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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

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Professor David J. Roxburgh
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"Licit Magic": The Touch And Sight Of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls

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-Ṣafāʾ 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 The two unpublished Mamluk scrolls from Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah are long beautiful handwritten scrolls that provide a perspective on how the occult is part of the daily life of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 Qurʾān 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.

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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 Qurʿān. My interests in calligraphy and manuscript illumination were cultivated through this project.

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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.

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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.[1] 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 *ṭilsam* has its roots in the Greek language and its origins in the Hellenistic world.[2] *Ṭilsamāt* (talismans) in the primary sources are generally categorized as *ʿilm* (science). Yet, medieval Islamic scholars, ranging from the Ikhwān al-Safā' (active 961-986), al-Bunī (d. 1225) in his *Shams al-maʿārif*, to Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) in his *al-Muqaddima,* define and classify *ṭilsam* in a

[1] Francis Maddison, Emilie Savage-Smith, Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, and Tim Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic* (London and Oxford: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1997); Emilie Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, Hants, Great Britain and Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Variorum, 2004) [henceforth Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*]

[2] See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., "Ṭilsam," C. E. Bosworth, J. Ruska and B. Carra de Vaux [henceforth *EI* online]

different way.[3] 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.[4]

Although an investigation of terminology is crucial, this dissertation will not attempt to define the categories of magic, science, and religion.[5] As Emilie Savage-Smith has clearly demonstrated in her scholarship, "attempts at an all-inclusive definition" can be problematic.[6] 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 *siḥr* (magic) and the Qurʾān since other scholars have investigated this in great detail.[7]

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*.[8] Namely, that the word occult is more

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[3] Ahmad b. ʻAli al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʻārif al-kubrā* (Beirut, Lebanon: Al-Maktaba Al-ʻIlmiyah Al-Falakiya, [n.d.])[henceforth al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʻārif*]; Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history*, trans. Franz Rosenthal and N. J. Dawood (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969; Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Beirut, 1983). [henceforth Ikhwān Al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*]

[4] John W. Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112, no. 4 [1992]:598-610.

[5] Edgar Walter Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols and Sufi Rituals for Protection and Healing: Religion and Magic in the Writings of Ahmad Ibn Ali al-Bunī (D.622/1225)," (Ph.D.diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2005). [henceforth Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols"];
Paul Magdalino, Maria V. Mavroudi, and Dumbarton Oaks, *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium* (Geneva, Switzerland: La Pomme d'or, 2006), [henceforth Magdalino and Mavroudi, *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*]; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* p. xiii.

[6] Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, p. xiii.

[7] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 220-235.

[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.[9] 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.[10] In addition, the occult played an important role in political histories.[11]

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 Qurʿānic verses and reciting the names of God (fig. 1**)**. And as the textual analysis of al-Bunī 's *Shams al-ma'ārif*—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-ma'ārif*, al-Bunī, who worked in a Mamluk context, provides

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[9] Ibid., p.13.

[10] Ibid., p.14.

[11] Ibid. Also see Cornell Fleischer, "Mahdi and Millennium: Messianic Dimensions in the Development of Ottoman Imperial Ideology," in *The Great Ottoman- Turkish Civilization,* ed. Kemal Cicek (Ankara: Yeni Turkiye, 2000), pp. 42-54; Cornell Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, ed. Massumeh Farhad, Serpil Bağci, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Smithsonian Institution, 2009), pp. 231-44.

specific instructions and precise days for the construction of a talisman.[12] 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 *riqq ṭāhir* (clean parchment), or a silver ring or stone, the person who prepares a talisman must perform an ablution along with a prayer.[13]

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.[14] 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.[15] John of Seville's translation placed the science of talismans as more worthy than geometry and higher than philosophy.[16]

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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʿān, 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- maʿārif* .

[13] Ibid.

[14] Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, Great Britain and Brookfield, VT, USA: Variorum, 1996), pp. 1-2. The eight divisions of natural sciences based on thirteenth-century Latin manuscripts are: medicine, astrological judgments, necromancy (divination), talismans, agriculture, navigation, optics, and alchemy.

[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.[17] Other texts from the medieval Islamic world connect the science of talismans to medicine. These include, among several others, Muhammad ibn Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (d. 925), Ibn Waḥshīya (d. 951), al-Majriṭi (d. 1005), and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209).[18] 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" *siḥr* (magic) as presented in Ibn al-Nadim's (d.991) *al-Fihrist*, and Ibn Khaldun's (d.1406) *al-Muqaddima*.[19] 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.[20] 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

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[17] Priscilla Soucek, "The Temple of Solomon in Legend and Art," in *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Art*, ed. J. Gutmann (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for American Academy of Religion, 1976), pp. 73-123; Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, p. 35; Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 56-71; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, pp. xxiv, 103-123.

[18] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 72-96.

[19] Ibn al-Nadīm, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, and Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: a tenth-century survey of Muslim culture*, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, no. 83 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Ibn, Khaldūn, and Franz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Bollingen Series; 43 (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1976), vols. 1 and 3.

[20] Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 84-95; Richard W. Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107, no. 3 (1987): 427-38. [henceforth: Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing"]

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.[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.[22] Another important question concerns the calligraphers and designers of talismans.[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?[24] More important, was there a ceremony in which certain prayers were evoked? And how might these ceremonies correlate to the scrolls?

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[21] Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006). [henceforth: Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*]

[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.

[23] Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld:The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature,*; Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing."

[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 "talisman" *ṭilsām* in Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* and *Encyclopedia of Islam*.[25] 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.[26]

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.[27] 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

[25] Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Cambridge, England: Islamic Texts Society, 1984), p.1867. [henceforth: Lane *Arabic-English Lexicon*].

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

[27] 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* (British Museum Research Publication, no. 160, London: British Museum, 2011), pp. 173-178.

twelve signs of the zodiac, their lunar mansions, and the sun placed at the center (fig. 58).[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 *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 *gnosis* for the Greeks and *ḥikmah* for the Arabs.[29] *Gnosis* begins with the transmission of Hermetic knowledge into Arabic sources.[30] A *mujtahid* (learned person) is able to acquire this kind of hidden knowledge.[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."[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.[33] As Francis E. Peters asserts, the eighth-century Abbasid scholars "were well versed in Persian,

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[28] Stefano Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic,* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), p.14. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/91.1.605.

[29] Frances E. Peters, "Hermes and Haran: The Roots of Arabic-Islamic Occultism," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot, Hants, Great Britain and Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate/Variorum, 2004), p. 55.

[30] Ibid., pp. 55-85.

[31] Ibid., p. 56.

[32] Ibid., p. 57.

[33] Ibid., pp. 59-61.

Indian, and Greek astronomy, astrology, medicine, and alchemy."[34] 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).[35] 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.[36] This continued practice of understanding knowledge becomes part of the theories of the tenth-century Ismaili Ikhwān al-Ṣafa (Brethern of Purity).[37] The Ikhwān, via their *rasā'il* (epistles), were translating and analyzing Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Euclid, and Ptolemy with a theological Islamic interpretation.[38] 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.[39]

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

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[34] Ibid., p. 62.

[35] Ibid., p. 65.

[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).

physicians for the practice of medicine" in Baghdad.[40] It is their theory of God that I believe could help unravel the secrets of various talismanic scrolls in this dissertation. Peters' summary of the Sabian theory on God and spiritual matters reads as follows:

> 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.[41]

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

[40] Frances E. Peters, "Hermes and Haran: The Roots of Arabic-Islamic Occultism," pp.74-6.
[41] Ibid., p. 70.

covered this.[42] 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 Qurʿān. Ultimately for the Ikhwān, *siḥr* (magic) is connected to an understanding of God.[43] As for al-Bunī, he is one of the most important Mamluk sources on *ʿilm al-ḥuruf* (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.[44] 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.[45]

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.[46] 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.

[43] Nader El-Bizri, and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The* Ikhwān *Al-Ṣafā' and Their Rasail: An Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. xvii.

[44] Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*, Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts, V. 22 (Boston: Brill, 1999), p. 12.

