnus_ (10:55) reminding the reader that God is all-encompassing and keeps His promise of the afterlife. Once again, it

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1027 In talismanic text the word ‘ʾaín implies the evil eye. Savage-Smith, _Magic and Divination in Early Islam_, pp.xvii-xviii.

1028 See _Al-Fāris wa al-fars_ (The horseman and his horse) see Chapter Three for a discussion of these sets of verses.
ends with lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” along with a Qur'anic verse from Al-'İmrān (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad.

The subsequent heading has lost its pigmentation and is undecipherable. After the initial basmala, ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of the scroll) seeks refuge in God: Allah rab al-arbāb mu’taq al-riqāb (God the master of all gods, and the freer of slaves).1029 With one thousand recitations of al-Ikhlāṣ (112), one can keep the fever and the heat of the coals away.1030 The theme of heat and fire is the focus of the first set of Qur'ānic verses from Al-Anbiyā’ (21:69-71), which narrate the story of Abraham and the fire. Abraham was trapped and surrounded by a fire created by the infidels; God made the coals of the fire cold so that Abraham could walk on them and escape.1031 In LNS 12 MS, a variation of these verses (21:69-70) was used for the section on Al-sāyir al-’awjā’ (“For the relief of pain”). However, this particular section is about the treatment of slaves or captives and being just towards them as is implied in the next couple of Qur’ānic verses. God is able to free the captives; the verses (21:69-71) remind readers of the miracles of God, the rescue of Abraham and Lot. The passage proceeds with further visions of prophetic justice from Al-Anbiyā’ (21:78). Solomon and David solve a problem regarding the herder’s sheep that were eating a crop.1032 The text continues by affirming God’s forgiving nature Al-Baqarah (2:284). There are three lines of text that are enigmatic but I think it is about

1029 EQ online, “Captives” (Jonathan E. Brockopp).

1030 Jamra (coal) is missing its diacritics and can be mistaken for ḥamra (redness). The context will be understood via the following Qur'ānic verse.[do you mean the ‘subsequent Qur’ānic verse’?]  

1031 EI online, “Nār” (T. Fahd). In addition, this passage was discussed under the preceding scroll LNS 12 MS. See above in the Maḥabba? wa qubūl (“love and acceptance”’) section.

facing the prisoner of war based on the context of a phrase: *aṣādif al-asrā* (to face the prisoners of war). It then reminds the reader that all people return to God as conveyed in *sūrat An-Nūr* (24:64). The section ends: *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” along with a Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʾImrān* (end of 3:173) and wishes for prosperity. It is interesting that there is no blessing on the Prophet.

*Liʾl-shafaqa wa al-ḍarb* (“For fear and throbbing”), after the basmala, begins with a *duʿā* asking God to protect *ḥāmil kitābī hādhā* (the carrier of the scroll) from the evils of fear and throbbing [pain]. Through creative power and sole dominion expressed in the *duʿā*, the text asks God to shield the bearer of the scroll from the evils of humanity and the *jinn*. This is launched by one thousand recitations of *al-Ikhlāṣ, al-Falāq, an-Nāṣ* (112, 113, 114). It then reads *al-fāṭiḥa* (1) and ends with the phrase: *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God” along with a Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʾImrān* (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny, and companions to Judgment Day.

The following section, *Li-jamīʿ al-awjāʾ* ("For all pains"), begins with the initial *basmala* and a supplication to God to protect *ḥāmil kitābī hādhā* (the carrier of the scroll) from *jamīʿ al-awjāʾ* (“all pains”). The *duʿā* calls upon God, who never sleeps, on the unfastened *ʿarsh* (throne) and the *kursī* (throne) that does not vanish with a reading of one thousand *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God,” as well as *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112). The passage continues to quote from the Qurʾān from *Al-Aʾrāf* (7:196), a verse that seeks refuge in God and the Qurʾān. This verse was discussed above in the first sanctuary and the *Liʾl-ʿayn wa al-naẓra* (“For the [evil] eye and its glance”). Prolonging the intention of the verse, the text launches into a *duʿā* that trusts in the name of God and his *ʿarsh* (throne), God is asked to protect

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1033 See Chapter One of the dissertation for a discussion of the throne of God.
ḥāmil kitābī (the carrier of the scroll) from all worries and concerns. The text then returns to the Qur’ān and the apotropaic verses from Yā-Sīn (36:77-81), which convey God’s creation and life-giving power. The section ends with the phrase: lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” and the Qur’ānic verse from Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173).