[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. *Asma' kutub al-khazinah al-'amirah* 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 *duʿa* (supplication) section and not within the *siḥr* (magic) section.[47] 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 *Ḥurūfiyya* (Letterism).[48] 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 Qurʿān. In my analysis of al-Bunī's text, it becomes apparent that continuous supplication to God through the letters of the alphabet and the Qurʾān is an essential part of *ʿilm 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 *ʿilm 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

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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.

[47] *Asma' kutub al-khazinah al-'amirah*, pp. 45-50.

[48] Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics,", pp. 250-256.

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: *ṬILSĀM,* 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 *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* (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

[49] 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. 131; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, p. xxi.

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-□AFĀ' (10TH CENTURY)

Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa Khillan al-Wafa (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.[50] The consensus among most scholars is that they were Shi'ites with an Isma'ili affiliation.[51] Regardless of their religious sect, their oeuvre is an important contribution to Islamic *ʿilm* (science) and was widely disseminated in Sunnī circles as well. More importantly, it is their discussion and classification of talismans within the context of *ʿilm* that sets the tone for this chapter and the dissertation as a whole.

The fifty-two epistles making up the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* are a highly detailed encyclopedic investigation of *ʿilm* .[52] Based on research done on extant manuscripts of the *Rasā'il*, there are four parts to the text which sometimes contain fifty, fifty-one, or fifty-two epistles. [53] The four parts, in ascending order, are: *Rasā'il riyāḍiyya ta'līmiyya* (mathematical sciences); *Rasā'il jismāniyya ṭabī'iyya* (natural sciences); *Rasā'il nafsāniyya 'aqliyya* (physical

[50] Nader El-Bizri and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The Ikhwān Al-Ṣafā' and Their Rasail: An Introduction*, p.1.

[51] Ibid., pp. 1-32.

[52] Godefroid de Callataÿ, "The Classification of Knowledge in the Rasail," in *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The Ikhwān Al-Ṣafā' and Their Rasail: An Introduction*, ed. Nader El-Bizri and Institute of Ismaili Studies (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 58-82.

[53] Nader El-Bizri, *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The Ikhwān Al-Ṣafā' and Their Rasail: An Introduction*, pp.13-16. I have not studied the manuscripts of the Ikhwān al-Safā'.

and intellective sciences); and *Rasā'il nāmūsiyya ilāhiyya* (legal and theological sciences).[54] The fourth part, *Rasā'il nāmūsiyya ilāhiyya*, contains the fifty-first or fifty-second epistle on *siḥr* (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 *Rasā'il* occurred. Based on the research completed by Godefroid de Callataÿ, 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.[55] The scribes who copied the *Rasā'il* most likely put forward the current order of the four volumes.[56] 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 Callataÿ 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.[57]

Magic and talismans are an essential part of the Ikhwān's tripartite division of science in epistle seven.[58] 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.[59] Another important category, which includes the occult, is the

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[54] Ibid., p.14.

[55] de Callataÿ, "The Classification of Knowledge in the Rasail," pp. 58-82.

[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.[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).[61] However, for the purpose of this dissertation, the contents of the Ikhwān's fifty-first or fifty-second epistle on *siḥr (*magic) is the focus. As will be noted in the following section, the transmission of *siḥr* as a science was inherited from Greek knowledge but proof of this science was also found in scripture, be it the Qurʿān, 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.

IKHWĀN AL-□AFĀ' – FIFTY-FIRST EPISTLE

The title of the epistle based on the 1983 Beirut-printed edition reads: *Min al-ʻulūm al-nāmūsiyah wa al-sharʼīyah fi mā hiyā al-siḥr wa al-ʿazāʾim wa al-ʿayn* (On the Sanctioned Secret Sciences and they are Magic, Exorcism, and the Evil Eye).[62] The epistle begins with the

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[60] Ibid., p. 63.

[61] Ibid., pp. 58-82.

[62] Ikhwān al-Safā', *Rasāʼil ikhwān al-ṣafāʼ,* 4:283. The translation of the title is my own and is based on researching words in various dictionaries. See also Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines: Conceptions of Nature and Methods Used for Its Study by the Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʼ', 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 *siḥr (*magic) and a methodology for creating *ṭilsāmat* (talismans). [63] *Siḥr* is considered to be one of the sciences passed down from the ancient scientists.[64] 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.[65] The science of astrology consists of twelve horoscopes, nine spheres, and 1,029 stars.[66] The stars are angels, *jinn* (spirits), and *shayātīn* (demons) and they are God's caliphs: *Khulafā' Allah*. [67] They have the ability to rule the worlds and that is why it is important to know this science.[68] This theory was transmitted from Ptolemy and the Greeks.[69]

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 Qurʿān.[70] The Qurʾān passage is from *Al-Ḥadīd* (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*.

[66] Ibid. Also see Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, pp. 75-95; Paul Kunitzsch, "Celestial Maps and Illustrations in Arabic-Islamic Astronomy," in *The Journey of Maps and Images on the Silk Road*, ed. Philippe Forêt and Andreas Kaplony (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 175-80.

[67] Ikhwān al-Safā', *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:285.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 4:286.

the things that come to you. Allah does not love any vain or boastful man."[71] 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).[72] For each category, the Ikhwān provide a descriptive sentence about that particular science. Chemistry, they state, removes poverty and discovers adversity.[73] 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.[74] Medicine protects bodies and prevents sickness. The fifth, *ʿilm 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), *ḥayāt* (snakes), *ʻaqārib* (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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[71] Abdalhaqq Bewley, and Aisha Abdurrahman Bewley, *The Noble Qurʿān: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English* (Norwich, England: Bookwork, 1999), p. 538. Please note that the verse numbers in the Bewely translation of the Qurʾān do not correspond to the Arabic verse numbers. I follow the Arabic Qurʿān's verse numbers. It is interesting that the Ikhwān do not reference chapter fifty-three, *Al-Najm,* in the Qurʿān.

[72] Ikhwān al-Safā', *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:287.

[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 *siḥr (*magic) are *ʿilm* (science) via five sources: 1. Plato; 2. a story from the court of al-Ma'mun (r. 813-33), and verses from scripture; 3. the Qurʿān; 4. the Bible, and; and 5. the Torah.[75] 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.[76] 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 herders 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

[75] Ikhwān *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, 4:287-295.
[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.[77] 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 *'ilāj 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 Qurʿān, Bible, and Torah. The verses from the Qurʾān are ones that narrate the story of the Prophets Solomon and Moses.[78] 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'

[77] Ibid., 4:289-90.

[78] The verses mentioned are: *Al-Baqarah* (2:102), *Al-Māʾīdah* (5:110), *Al-Anʿām* (6:7), *Al-Aʿrāf* (7:109, 7:120, 7:132), *Yūnus* (10:76), *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:48, 17:101), *Ṭā Ha* (20:58, 20:63, 20:66, and 20:73). Please see a concordance for a full list of verses that mention *siḥr (*magic). Muhammad Fu'ad Abd al-Baqi and Husayn A'Lami, *Al-Muʿjam Al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qurʾān al-karim* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lami, 1999), pp.425-426.

abilities in the court of the Pharaoh.[79] 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.[80] 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 ʿIṣu b. Isḥāq. Whenever he hunted, he encountered Ibn Nimrod b. Kin'ān and he was always successful in hunting.[81] 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.[82] Therefore, Ibn Nimrod, like Adam, would just point to the animal he wanted on the shirt and it would be caught. ʿIṣu b. Isḥāq, 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. ʿIṣu 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 Qurʾān* online, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, (Washington DC: Brill Online) [henceforth *EQ* online] For the role of Solomon and Moses in the Qurʾān please see *EQ* online: "Solomon" (P. Soucek) and "Moses" (C. Schöck).

[80] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:290-1.

[81] Ibid., 4:291-2. I would like to thank Marden Nichols, Andras Riedlmayer, and Moulie Vidas for the following sources from the Jewish Tradition. The significance and tale of Adam's garment maybe found in: Louis Ginzberg, Henrietta Szold, and Paul Radin, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003); Howard Schwartz, *Tree of Souls: The Mythology of Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Today, there is a mosque for 'Isu b. Isḥāq in Jerusalem. See Awwad, *Al-Ṭariq al-munir ilá tārīkh si'īr* (Hebron: Markaz al-Bahth al-'Ilmi fi Jami'at al-Khalil, 1987), pp. 64-66.

[82] Note this is not the full story of Adam's shirt. Please read: Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:290-1.

the Torah, contributes to the understanding that *siḥr (*magic) and *ṭilsāmat* (talismans) were a form of *ʿilm*. Thinking about Adam's shirt recalls the talismanic shirts that exist in various collections across the world.[83]

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 ʾArāṭus.[84] The Ikhwān focus on the diffusion of magic from Hermes.[85]

Hermetic knowledge, according to the Ikhwān, along with the movement of the stars, was passed down via *asḥāb al-ṭilsāmat* (companions of the talismans).[86] 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

[83] Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens,* pp.82-83; David J. Roxburgh and Royal Academy of Arts (Great Britain), *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600* (London and New York: Royal Academy of Arts: 2005), pp.300-30, 442; Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapi Sarayı'ndakī şifalı gömlekler*, (Istanbul: Euromat, 2006).

[84] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:295. Hermes and Aratus are Greek sources. *EI* online, "al-Nudjūm," (J. Knappert). Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th Centuries)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) As for ʿĀdimāyūn, it may possibly be a reference to the Syriacs and Chaldean astrology. I remain uncertain whether Lomihris is an Ancient Egyptian source.

[85] See *EI* online, "Hirmis," (M. Plessner).

[86] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 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.[87]

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").[88] In fact, each planet has a shape made from *ṭīn aḥmar* (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).[89] 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).[90] The laws and proofs of this knowledge are divided into four parts: the *ṭibb (*science of medicine), *kīmiyā'* (chemistry), *nujūm* (astrology/astronomy), and *ṭilsāmat* (talismans). According to the Ikhwān, talismans, the fourth type of knowledge, protects kings.[91] 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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[87] Ibid., 4:299

[88] Ibid., 4:301, *EI* online, "Nudjūm (Aḥkām al-)," (T. Fahd).

[89] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:301-2.

[90] Ibid., 4:304-05. *EI* online, "Kihāna," (T. Fahd).

[91] 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.[92] A talisman should not be used to kill a king and gain a throne.[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 *ṭilsāmat* (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).[94] They state that the strongest *ruqya* (a magical incantation in the form of prayers), *ʿazāʾim* (exorcism), *wahm* (hallucination), and *zijr* (divination) have been witnessed via medical prescriptions and drugs used to treat the body.[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.[96]

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[92] See footnote 69.

[93]Ikhwān, *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, 4:306.

[94] Ibid., 4:306.

[95] Ibid., 4:307.

[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.[97] There are nine "states of being" that translate into the decimal cycle.[98] The Ikhwān believe in Pythagorean numbers which means that numbers have both qualitative and quantitative states.[99] Numbers are related to the afterlife and help a person understand God.[100] 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..[101]

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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[97] Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, pp. 44-74.

[98] Ibid., p. 51.

[99] Ibid., p. 48.

[100] Ibid., p. 50.

[101] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

The Hierarchy of Magic: *Zijr, Ruqyā, ʿAzāʾim,* 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-ḥayawānīh* (animal soul) via the practice of z*ijr* (divination, which is specified for animals).[102] They state z*ijr* is used to control horses, mule, donkeys, camels, cows, and goats.[103] *Ruqyā* (magic incantation related to prayers) influences the souls of snakes, scorpions, and wasps, as well as the insane.[104] 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.[105] In other words, it offers proof that *ruqya* (magical incantation in the form of prayers), *ʿazāʾim* (exorcism), and *nashir* (a kind of prayer for the insane) are intended for animal souls. [106] 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).[107] 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.

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[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-siḥr wa ghayrih* (The Truth of and Explication of Magic)[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-siḥr wa ghayrih* (The Truth of and Explication of Magic).[109] This section begins by stating that *siḥr* (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, zijr,* and *fāl.*[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).[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.[112] In the Qurʾān and hadith, *siḥr* 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

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[108] This section is a paraphrase and analysis of Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:15-28.

[109] Ibid., 4:312

[110] *EI* online*,* "Fa'l," and "Kihana" (T. Fahd).

[111] For a variety of objects with astrological depictions see: Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic*; Marika Sardar, "Astronomy and Astrology in the Medieval Islamic World," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/astr/hd_astr.htm (August 2011).

[112] This paragraph is from Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:312-5.

behind Moses being a prophet and what is *ḥalāl* (licit) magic.[113] 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 Qurʿānic 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.[114] 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.[115] 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, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 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-ilāhī* (divine sciences).[116] 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

[116] de Callataÿ, "The Classification of Knowledge in the Rasail," pp. 58-82. The exact meaning of *al-ʿilmal-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. augries 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-ʿilmal-riyāḍī* (the training sciences) and *al-ʿilmal- ilāhī* (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).[117] 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.[118]

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). [119]

Doctors, Prophets and Kings: Licit Magic[120]

[117] *EQ* online, (W. Brinner), "Hārūt and Mārūt."

[118] For a depiction of the fallen angels see: Massumeh Farhad, Serpil Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, p. 299.

[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 Qurʾān 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.[122] 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 *kihāna*. It is a form of magic and is used to create talismans.[123] For the Ikhwān, the moon is the first planet that has the ability to organize all things that are part of *ʻālim al-kawn wa al-fasād* (world of generation and corruption).[124] The moon's illumination is more favorable when it cannot be seen in the sky.[125] 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.[126] If the moon is in Sagittarius, it is beneficial for a sultan or ruler.

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[122] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:332. See above regarding the discussion of the soul.

[123] Ibid., 4:333. Both *zijr* and *kihāna* 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, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 4:335.

[126] Ibid., 4:338.

The movement and actions of the planets and stars are vital because they are the angels of God.[127] The Ikhwān emphasize that God ordained this knowledge of astrology.[128] This idea of movement of the planets and stars is connected to their concept of the cosmos and soul.[129] 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). [130] 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.[131] As for *zijr*, 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.[132]

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

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[127] Ibid., 4:339.

[128] Ibid.,4:337.

[129] Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines,* pp. 62-66.

[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.[133] 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).[134] 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.[135] 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.[136] The secrets of the science of astrology are as great as *ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (the science of arithmetic).[137] After all, arithmetic is the essence of the Ikhwān's first epistle.[138] 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.[139]

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[133] Ibid., 3:353.

[134] Carboni, *Following the Stars: Images of the Zodiac in Islamic,* p.10, http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/444525?img=5.

[135] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 3:354-358.

[136] Ibid., 3:367.

[137] *EI* online, Sabra, "Ilm al- Hisāb,"

[138] Ibid. For a further investigation of arithmetic and the first epistle, see: El-Bizri, *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity: The Ikhwān Al-Ṣafā' and Their Rasail: An Introduction*.

[139] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, 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 Qurʿān. In the analysis of the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls, in Chapter Three, it becomes apparent that Moses' role in the Qurʾān 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

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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, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā',* 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, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, 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 *ṣinā'a* (craft/profession) proven in the Qurʾān *sūrat al-Wāqi'a* (56:76). [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).[147]

Continuing with the warning from the Qurʿān, 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.[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.[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.[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

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[146] Ibid., 4:377-8. Please note that the word *ṣinā'a* (craft/profession) occurs continuously in the Ikhwān's discussion of the science of *falk* (astrology/astronomy).

[147] Ibid., 4:380.

[148] Ibid., 4:381.

[149] Ibid., 4:386-387.

[150] Ibid., 4:388.

stars.[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.[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.[153] The crafts related to the body are *ẓāhir* (external) and those related to the soul are *bāṭin* (internal).

More importantly, the science of astrology cannot be calculated without *ʿilm al-ḥisāb* (science of arithmetic): The relationship between the two sciences is like a king and his vizier.[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.[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.[156] The transmission of this information from Greek knowledge is apparent. After all, the planet Mars is the god of war. Yet, the Ikhwān

[151] Ibid., 4:391.