Lī-rukūb al-bahr (“For travel by sea”) begins after the basmala, by seeking refuge in the names of God which will safeguard ḥāmil kitābī hādhā (the carrier of the scroll) when he or she is at sea, ḥin tarkab al-bahr. Appropriately, the Qur’ānic verses from Al-‘Imrān (3:26-27) highlight God’s power to rule over anything including the movements of the day and night, and the ability to proclaim death or life over anything. The text asks God to provide refuge at sea just as he protected Noah from the flood and Abraham from the coals of the fire. This is followed by one thousand recitations of An- Naṣr (110). It is followed by an apt verse from An-Nahl (16:14) that stresses the blessings of God found in the sea, be it for the fish or the safe journey of a ship. Again, another one thousand recitations of both lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” and al-Ikhlāṣ 112. The section ends with the Qur’ānic verse from Al-‘Imrān (end of 3:173) and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny and companions.

This upcoming section is the first illustrated section of the scroll: Ṭall’a al-shams wa al-qamr (“The appearance of the sun and moon”). It is decorated with two gold roundels with black outlines located in the middle with five lines of text between each one. The interiors of the roundels have been damaged but they seem to be decorated with abstract vegetal motifs. After

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1034 This set of verses from Al-‘Imrān (3:26-27) occurs in the fifth sanctuary of LNS 25 MS.

1035 See above regarding the significance of the Qur’ānic chapter An- Naṣr (110) and the conquest of Mecca.
the initial *basmala* the text proceeds with Qur’ānic verses from *Yā-Sīn* (36:37-46).\(^{1036}\)

Appropriate to the section heading, the verses emphasize the movement of day and night as preordained by God. The sun, the moon and its stations, along with the stars, all obey God’s will. Once again, the verses carry a moral. The sun, moon and stars helped to guide Noah and his ark through the flood.\(^{1037}\) Therefore, as the following Qur’ānic verses from *Al-‘Imrān* (3:190-191) suggest, it is important to take the time to contemplate the sun, moon, and stars. The section concludes with one thousand recitations of *al-Ikhlas* (112) followed by one thousand *lā ḥawl wa lā guwwa ilā bi’l-Allah* “There is no strength or power without God.” It ends with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment Day.

*Lī-ṭa’n bi’l-ramh* (“When pierced by a spear or lance”) is the next illustrated section. A similar section appeared in LNS 12 MS; however, the textual content is different. A long thin gold lance with a black outline and dark blue accents vertically punctures most of the text arranged in a column. The theme of the Qur’ānic verses all invoke fighting and *jihad* in the name of God. After the *basmala*, it begins with an important story from *Al-Baqarah* (2:most of 246) regarding the progeny of Moses ruled by Samuel.\(^{1038}\) The Children of Israel request permission from Samuel to wage *jihad* in the name of God against Saul.\(^{1039}\) For the purpose of the passage with the lance, the verse is asking permission from God to wage *jihad*. After all, the next set of

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\(^{1036}\) This section has a parallel in LNS 12 MS *Ṭā’a wa qubūl* (“For obedience and acceptance”); both are illustrated with roundels and both contain verse *Yā-Sīn* (36:38-40).


\(^{1038}\) *EQ* online,”Samuel,” (Philip F. Kennedy).

verses are from sūrat An-Nisā (4:74, 4:77) and Al-Baqarāh (2:244-45) and stress the significance of combat in the name of God as a pillar of Islam and an action that brings reward in the afterlife. The passage closes with one thousand readings of al-Ikhlāṣ (112), followed by lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God,” and the Qurʾānic verse from Al-ʿİmran (end of 3:173), and a continuous blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.