[152] Ibid., 4:393.

[153] Ibid., 4:395.

[154] Ibid., 4:396. *EI* online, Sabra, "ʿIlm al- Ḥisāb"

[155] Ikhwān, *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, 4:398-405.

[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.[157]

Ultimately, the Ikhwān demonstrate that *siḥr* (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.[158] God empowered the intellect to understand this science; and God is the ultimate magician.[159] The ultimate power relates back to God and the Ikhwān authorize their text by quoting a Qurʿānic verse from *al-Qaṣaṣ* (28:88). The Ikhwān's epistle on *siḥr* (magic) is connected to the love and the oneness of God.[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.[161] Besides the connection of the planets to the body, the Ikhwān continue down the hierarchy of beings and their relationship to astrology.[162]

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[157] Ibid., 4:407.

[158] Ibid., 4:408. To understand the relationship of the soul, please see above regarding the Ikhwān's hierarchy of beings.

[159] Ibid., 4:409.

[160] Ibid., 4:411.

[161] Ibid., 4:415.

[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.[163] 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.[164] 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.[165]

These mixtures have the ability to raise the dead. Therefore, when practicing *siḥr* (magic) one should seek assistance from God. Appropriately, the text quotes the Qurʿānic 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.[166] The Ikhwān animate the verse from the Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān is of Qurah who was swallowed up by the earth because he did not use his fortune in the name of God.[167] In other words, the Ikhwān use allegories from the Qurʾān to illustrate methods of licit magic.

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[163] Ibid., 4:423.

[164] Ibid., 4:425.

[165] Ibid., 4:425.

[166] Webb Keane, "Religious Language," *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 26, (1997): 47-71.

[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: *zijr* (divination), *fāl* (divination), *ruqya* (magical incantation in the form of prayers), *ʿazāʾim* (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).[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.[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.[170]

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[168] Ikhwān, *Rasāʾil ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, 4:427. *EI* online, T. Fahd, "Nīrandj,"

[169] Ibid., 4:429-430.

[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.[171] 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.[172]

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. [173] 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 Qurʿānic verses *Al-Baqarah* (2:256) *Yūnus* **(**10:99), *Al-Hujurat* (49:14) *Al-ʿImrān* (3:93).[174] 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 Qurʿānic 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 *dukhūl ʻala al-mulūk* (for the entering upon the kings) to *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* (for the annulling of

magic) (figs. 17, 22,29, 43,44).[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?

AL-BUNI (d. 1225)

Ahmad b. ʻAli b. Yusuf al-Bunī Taqī al-Dīn Abu al-ʻAbbas 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 *ilm ḥurūf* (science of letters); and the "most influential medieval text" on the occult.[176] It is rumored from his *silsila* (heritage) that his line goes back to the Prophet Muhammad.[177] Biographical dictionaries are limited in the information they provide about al-Bunī's enigmatic life.[178] There are claims that he belonged to the Shadhiliya Sufis, which is a Sunni order; there are also claims that he was a Shiʻite.[179] Rather than getting

[175] Please see the catalogue and Chapter Three for a full analysis of the textual content of the scrolls.

[176] Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe: études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'islam* (Leiden,: Brill, 1966), p. 230; 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.131; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, p. xxi.

[177] al-Bunī *Shams al- maʻārif* p. 3. Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," p. 97. It is rumored that he is buried in the Qarafa cemetery.

[178] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," p. 99.

[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 Qurʾān and hadtih, he read al-Kindi (d. 866), who was known for this work on astronomy.[181] He also refers to al-Thaʻlabī (d. 1035), who is known for his Qurʿānic *tafsīr* (exegesis) and *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Stories of the Prophets).[182] Al-Bunī also quotes from Saʻīd b. Jubayr, an eighth-century Qu'ranic exegesis scholar from Kufa.[183] For the authentication of hadith, 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 from1308 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 Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq,"

[182] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 34; *EI online*, A. Rippin, "al- Thalabī , Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Abū Isḥāḳal-Nīsābūrī,"

[183] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 35. *EI online*, H. Motzki, "Saʿīd b. DJubayr b. Hishām,"

[184] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 153. *EI online,* G. Juynboll, " al- Tirmidhī,"

[185]al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 167; Fahd, "La magie comme "source" de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī," pp. 61-108.

[186] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 111-112. See Chapter Four for an in-depth discussion of Ibn Khaldun's theory of licit practices of the occult.

With this introductory biographical sketch, one can begin to investigate al-Bunī's *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif* (The Sun of gnosis and delicacies of knowledge). It is the "most popular and influential text of al-Bunī's corpus."[187] Al-Bunī's text, *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif,* is a manual on the science of *ḥurūf* (Arabic letters).[188] 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-Ṣafā' and other medieval scholars.[189] First of all, there is the fundamental Neoplatonic concept of God.[190] 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 *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* formulas are organically interconnected to the names of God, stories of the prophets, and verses of the Qurʿān.[191] 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.

ʿIlm 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-maʿārifrefers to Ikhwān al-Safā'.

[190] Ibid.al-Bunī, *Shams al-ma'ārif*.

[191] *EI* online*,* T. Fahd, "Ḥurūf (ʿ Ilm 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-ḥikma*.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.[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.[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.[194] The theory behind this science of letters is that each letter circulates among the spirits of the spheres and the stars.[195] Ultimately, these letters gain knowledge of God and his divine throne.[196] This experience of God is privileged and was intended for saints and prophets.[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.[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. [199] Similar to the Ikhwān 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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[192] Fahd, "La magie comme "source" de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī," p. 64.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Ibid., p. 65.

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.[200] 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.[201] 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).[202] The angels of God, according to al-Bunī, directly connect to the planets and carry out the task of supplication.[203] Angel names occur on the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scrolls.[204] 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.[205] 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

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[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. Rūqiyā'īl is for the Sun, Jibrā'īl is for the Moon, Samsamā'īl for Mars, Mīkā'īl for Mercury, 'Ānyā'īl for Venus, 'Āzrā'īl 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. [206] Lastly, it is also worth mentioning that in the edition of *Shams al- maʿārif* that I analyze below, mentions that the

[206] *Asma' kutub al-khazinah al-ʿamirah*, pp. 45-50; Ibn Khaldun quotes Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240) and al-Buni as authorities in *sīmiyā*. I return to this in my discussion of Ibn Khaldun in Chapter Four. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: an introduction to history*, vol. 3, p. 172; Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Occult Challenge to Philosophy and Messianism in Early Timurid Iran: Ibn Turka's Lettrism as a New Metaphysics,"pp.251-253.

Ottoman Haji Khalifa (d.1657) also read al-Bunī's *Shams al- ma'ārif* and preferred to call it by the following title: *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*.[207]

AL-BUNĪ'S *SHAMS AL-MAʾĀRIF 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 Qurʾān 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- ma'ārif*, p.3; *EI* online, Gökyay, "Katib Celebi.

[208] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*., p 6.

[209] Ibid., p. 5.

[210] Ibid., p. 9.

[211] Ibid., p. 6.

Muhammad). [212] In particular, al-Bunī transmits from Prophetic tradition that whoever makes a request to God, will have their petition answered.[213]

> 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, Qurʿān/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.[214]

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[212] Steve Caton, "What Is An "Authorizing Discourse"?," in *Powers of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors*, ed. David Scott and Charles Hirschkind (Stanfor:Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 31-56.

[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-maʿārif 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-muʿjimah* (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.[215] The process of listing the letters and their significance to the cosmos is an important one that provides efficacy to the text.[216] The *ʿarsh* (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.[217] This is a captivating concept.[218] In the context of al-Bunī, it is related to the celestial

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[215] al- Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 9.

[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 *ʿarsh*(throne) and *kursī* (seat); especially in the context of the Qurʿān. Both *ʿarsh* 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-Muʿjam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qurʾān al-karim*, the word *ʿarsh* (throne) occurs twenty-four times in the Qurʿān. The first verse *Al-Aʿrāf* (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 *ʿarsh* found in *Al-Aʿrāf* (7:54) connotes the bed of a king.

The most interesting two verses regarding *ʿarsh* (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-Ḥāqqa* (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.[219] God surrounds the universe through the organization of the celestial bodies.[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.[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.[222] *ʿarsh*is the term defined as "the end of the known limits, established ideas, and hidden mysteries."[223] The *ʿarsh*is the starting point of any invention and the *kursī* is that of all creation.[224]

With this vivid understanding of *'arsh*, consider the connotation of *kursī* (throne). In *Al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qurʾān al-karim*, it occurs twice. Once, in referenece 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 Ali, 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 Qurʿānic 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.

[218] *EI* online, J. Sadan and Cl. Haurt, "Kursī" ([J. Sadan], Cl. Haurt). See the footnote above.

[219] T. Fahd, "La magie comme "source" de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī.","p.71.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Ibid., p. 97.

[224] Ibid.

The cosmos and creation are an important part of the two talismanic scrolls studied in Chapter Three. [225]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).[226]

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.[227] 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 *ʿitibārāt al-ʿalawīyāt* (higher utterance/experiences).[228] 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.[229] 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.

[227] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, p. 10.

[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 *dāl* (D) with its numerical value of four.[230] It is through prayers and its alignment with the planets that the letter *dāl* 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 *riqq* (parchment) a magic square is to be written with the numerical value of the letter *dāl* 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 *riqq* 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 *dāl* 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 Qurʿānic 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.[231] For example, one of the scrolls, LNS 25 MS has a section entitled *Ll-ʿain 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).[232] 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 Qurʿānic chapters empower the talismanic efficacy of the scrolls. I discuss this further in Chapter Four.

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[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-dā'im* (The Eternal) and *al-wudūd* (The devoted), and also references the Prophet's names Ahmad and Muhammad.[233] Since *al-dāʾim* also means continuity, the letter *dāl* will proceed to the afterlife and belongs to the *ʿarsh* (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-arawāḥ* (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 *ʿarsh* (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 *ba'* (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*.

[238] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," Chapter 6, pp.134-181.

[239] Ibid., p. 136.

at different intervals on the two Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah scroll and other talismanic objects (fig.49). [240]

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).[241] This is especially clear through the discussion of the letter *dāl* and the name of God *al-wudūd* (The devoted). As has been established, love and devotion are essential components of Sufism. Therefore, al-Bunī quotes the Qurʿānic verse *Maryam* (19:96) that states that those who follow the guidance of God will be blessed with *wudd* (love).[242] The Qurʿānic verse authorizes and creates a dialogue with al-Bunī's text. The word *wudd* (love) from the Qurʿānic verse is a textual idiom for al-Bunī's notion of love of the name of God *al-wudūd* (The devoted). Through *al-wudūd* (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.[243]

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-dukhūl alā al-mulūk* ("For entry upon the kings"), *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* ("for annulling magic"), *Ghafr? al-alsin*? (forgiveness of tongues), *Lī-waji' al-ra's* ("For headaches"), *Lī-waji' al-'ayn* ("For eye pain") *li'l-naṣr 'alā al-a'dā'* ("For victory over the enemy"), *Li'l-'ayn wa al-naẓra* ("For the [evil] eye and its glance"), *Li-ramī al-nashāb* ("The casting of arrows").

[241] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 121-2.

[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.[244] If one draws the *khawāṣṣ* (special qualities) of the letter *dāl* found in the name of God *al-dā'im* (The Eternal) this will produce a different result.[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 *biṭāqah* (piece of paper), the bearer will be protected from demons and Adam will intercede on their behalf.[246] Again, the repetition of certain names or prayer empower the talisman with its efficacy.[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-ṭabī'i* (natural pen).[248] He states that this pen is the preferred pen and it is able to know the secrets of the letters.[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-Fātiḥa* (1), the Throne verse (2:255), and *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112), one hundred times.

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[244] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p.12. The rest of the paragraph is based on details from p.12.

[245] Ibid. Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* p. xic. *EI* online*,* M. Ullmann, "Ḵẖāṣṣa,"

[246] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 12.

[247] I discuss this futher in Chapter Four.

[248] al-Bunī *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p.12.

[249] Ibid.

Then one may write on a square slab with black ink the numerical form of the letter *dāl*. [250] 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.[251]

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 Qurʿānic verses and prayers that pertain to its title.[252] 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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[250] Ibid., p.14.

[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.[254] 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-ḥurūf* (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

[254] Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing," pp. 427-38.

[255] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 105-106.

[256] Ibid. Fahd "La magie comme "source" de la sagesse, l'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī," p. 2.

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

[258] Ibid.

the truth about God.[259] This concept of *ʿilm al- sīmiyā* is an important one to Ibn Khaldun in his specific discussion of licit magic.[260]

Besides the relationship al-Bunī has to other medieval scholars, there are historical moments worth mentioning.[261] For example, in his chapter on *jafr* (divination by letters) attributed to Imam Ja'far 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.[262] It is also important to note that al- Bunī's text *Shams al-maʿārif* has later additions that post-date his death date. [263] 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."[264] 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).[265]

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[259] Ibid., pp. 2-6.

[260] See Chapter Four.

[261] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 107-108.

[262] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif* p. 352.

[263] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," p. 107.

[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 Ikhwān and al-Bunī 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.[266] This leads the discussion to the second section of *Shams al-maʿārif al-kubrā*, 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"[267]

This section opens with Qurʿānic verse (21:33) that states that the sun and the moon know the secret of the name of God.[268] 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

[266] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 88, 157, 183-5.

[267] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, pp. 15-22.

[268] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 15.

of the name.[269] Once this is complete, the reader is instructed to bury the token in the designated person's room and fumigate it with incense.[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.[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*. [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. Anther 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-tabṣira fī ʿilm al-nujūm*"[273] It also lists "which activities are appropriate and which are not when the moon is stationed in particular lunar station

[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.

[270] Ibid.

[271] Please see Chapter Four on the efficacy of talismans.

[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*.

[273] Varisco, "The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni "Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum" Of Malik Al-Ashraf," in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 13, pp. 19-40.

during the cycle of 28 days," and includes the entry upon kings as a category. [274] 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).[275] 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.[276]-

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.[277]

[274] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[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).

[276] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʻārif*, pp. 22-30, 70-91.

[277] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʻārif* pp. 19-20.

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 *ḥujub* (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).

[279] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 20.

rulers, and sultans.[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 is 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.[281] However, before elaborating on the connection to the angels, it is important to continue with the astrological correlation.[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 *ʿilm al-raml* (the science of geomancy).[283] However, al-Bunī does not use this term.[284] Even if al-Bunī

[280] Ibid., p. 21.

[281] Ibid., p. 22.

[282] For discussion of the angels, see the analysis of "The Fifth Section the Secrets of the Basmala."

[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, *Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device* (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1980),

[284] Emilie Savage-Smith and Marion B. Smith, *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.[285] 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.[286] Twenty-eight is "a symbol of prophethood in Islamic mysticism."[287] 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.[288] 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).[289] 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.[290] 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.

[286] Varisco, "The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni "Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum" Of Malik Al-Ashraf," p. 21.

[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.[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 *al-Buṭayn* in both the Ikhwān and al-Bunī denote it as an appropriate time to construct talismans.[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 *dāl*: Its lunar mansion is *al-dabarān*. al-Bunī states that it is an inauspicious time to construct talismans. Its incense is the peel of a pomegranate and frankincense.[293] One more lunar mansion, *al-dhirāʿ*, belongs to the letter *zā*. It is a fortunate time for the sciences, which includes the making of talismans and all facets of *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.[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.[295] The central part of

[291] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, p. 23.

[292] See above for the discussion of *al-buṭain* in the Ikhwān.

[293] Ibid., p. 24.

[294] Ibid. Once again, the text indirectly connects to the *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).

[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 Qurʿānic 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 Qurʿānic 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

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

[297] Webb Keane, "Language and Religion," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 431-48.