This upcoming section was also encountered in LNS 12 MS: Li-ḍarb al-sayf (“For the strike of the sword”). After the basmla, it begins with quintessential armor-related Qurʾānic verses from Al-Ḥadīd (57:25- mid-27) highlighting that God sent three forms of evidence that will benefit jihad: the book, a balance, and iron. Obviously, the book connotes the Books of God, balance implies justice, and iron offers many useful benefits from construction of an edifice to production of armor. Naturally, in the context of the heading, the use of iron is meant for the construction of the sword represented at the center of the text (two intertwined swords in gold and black outline, with a rosette in the center). The emphasis of the verses continues with the gift of the Book and the guidance it provides, especially when considering the revelations sent to Abraham, Noah, and Jesus. The passage asks God to shelter ḥāmil kitābik hādhā (the carrier of your scroll) from the strike of the sword and lightning. The inference is that the scroll carries the word of God and the carrier asks for God’s protection. It continues with Qurʾānic verse Aṭ-Ṭāriq (86:2-3), that builds on the inference to lightning. In other words, the scribe or carrier seeks refuge from the strike of the sword and from lightning. The passage ends with a recitation of al-Ikhlāṣ (112) one thousand times, and one thousand lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God.” It ends with the Qurʾānic verse from Al-ʿİmran (end of 3:173), and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment Day.
Li-ramī al-nashāb ("The casting of arrows") commences with an apt set of Qur‘ānic verses from Al-‘Anfāl (8: mid 17-19). An abridged version of this section was encountered in LNS 12 MS. These verses recall a moment from the Battle of Badr, the Prophet Muhammad’s first Muslim victory.\footnote{EQ online, “Badr,” (Nawas). For full historical details, please see the discussion of this verse in LNS 12 MS in the Li-ramī al-nashāb (the casting of arrows) section.} The most important part calls on the reader to cast his/her arrow as the Prophet Muhammad threw dust in the eyes of the enemy, for the infidels will face their fate and God will ensure victory as the Prophet Muhammad was victorious in his conquest of Mecca.\footnote{EQ online, “Victory,” (M. Gordon).} The subsequent Qur‘ānic verse from Saba’ (34:54) continues with the victories of the Prophet Muhammad and the fate of those who do not follow him. The text quotes al-mu’wadhāt: al-Ikhlāṣ, al-Falaq, an-Nās (112, 113, 114), which are intermingled with a depiction of a bow painted in gold and black outline. The bow is located close to the right margin of the text and is accompanied by two columns of magic numbers. The section continues with additional Qur‘ānic verses from An-Naml (27:30-31) Al-A’rāf (7:196), respectively. The first set of verses call on the name of God through the story of Solomon and the conversion of the Queen of Sheba. The verses from An-Naml (27:30-31) were quoted above in the al-fāris wa al-fārs ("The horseman and his horse") and Li’l-‘ayn wa al-naẓra naẓra ("for the [evil] eye and its glance"). The following verse, Al-A’rāf (7:196), calls on the power of the revealed Book (the Qur‘ān).\footnote{This particular verse was also quoted above in LNS 25 MS: first sanctuary, Li’l-‘ayn wa al-naẓra ("for the [evil] eye and its glance”), Li-jamī’ al-awjā’ ("For all pains”).} It ends with lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.
Bāb li’l-muṭalaqa (“The absolute last charm”), is the last section of the scroll and it begins with Qur’ānic verses from *Al-Inshiqāq* (84:1-3) professing the coming of Judgment Day. An appropriate way to end the scroll, it reminds the reader that regardless of the prayers found on the scroll, ultimate judgment comes from God. A row of nine magic letters punctuate the supplication. Returning to the Qur’ān, *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) is quoted, followed by verses from *Al-Qadr* (97:1-5) that recalls the Night of Qadr, the holiest night of Ramadan.\textsuperscript{1043} It proceeds in a similar manner to the other sections, with one thousand lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi’l-Allah “There is no strength or power without God” followed by the full Qur’ānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (3:173).\textsuperscript{1044} The blessing of the Prophet Muhammad, his progeny, and companions ends the textual part of this section; it is interrupted by an empty three–by-six cm magic square. Perhaps it was meant to be a *buduh* square similar to LNS 12 MS.