[298] Translation from Yousef Ali. *The Holy Qur'ān: English translation of the meanings and commentary* (Medina: King Fahd Holy Qur-an Printing Complex. n.d), pp.713,1050, 1929.

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 Qurʿān, al-Bunī follows with references to the *manāzil* (lunar mansions) *Yā-Sīn* (36:39).[300] This Qurʿānic 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 *Ṭāʿa 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: *Ṭalʿa 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,

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[299] S. Mourad, *Early Islam between Myth and History: Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī (d. 110H/728 CE)*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006); Keane, "Religious Language," pp. 47-71.

[300] Fahd, "La magie comme "source" de la sagesse, l'apres 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 Qurʿānic 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

[302] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, pp. 589-591.

[303] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif*, p. 38.

[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-Bunī'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 Qurʿānic 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-Bunī, *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-Raḥmān* (the forgiving), which after Allah is the first full name of God contained within the *basmala*. Appropriately, al-Bunī quotes the beginning of Qurʿānic verse (17:110) that calls upon the name Allah and *al-Raḥmān*.[308] 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.[309] 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.[310] 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.[311] 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

[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.

[309] al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 40.

[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).[312] First of all, it was written on Adam's forehead five hundred years before his creation.[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 Qurʿān. And with this, al-Bunī presents the significance of the *basmala* in the activities of daily life.[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."[315] In addition, in this thesis it initiates most sections on the scrolls, the *basmala* is an important part of the material evidence.[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.[317] Satan will not

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[312] al-Bunī, *Shams al- maʿārif* p. 42.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Ibid.

[315] 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. 57-58.

[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 Qurʾān 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-maʿārif al-kubrā* , a theory of *ʿilm 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 *ʿilm* (science). Both the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and al-Bunī recognize the occult as a science. The Ikhwān provide extensive proof on why *siḥr* (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, *siḥr* (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), *ʿazāʾim* (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

[318] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 2, 10.

[319] Ibid., p. 110.

most important part about al-Bunī is that the focus is on the Qurʿān, 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.[321] 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), *ṭilsāmāt* (talismans), and *nīranj* (white magic) along with *raqqī (*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 *raqqī (*magical incantation) and *riyāḍāt* (spiritual exercise) and the *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* (science of letters) is a form of *nīranj* (white magic).

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

[321] Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 242-243.

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." Miroslev Krek[322]

"It's very easy to say that something 'looks' Fatimid; it is more difficult to prove that it is." Jonathan Bloom[323]

"Egyptians still used papyrus in preparing amulets and for medical treatment, but by the tenth century it had been decisively replaced by paper…"[324]

"Evidence regarding the provenance of early Qurʾān manuscripts is even more exiguous. Manuscripts, particularly small manuscripts, are very mobile, and the fact that a Qurʾān 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 Deroche[325]

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

[322] Miroslav Krek,"Arabic Block Printing as the Precursor of Printing in Europe: A Preliminary Report," in *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* [1985]: 12-16.

[323] Jonathan Bloom and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press: In association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2007), p. 12.

[324] Ibid., p.109.

[325] Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art and François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qurans of the 8th to 10th Centuries* (New York: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 13.

Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls.[326] 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.[327] The "Fatimid" talismanic scrolls are small monochromatic block prints comprised mostly of a compilation of Qurʾānic 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).[328] 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 *fīrmān(s)* (legal decrees) *rūzname(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.

[327] Eva R Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book," *Muqarnas* 17, [2000]: 37-52.

[328] Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades,* documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades; 19 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2006).

genealogical scrolls, calligraphic scrolls and architectural scrolls.[329] 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 Qurʾān 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 ʻumra) 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.[330] 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

[329] For an example of a ruzname, see: Francis Maddison, Emilie Savage-Smith, Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, and Tim Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic,* pp. 280-81. For an example of a ferman, see: Nazan Ölçer, *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art* (Akbank Cultural and Art Publications, 2002), pp. 268-269, 297. For a genealogical scroll, see: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/67.272. For an architectural scroll, see: David J. Roxburgh and Royal Academy of Arts, *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600*, pp. 257-259, 433. For a calligraphic scroll, see: Sabiha Al Khemir and Brigham Young University Museum of Art, *Beauty and Belief: Crossing Bridges with the Arts of Islamic Culture* (Provo: Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 2012), pp. 34-39.

[330] Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates" in *M. Uğur Derman armagani: altmışbeşinci yaşı münasebetiyle sunulmuş tebliğler* (Istanbul: Sabanci Universitesi, 2000), pp. 100-34; Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine. *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades*; David J. Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City" in *The City in the Islamic World*, ed. Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 2:753-774.

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: Qurʾān scrolls and prayer scrolls. A Qurʾān scroll mostly contains the full contents of the Qurʾān. 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.[331] 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 Qurʾān, hadith and calligraphic figures.[332] 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 Qurʾānic verses that sometimes are in *ghubār* script that are arranged into shapes where the blank spaces create another Qurʾānic verse or prayer in *nastaʿliq* or *naskh*.[333] 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 (Qurʾān scrolls,

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[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.

[333] See: Shelia Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), figs. 10, 16, p. 452; Nabil F. Safwat, *The Harmony of Letters: Islamic Calligraphy from the Tareq Rajab Museum* (Singapore: National Heritage Board, 1997), p. 87; Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith. Art.Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2009), p. 63.

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.

SCHOLARSHIP

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. [334] Currently, the

[334] The following is a list of publications on the talismanic block-printed scrolls: Thomas Walker Arnold, Adolf Grohmann, and J. Allan, *The Islamic Book; A Contribution to Its Art and History from the Vii-Xviii Century* (Paris: Pegasus Press, 1929): Bloom and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*, pp.109-115; Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107, no. 3 [1987]: 427-38; Bulliet, "Printing in the Medieval Islamic Underworld," in *Columbia Library Columns* 36, no. 3 [1987]: 13-20; Giorgio Della Vida, "An Arabic Block Print," in *The Scientific Monthly* 59, no. 6 [1944]: 473-74; André Demeerseman, "Les donnees de la controverse autour du probleme de l'imprimerie" in *L'imprimerie en Orient et au Maghreb: : une étape décisive de la culture et de la psychologie sociale islamiques* (Tunis: Nicolas Bascone & Sauveur Muscat, imprimeurs, 1954), pp. 1-48; Thierry Depaulis, Documents imprimés de l'Égypte fatimide: un chapitre méconnu de l'histoire de l'imprimerie." *Bulletin de la Société archéologique, historique et artistique, 'Le vieux papier' pour l'étude de la vie et des moeurs d'autrefois* 35, no. 349 [1998]: 133-36; Bishr Fares, "Figures magiques," in *Aus Der Welt Der Islamischen Kunst: Festschrift Für Ernst Kühnel Zum 75, Geburtstag Am 26.10.1957*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (Berlin: Gebr.Mann, 1959), pp.154-62; Geza Fehervari, et al., *The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87)*, (Dar Al-Athar Al-Isalmiyyah and KFAS, 2006); Ramsey Fendall and Sam Fogg Rare Books & Manuscripts (Firm), *Islamic Calligraphy*, Catalogue; 27 (London: Fogg, 2003), p. 48; Paul B. Fenton, "Une xylographie arabe medievale a la bibliotheque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg." in *Arabica* [2003]: pp. 114-17; Basil Gray "Islamic Charm from Fostat," in *The British Museum Quarterly* 9, no. 4 [1935]: 130-31; Basil Gray, "A Fatimid Drawing," in *The British Museum Quarterly* 12, no. 3 [1938]: 91-96. Miroslav Krek, "Arabic Block Printing as the Precursor of Printing in Europe: A Preliminary Report," in *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* [1985]: 12-16; Wladyslaw Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, *Fusṭāṭ Expedition Final Report, Vol.2: Fusṭāṭ-C*, (Winona Lake: American Research Center in Egypt/ Eisenbrauns, 1989), pp. 69-70; Paul Lunde, "A Missing Link," in *ARAMCO World* 32, no. 2 [1981]: 26-27. **http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/198102/arabic.and.the.art.of.printing-a.special.section.htm**; Mark Muehlhaeusler, "Eight Arabic Block Prints from the Collection of Aziz S. Atiya," in *Arabica* 55, [2008]: 528-82; Karl R Schaefer, "Eleven Medieval Arabic Block Prints in the Cambridge University Library," in *Arabica* [2001]: 210-39; Karl R Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums*,.
Lastly, I would like to thank Andras Riedlmayer and Ophelia Celine for the upublished 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,[335] or they are briefly mentioned in catalogue entries.[336] 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.[337] 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." [338] However, these two assertions are imprecise; in Muehlhaeusler ecent 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 طرس or طرش 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.[339]

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[335] Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing,"; Della Vida, "An Arabic Block Print,"; Demeerseman, "Les donnees de la controverse autour du probleme de l'imprimerie"; Lunde, "A Missing Link,".

[336] Fares,"Figures Magiques,"; Jonathan Bloom and Salah Sayjour, "Paper Fragments," in *The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87)*, pp. 150-56; Bloom and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*, p.114.

[337] Muehlhaeusler, "Eight Arabic Block Prints from the Collection of Aziz S. Atiya,"; Schaefer, "Eleven Medieval Arabic Block Prints in the Cambridge University Library,"; Schaefer *Enigmatic Charms*, .

[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.

[339] Muehlhaeusler, "Eight Arabic Block Prints from the Collection of Aziz S. Atiya," pp. 558-561.

Therefore, in this dissertation, I avoid using the term *ṭarsh*; 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.[340] 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.[341] 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.[342] 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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[340] Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," pp. 100-34; Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades*.

[341] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*.

[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.[343] 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. [344] 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."[345] 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.[346] It is speculated

[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.

[344] Schaefer, "Eleven Medieval Arabic Block Prints in the Cambridge University Library," pp. 212-213.

[345] Ibid.

[346] Ruth Barnes and Ashmolean Museum, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1997). Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*, p.113.

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.[347] The process was transmitted from a late antique pre-Islamic culture.[348] Although, there is no evidence of Arabic block printing post-1400 CE.[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).[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).[351] As for the Ayyubid pilgrimage scrolls, they are dated internally because they were required to attest the completed pilgrimage.[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.

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[347] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, p. 7.

[348] Ibid., p. 9.

[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.

[350] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 157-162.

[351] Ibid., pp. 103-110.

[352] Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *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.[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.[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.[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."[356] Viewed as a group, the pilgrimage scrolls were a combination of block prints, calligraphy, and hand painted illustrations.[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

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[353] Ibid.

[354] Ibid., p. 20. Also see: *EI* online, 2nd ed., "Tutush (I) b. Alp Arslan," (C. E. Bosworth).

[355] Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats De Pèlerinage D'époque Ayyoubide: Contribution À L'histoire De L'idéologie De L'islam Au Temps Des Croisades*, p. 20.

[356] Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," p. 124.

[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.[358] First of all, most of the scrolls consist of two sheets of paper.[359] Aligned vertically, into various compartments and registers, the text is organized in a horizontal manner.[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.[361] For example, the praise of God and Qurʾānic phrases were highlighted in a larger ornamental script at the top on most of the scrolls.[362] The role of the Qurʾān 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.[363] The verses all have an eschatological flavor to them.[364] For example, a set of verses that occurs frequently on the pilgrimage scrolls: *Al-Shuʿarāa* (26:88-89) which highlights the point that only God can assist the practitioner on

[358] Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades*.

[359] Ibid., p. 21.

[360] Ibid., p. 23.

[361] Ibid., p.24.

[362] Ibid.

[363] Ibid., p. 40.

[364] Ibid., p. 41.

Judgment Day.[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.[366]

There are further visual idiosyncrasies to these pilgrimage scrolls, Sourdel and Sourdel-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-'Adil (r. 596-615/1199-1218).[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.[368] Visually, they are marked by a monumental *thuluth-muhaqqaq* script interspersed with a scribal script; and can be identified by their utilization of the Qurʾānic verses from *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 Shi'ite notables mentioned on the scrolls. [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

[365] Ibid., p. 41.

[366] Ibid., pp. 24, 33-34.

[367] Ibid., p. 65.

[368] Ibid.

[369] Ibid., p. 66.

while others address the construction of Mecca.[370] According to Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, these Qurʾānic verses along with the persons mentioned in the text illustrate that these scroll were meant for notables.[371] The scrolls in Group C are distinct. The script is a monumental *thuluth- muḥaqqaq* variation with the *alif, lām* and *kāf* interspersed with *naskh*. The larger script is marked by the first three verses of *sūrat al-Fatḥ* (48).[372] They are dated after the death of Salāḥ al-Dīn and around the time of the rise of al-Malik Al-ʻAdil: 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.[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-ʻAdil.[374] Lastly, in Group E the Qurʾānic quotations and monumental script are replaced by illustrations and they range in date from between 601-634/1205-1237.[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

[370] Ibid., p. 67.

[371] Ibid.

[372] Ibid., p. 68.

[373] Ibid., p.70.

[374] Ibid., p. 71.

[375] Ibid., p. 26.

the increased piety during the time that Nur al-Din and Salaḥ al-Din when they staged an offensive against the Crusades and their states.[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).[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.[378] It is no surprise that the illustrations of the black flags in Group E recognize the supremacy of the Abbasid Caiph al-Nāṣir.

According to Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, Group E is the most enigmatic since they survive as fragments.[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."[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.[381] In addition, it recreates and recollects the actions of the "Prophet Muhammad, Ibrahim, Hajar, and Isma'il" in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.[382] Thus, the

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[376] Ibid., p. 74.

[377] Ibid. p. 74.

[378] Ibid., p. 73.

[379] Ibid., p. 71. Also see: Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," p. 103.

[380] Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," p.767.

[381] Ibid.

[382] Ibid.,p.769.

illustrated rolls are a combination of an itinerary and a preserved memory of the Prophets who experienced Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.[383] In addition, the depictions of these holy sites "transform geography into religious topography" and "authenticate a set of religious practices and beliefs."[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.[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.[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." [387] Yet the Ottoman scroll highlights the renovations of Sultan Suleyman and the eschatological connections of the various spots and their significance in the *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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[383] Ibid.; Necipoglu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," pp. 17-105.

[384] David J. Roxburgh, "Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,"in *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum Architecture in Islamic Arts* (Geneva, Switzerland: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2012), p. 38.

[385] Necipoglu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses,"

[386] Ibid., pp. 73-79.

[387] Ibid., p.77.

"function as the link between Jerusalem and Mecca."[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.[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.[390] Based on size and an approximate reconstruction of the fragments, Aksoy and Milstein have classified the illustrated pilgrimage scrolls.[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.[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. [393] The third group of scrolls is dated to the reign of the

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[388] Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," p. 772.

[389] Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, 2nd ed., Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, V. 8. (Leiden; Boston: E.J. Brill, 1999).

[390] Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," pp. 115-123.
[391] Ibid., p. 115.

[392] Ibid., p. 118.

[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).[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. [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.[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.[397] Comparable to the pilgrimage scrolls, the talismanic scrolls consist of a combination of illustrations of holy places along with large Qurʾānic inscriptions, magic squares, and symbolic figures.[398] According to Aksoy and Milstein, a different block was used for each of the various categories.[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.

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[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.

[398] Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," p. 128.

[399] Ibid.

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.[400] 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.[401] The early Arabic talismanic block prints on paper included in this dissertation may

[400] Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book"; Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 41-51.

[401] Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book," p. 38.

chronologically be placed between the early Fusṭāṭ 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

[402] See Chapter One for the discussion of these terms.

[403] Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book," pp. 45-46; Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[404] Heinz Halm, *The Fatimids and Their Traditions of Learning*, Ismaili Heritage Series; 2 (London; New York: I.B. Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1997), p. 17.