The scroll ends with damaged concentric circles that are connected to the main oblong-shaped text block. The connection is spatially organized through a transitional row of three gold with black-outlined rosettes. The central rosette, similar to the main oblong text block, has a red marginal outer circle that contains *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112). The concentric circles begin with the innermost two gold circles outlined in black. The next band is *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) copied in red script that is balanced by the next band of larger black script in the same hand as the margin, *Al-Anʿām* (6:115); and ends with a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad, his progeny, and companions continuously.

\textsuperscript{1043} *EI* online, “Ramaḍān,” (M. Plessner). See above for a discussion of this night. The same verses from *Al-Qadr* were quoted in the section on *Ghafr*? *Al-Asn* (forgiveness of tongues).

\textsuperscript{1044} This is the first complete verse in the scroll. The end of the verse (3:173) was quoted continuously throughout the scroll.
METAL CASES

19.
Subject: Scroll case
Date: 11th-12th century
Provenance: Khorassan, Ghaznavid
Material: copper alloy
Script: naskh
Dimensions: 52 cm x 9.8 cm diameter
Collection number: Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 1190 M
Figure 52

Description:

This repoussé, chased, pierced and engraved large scroll case has two domical ends with a balanced composition of decorated and undecorated space. The top and bottom of the scroll case are made distinct by their copper inlaid bands. The domical top is repoussé and chased with abstracted vegetal vines intermingled with the copper band. Continuing down the top part of the body with the same decorative motifs, the highest band contains the signature of the craftsman reading, “Made by Ali ibn Abi Ḥafṣ.” Two latches, ornamented at each end, cushion the signature. The domical bottom is decorated in a manner similar to the top part.

The main body of the scroll case is undecorated except for a central horizontally framed copper-engraved inscription that reads, “Blessing to the owner.” The inscription is cushioned by three roundels with a pierced bird, two on either end of the inscription. The third is larger and is located centrally on the other side. Although this scroll case is not embellished in Qur’anic quotations, its large size corresponds to that of LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS.

1045 The Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah museum catalogue.
20.
Subject: Scroll case
Date: 17th century
Provenance: India
Dimensions: 42.8 cm x 6.1 cm diameter
Material: Silver
Script: naskh
Collection number: Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
Figure 53

Description:

By merely glancing at this large silver scroll case, one can conceptualize that perhaps a similar case once protected the two large scrolls, DAI LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS. The exterior of the case, including the domical terminal, have been etched with Qur'anic inscriptions in naskh script.

The top domical terminal begins with the ultimate victory-seeking verse, Ḥṣ-Ṣaff (61:13) followed by the end of al-Jumuʿa (62:11), which entrusts in God. Moving down the case, the text is divided into seven sections that are identified by the rims separating them. The first section begins with the apotropaic Throne verse (2:255) followed by the first half of Al-Baqarah (2:256) which highlights the equality of all religions.

The second section begins with Al-Ḥāshr (59:21, 24). The verses emphasize that the Qurʾān, along with the heavens and skies, continuously mention and fear God. Continuing with the theme of the fear of God, the next two chapters Ad-Duḥa (93) Al-ʿAsr (103) convey historical facts about the Prophet Muhammad. Ad-Duḥa (93) was revealed in Mecca after the Prophet Muhammad had not heard from Jibrīl for fifteen days. The Prophet was afraid of being abandoned by God. However, God reminded the Prophet Muhammad through the revelation of

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1046 I have divided the case into sections based on the DAI object catalogue.
this chapter that he was blessed with prophethood and that he should reveal his message. As for Al-ʿAsr (103), it was revealed after the conquest of Mecca. It illustrates the reward of entrusting one’s faith in God. The third section reminds the reader that every person will face death sūrat Al-ʿAnkabūt (29: most of 57) and will face God Ar-Raḥmān (55:27). After all, God provides victory sūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff (61:13).

The fourth section is inscribed with quintessential refuge-seeking Qurʾānic chapters al-fātiḥa (1) al-Ikhlāṣ (112), al-Falaq (113). In addition, Al-Kāfirūn (109) is included to remind the infidels that Muslims do not pray for their gods. The protective chapters continue in the fifth section with an-Nās (114). After all, the following chapters from the Qurʾān al-fātiḥa (1) and al-muʿwadhāt (112, 113, 114) are known for their refuge-seeking properties. The sixth section reminds the reader of God’s creation and ability to know everything At-Tīn (95) Al-ʿĀdiyāt (100:10). The seventh section continues with the theme of God’s knowledge Al-ʿĀdiyāt (100:11) and the importance of God’s Oneness al-Ikhlāṣ (112). The bottom domical section ends with an emphasis on the theme of God’s knowledge sūrat Hūd (11: most of 6).

In other words, certain themes were stressed by specific Qurʾānic verses on the exterior of this scroll case. First, one should have faith and trust in God for protection. Second, victory and conquest are in the hands of God. Perhaps the case once carried a talismanic scroll meant for war, or perhaps a Qurʾānic scroll meant for protection under other circumstances.

1048 Ibid.

1049 See above for a discussion of Al-ʿAsr (103) in LNS 25 MS.

1050 See above for a discussion of these chapters.
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ILLUSTRATIONS

1 Unless otherwise specified, most of the illustrations are photographs taken by the author. Please see the thesis and catalogue for the bibliographic information of the objects.
Figure 1 Columbia University Papyrus 705b: detail of the top part of the scroll.
Figure 2 Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS, *al-Malik Ilāh Wāhid al-Qahār* (The ruler is the one God, the almighty/ the conqueror)

Figure 3 Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS, reverse of the scroll possible impression of the block print matrix
Figure 4 Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 350 MS, leather case and leather necklace
Figure 5 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1975.192.20
Figure 6 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.32
Figure 7 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.33
Figure 8 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.34
Figure 9 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.37
Figure 10  The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.38
Figure 11 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.39
Figure 12 Columbia University, Islamic Talisman Uncatalogued, Ms. Oriental 4/24/1974
Figure 13 Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.2002.1.371
Figure 14 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1971.237.1
Figure 15 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1975.192.21
Figure 16 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.35 and MMA 1978.546.36
Figure 19, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, view of scale of scroll
Figure 20, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, image of the border with *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) and *Yā-Sīn* (36)
Figure 21, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Al-haykal al- thālith* (the third sanctuary), *Al-Hashr* (59:22-24)
Figure 22, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li‘l-dukhul ‘alā al-mulūk* ("for entry upon the kings") *al-Mā‘idah* (5:23)
Figure 23, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li’l-‘ayn wa al-naḍra* (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”). The word for gaze is misspelled by the scribe: it should be *naẓra*.
Figure 24, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li-darb al-sayf* (“for the strike of the sword”)
Figure 25, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, Li-ramī al-nashāb (“the casting of arrows”)
Figure 26, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, Lī-ṭaʾ n biʿl-ramh (“when pierced by a spear or lance”)
Figure 27, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, Lil-ḥayya wa al-ʿaqrab (“for the snake and scorpion”)
Figure 28, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, Ṭā’ā wa qubūl ("for obedience and acceptance")
Figure 29, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Iḥāl al-sīhr* (“for annulling magic”)
Figure 30, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li’l-muṭalaqa* ("end and absolute charm"), *budūh* square.
Figure 31, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, addendum scroll attached to the end of the scroll
Figure 32, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS, end of scroll
Figure 33, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, view of scale of scroll
Figure 34 Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, beginning of the scroll
Figure 35, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, tear-drop palmette *ṣūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff* (61:13)
Figure 36, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, oblong medallion (pen case motif) with sūrat al-Wāqiʿa (56:77-80)
Figure 37, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Al-‘Āsmāʾ al-Ḥusnā* (The blessed names of God)
Figure 38, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, view of the main text-block
Figure 39 Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Al-haykal al-thālíth* (the third sanctuary) *Al-Hashr* (59:22-24)
Figure 40, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, ‘Awfāq al-‘ayyām al-sab’ (“the magic squares of the seven days”)
Figure 41, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *al-kawākib al- durriya* (The Shining Stars), it is most of al-Būṣīrī’s (died 1294-1297) *Burda*
Figure 42, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Li‘l-dukhūl ‘alā al-mulūk* (“for entry upon the kings”) *Al-Mā‘ādah* (5:23)
Figure 43, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Iḥtāl al-sihr* ("for annulling magic")
Figure 44, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS, *Li’il-‘ayn wa al-nazra* (“for the [evil] eye and its glance”)
Figure 45 Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, Ṭalʿa al-shams wa al-qamr ("the appearance of the sun and moon")
Figure 46, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, لَتَأْنَ بِلَرَمْحِ ("when pierced by a spear or lance")
Figure 47, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Li-darb al-sayf* (“for the strike of the sword”)
Figure 48, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Li-ramī al-nashāb* (“the casting of arrows”)
Figure 49, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Bāb li’il-muṭalaqa* (“end and absolute charm”), blank magic square
Figure 50  Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, detail of the blank magic square
Figure 51, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, concentric circles with *Al-Anām* (6:115) and *al-Ikhlās* (112) at the end of the scroll.
Figure 52, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah Scroll case, LNS 1190 M

Figure 53, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M dated seventeenth century
Figure 54, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Pilgrimage scroll TIEM 4741
Figure 55, National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb. 7, thirteenth-century, (Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, Plate 38)
Figure 56, Guttenberg scroll, Gutenberg- Museum Mainz (GM 03.1 Schr), dated fifteenth century (Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms, Plate 15)
Figure 57 Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, inv.no. 15648, Talismanic block print with demon or jinn (Fares, “Figures Magiques,” p. 55; Harvard Fine Arts Library, Visual Collections - Slides and Digital Images)
Figure 58, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Tray made for the Rasulid Sultan al-Mu’yyad al-Da’ud Ibn Yusuf MMA 91.1.605
Figure 59, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Candlestick with moon figures dedicated to “Zaynab the daughter of the commander of the faithful al-Mahdi li-Din Allah” MMA 91.1.523
Figure 61 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.348.2, Seljuq Mirror, back with Throne verse

Figure 19 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.348.2, Seljuq Mirror, front with fantastic scene with mythological figures
Figure 63 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 36.25.1293, nineteenth-century Ottoman sword with Mughal grip. (http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/36.25.1293)
APPENDIX ONE: PERTINENT QURʾĀNIC VERSE AND PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qurʾānic Verse</th>
<th>Collection, Accession no., date</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1:1-7)</td>
<td>Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E31,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.152 (R&amp;V)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Columbia University, Papyrus 705b,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MMA 1978.546.38</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1:7-final word)</td>
<td>MMA 1978.546.35-1978.546.36</td>
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<td>(2:1)</td>
<td>MMA 1978.546.32</td>
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<tr>
<td>(partial of 2:18 or 2:171)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2:165)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:243)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2:244-45)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2:246)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2:255)</td>
<td>The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Columbia University, Papyrus 705b</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2:255-257)</td>
<td>Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102,</td>
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<td>(2:284)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS</td>
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<td>(2:285)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS</td>
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<td>(2:286)</td>
<td>Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS</td>
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<td>(2:285-286)</td>
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<td>(3:1)</td>
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<td>(3:2)</td>
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<td>(3:4)</td>
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<td>(3:16)</td>
<td>UPENN, E 16311,</td>
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<td>(3:18)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E31,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chester Beatty Library, Is. PP 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This list includes the pertinent Qurʾānic verses and phrases found on the block printed talismanic scrolls, handwritten talismanic scrolls, and scroll cases. In addition, to the objects in the catalogue, I have included all the talismanic block prints published by Karl Schaefer. (Schaefer, Enigmatic Charms)

LNS 350 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

MMA 1978.546.39

Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

LACMA, M. 2002.1.371

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.136 (VØ)

Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.144 (VØ),

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.152 (R&V),

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb

Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32, Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135

Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

LACMA, M. 2002.1.371,

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
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Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Dallas Museum of Art, 2001.371

Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
(34:1-6) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(34:10-11) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(34:48-50) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS border
(34:54) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(36:5-15) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(36:8-9) Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
(36:9) Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
(36:1-13) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(36:14-49) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(36:37-46) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(36:37-83) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS border
(36:69-83) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(36:77-81) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(36:81-83) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border

(37:116-118) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(37:172-173) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

(41:11-12) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(41:41) Columbia University, Papyrus 705b, MMA 1978.546.39
(42:1-2) mystical letters
(45:29) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(47:4) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

(48:1) Wren Library, Trinity College, Ar 1

(51:28) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(53:59-62) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

(55:27) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(55:33) Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135, Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.146 (VØ),

(55:35) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(56:77-80) Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Source or Phrase                                      Scrolls

al-Bunāyī                          Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135,

Names of God                      Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 11970,
                                       Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 24016,
                                       Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E28,

Blessings on the Prophet

The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.140 (VÕ)
National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb
Wren Library, Trinity College, Ar 1,
MMA 1978.546.33,
MMA 1978.546.34,
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Kitāb/Kitābi-
ie reference to scroll as kitāb

Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E31,
The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.136 (VÕ),
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.138 (VÕ),
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.146 (VÕ),
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.152 (R&V)
National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb
Columbia University, Papyrus 705b,
MMA 1978.546.33
MMA 1978.546.34
MMA 1978.546.38
MMA 1978.546.39
Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
LNS 350 MS

Lā hawl wa lā quwwa ilāʾil-Allah (“There is no strength or power without God”)

Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1,
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.141 (VÕ),
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.151 (VÕ)
LACMA, M. 2002.1.371,
MMA 1975.192.20
MMA 1978.546.32
MMA 1978.546.34,
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Hāmil (carrier) or a variation of the word

The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
As'ālik ("I ask you")
Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E28,
Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
Cambridge University Library, T-S NS 306.27,
The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.140 (VØ),
National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb
Columbia University, Papyrus 705b,
Lilly Library, Indiana University, Atiyah Gift- Ms. 9,
LACMA, M. 2002.1.370,
LACMA, M. 2002.1.371,
MMA 1978.546.33,
MMA 1978.546.37,
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
LNS 350 MS

A‘udhabik ("I take refuge in you")
Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 24016,
MMA 1978.546.37,
MMA 1978.546.38,
Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

Shayṭān (devil) or a variation of the word
Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 24016,
The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.
12.146 (VØ),
MMA 1978.546.34,
MMA 1978.546.38,
LNS 350 MS

Sīhri (magic) or a variation of the word
Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
Lilly Library, Indiana University, Atiyah Gift- Ms. 9,
MMA 1975.192.21
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
LNS 350 MS

Magic Square
Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
**Hirz** (protective amulet)

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
MMA 1978.546.34,
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS

**Haykal** (sanctuary)

Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr
## APPENDIX TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scrolls- Order of the text and illustrations.</th>
<th>LNS 12 MS</th>
<th>LNS 25 MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frontispiece</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Figure 34, 35, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of God in a grid</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Figure 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Du ʿā</em> initiates main text block</td>
<td>The beginning is lost</td>
<td><em>al-Duʿā al-sabʿ</em> (“the seven supplications”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven <em>haykal</em> (sanctuary) sections</td>
<td>Includes all seven</td>
<td>Includes all seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ʿAwfāq al-ʿayyām al-sabʿ</em> (“the magic squares of the seven days”)</td>
<td>Not included</td>
<td>Figure 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al-kawākib al-durrīya</em> (“The shining stars”)</td>
<td>Not included</td>
<td>Figure 41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Middle of the scroll: thematic overlaps.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LNS 12 MS</th>
<th>LNS 25 MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Liʿl-dukhūl ʿalā almulkūk</em> (“For entry upon the kings”)</td>
<td>Figure 22</td>
<td>Figure 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Liʿl-ʿayn wa al-naẓra</em> (“For the [evil] eye and its glance”)</td>
<td>Figure 23</td>
<td>Figure 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Iḥṭāl al-sihr</em> (“For annulling magic”)</td>
<td>Figure 29 this is illustrated and occurs in the last third of the scroll</td>
<td>Figure 43-unillustrated occurs after (“for entry upon the kings”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Health issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LNS 12 MS</th>
<th>LNS 25 MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>al-sāyir al-ʿawjā</em> (“For the relief of pain”)</td>
<td><em>lī-wajīʿ al-raʾs</em> (“for headaches”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bāḥ wa līʾl-dharbān</em> (“the section for throbbing pain”)</td>
<td><em>lī-wajīʿ al-ʿayn</em> (“for eye pain”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>līʾl-maghas wa al-qawlanj</em> (“For stomach aches and intestinal diseases”)</td>
<td><em>Līʾl-ḥummā wa al-ḥumra</em> (“for fever and redness”)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Middle of the scroll: military accomplishments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LNS 12 MS</th>
<th>LNS 25 MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LNS 12 MS</th>
<th>LNS 25 MS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>līʾl-naṣr ʿalā al-ʿdāʾ</em> (“for victory over the enemy”)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>none</td>
<td><em>Li-rukāb al-bahr</em> (“For travel by sea”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Last third of the scrolls the illustrated section: in the order of their appearance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lī-darb al-sayf</em> (“For the striking of the sword”) Figure 24</td>
<td><em>Ṭaḥ ‘a al-shams wa al-qamr</em> (“The appearance of the sun and moon”) Figure 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>li-ramī al-nushāb</em> (“The casting of arrows”) Figure 25</td>
<td><em>li-ṭa’ n bi’l-ramḥ</em> (“When pierced by a spear or lance”) Figure 46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>li-ṭa’ n bi’l-ramḥ</em> (“If pierced by a spear or lance”) Figure 26</td>
<td><em>Li-darb al-sayf</em> (“For the strike of the sword”) Figure 47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lil-ḥayya wa al-‘aqraḥ</em> (“For the snake and scorpion”) Figure 27</td>
<td><em>Li-ramī al-nushāb</em> (“The casting of arrows”) Figure 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ṭā ‘a wa qubūl</em> (“For obedience and acceptance”) Figure 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ibtāl al-sihr</em> (“For annulling magic”) Figure 29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>End of the scroll: the last charm with a magic square</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Li’l-muṭaṭalaqa</em> (End and absolute charm) with a <em>Budāḥ</em> and <em>ajhız</em> . Figure 30</td>
<td><em>Bāb li’l-muṭaṭalaqa</em> (“The absolute last charm”)- magic square is incomplete, yet the scroll is complete. Figure 49 and 50.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Addendum</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LNS 12 has an addendum inscribed in a different hand. Figures 31 and 32</td>
<td>No addendum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The intention of this table is to help the reader understand the structure of the scroll. For the exact order of appearance of the various headings, please consult the catalogue. There are two discrepancies to this table. The first being on LNS 12 MS, the section titled *Ibtāl al-sihr* (“for annulling magic”) appears in the last third of the scroll and is illustrated. However, I have included it in the section with thematic overlaps. The second is that
regarding health issues, on LNS 12 MS all three health ailments are grouped together on the scroll. On LNS 25 MS, the health issues are spread out in between the other subjects related to military accomplishments.