[405] Ibid., pp.17-18.

the Fatimid community.[406] 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.[407] It was a sanctioned practice noted in scripture and passed down from the Prophets.[408] They state that one of the strongest forms of a talisman is the *ruqya* (magical incantation in the form of prayers), along with *ʿazāʾim* (exorcism), *wahm* (hallucination), and *zijr* (divination).[409] 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). [410] 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."[411] The practice of creating

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[406] *EI* online, "Dār al-Ḥikma," (D. Sourdel); *EI* online, "Dār al-'Ilm," (D. Sourdel); Bloom, and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*, pp. 109-115.

[407] Ikhwān al-Safā',*Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, 4:287.

[408] See Chapter One.

[409] Ikhwān al-Safā', *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, 4:307.

[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.[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.[413]

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:

> 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 Qurʾāns of high artistic quality… As important as the calligraphy may be for dating the block prints, if we are to gain a more thorough

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[412]Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banu Sasan in Arabic Society and Literature*; Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing."

[413] Bulliet, "Medieval Arabic *Ṭarsh*: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Printing," pp. 39-40.

> understanding of them, it would seem useful to develop a typology that would assist in the endeavor.[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." [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. [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."[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.[418] A second set of talismanic block prints,

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[414] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 43-45.

[415] Ibid., p.45.

[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, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp. 103-110.

[417] The two scrolls are not included in the dissertation catalogue, but see: Kubiak and Scanlon, *Fusṭāṭ Expedition Final Report, Vol.2: Fusṭāṭ-C* , pp. 68-80.

[418] Ibid*.,* p. 68.

found at the Bahnāsa excavation, have also been dated to the Fatimid era.[419] The *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.[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.[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-Athar al-Islamiyyah.[422] Their monochromatic text is mostly aligned vertically on a rectangular piece of

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[419] Again, these scrolls are not included in this dissertation but for a depiction of them, see: Fehervari, et al., *The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87),* pp. 150-156.

[420] Ibid., p. 151.

[421] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp. 115-155; Depaulis, "Documents imprimés de l'Égypte fatimide: un chapitre méconnu de l'histoire de l'imprimerie." pp. 133-36.

[422] Most of the block prints—except the ones at the Cairo Museum of Isalmic Art— have been published. Therefore, I have included only a selection—those housed at Columbia University,

paper.[423] 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).[424] 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. [425] 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."[426] The oldest Arabic book on paper, discovered in

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Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah —of the block prints for this dissertation.

[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).

[424] There is one block-printed talismanic scroll that has the image of a demon. It is currently housed at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cario. It is published in: Fares ,"Figures Magiques," p. 55; and Fehervari, et al., *The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasā/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87)*, p. 358. Another block-printed talismanic scroll with an abstracted mihrab niche is housed at a private collection in Tunisia: Demeerseman, "Les donnees de la controverse autour du probleme de l'imprimerie," pp. 1-48.

[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.

[426] http://www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol3num2/5_bloom.php.

Alexandria, Egypt, is dated to 848 CE; another, Abu ‘Ubayd al-Qasim *Gharib al-Ḥadith,* is dated to 252AH/867 CE and is part of the collection at the Leiden University Library.[427] As Eva Hoffman and Jonathan Bloom have both demonstrated, that increased availability of paper facilitates wider distribution of literature to the public.[428] 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.[429] The development of floriated *kufic* began in North Africa and came to fruition under the Fatimids.[430] As Bloom illustrates, the Fatimids inherited their artistic tradition from the Aghlabids.[431] The script later spread into use across the Islamic Mediterranean, Persian, and Central Asia.[432] 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

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[427] Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*, p. 58. The oldest Arabic book on paper housed in Alexandria has not yet been published. Also see: http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/e-publications/witkam_oldest_dated/index.html.

[428] Hoffman, “The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book,” pp. 45-46; Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World*.

[429] Grohmann, “The Origin and Early Development of Floriated Kufic,” *Ars Orientalis* 2, [1957]: 183-213.

[430] Ibid.

[431] Bloom and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*, pp. 19-20.

[432] Ibid.

gold amulet boxes.[433] 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.[434] Floriated *kufic* appears on a number of the block printed talismanic scrolls included in this dissertation.[435] 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,).[436] 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-

[433] Bloom and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*; Victoria and Albert Museum, and Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum,*(London: V&A Publications, 1998).

[434] Ibid.

[435] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp.169-217, plate 40, 45, 47a, 47b, 48,49, 52, 53, and 54.See catalogue: Columbia University 907b, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah: LNS 350 MS, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: MMA 1975.192.20, MMA 1978.546.32, MMA 1978.546.33, MMA MMA 1978.546.34, MMA 1978.546.37, MMA 1978.546.38, MMA 1978.546.39.

[436] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 42,169-217 and plates 40, 45, 47a, 47b, 48,49, 52, 53, and 54. See catalogue: Columbia University 907b, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah: LNS 350 MS, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: MMA 1975.192.20, MMA 1978.546.32, MMA 1978.546.33, MMA MMA 1978.546.34, MMA 1978.546.37, MMA 1978.546.38, MMA 1978.546.39.

12th century CE) period (fig. 12, fig. 13, fig. 14, fig. 15, fig.16). [437] 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). [438] 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 Qurʾānic frontispieces.[439] 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 Fusṭāṭ 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).[440] There are also a number of dated Fatimid mihrabs that use the floriated *kufic* in a similar manner: there

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[437] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp. pp.169-217, plates 43, 44, 46, 50, 51. See catalogue: Ms.Oriental 4/24/1974, LACMA M.2002.1.371, MMA 1971.237.1, MMA 1975.192.21, MMA 1978.546.35, MMA 1978.546.36.

[438] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp.181-185, plate 42. See catalogue: LACMA M.2002.1.370.
[439] See: Yasmine Al-Saleh, *The Stocking Benbouchta Qur'ān: North African Blue & Gold with an Ottoman Twist,* (Masters Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2002).

[440] Victoria and Albert Museum, and Anna Contadini, *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, p. 114.

is the mihrab of the Ibn Tulun mosque, orderd by al-Afdal in 1094, and the al-Azhar wooden mihrab gifted by al-Amir in 1125 CE.[441] 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 Qurʾāns that have dots; and no dotting appears on these talismanic block prints.[442] 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.[443] 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. [444] 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.[445]

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[441] Bloom and Institute of Ismaili Studies, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*, pp. 138, 144-45.

[442] For examples of dotting and vocalization on early Qurʾāns that are possibly Fatimid in origin see: Colin F. Baker and British Library, *Qur'an Manuscripts: Calligraphy, Illumination, Design,* (London: British Library, 2007), pp.15-31; François Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qurʾans of the 8th to 10th Centuries*, pp.54-131.

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

[444] Marrianne Barrucand, Élisabeth Antoine, and Institut du monde arabe (France), *Trésors fatimides du Caire: exposition présentée a l'institut du monde arabe du 28 avril au 30 août 1998,* (Gand Paris: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon; Institut du monde arabe, 1998), pp. 204, 232-3.

[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).[446] 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). [447] The elongated floriated *kufic* in these sets of block prints is similar to Ayyubid coins.[448] 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.[449] Additionally, there are Qurʾān manuscripts, such as one attributed to twelfth-century Syria in the Nasser D.

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script. See: 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.27-83.

[446] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 157-162.

[447] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp.169-217, and plates 43, 44, 46, 50, 51. See catalogue: Columbia University, Islamic Talisman Uncatalogued Ms.Oriental 4/24/1974, LACMA M.2002.1.371, MMA 1971.237.1, MMA 1975.192.21, MMA 1978.546.35, MMA 1978.546.36.

[448] See Dinar of Salah al-Din, Al-Qahirah, Harvard Art Museum/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore 1951.31.4.2354: http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/182215, and the dinar of al-'Adil, Al-Iskandariyah, Harvard Art Museum/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Bequest of Thomas Whittemore 1951.31.4.2355: http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/182216

[449] Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), fig.75, page numbers.

Khalili collection.[450] 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 Sutlan al-Malik al-Adil Mahmud b. Zangi in the year 565/1169-70 CE.[451] 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.[452] 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.[453] 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

[450] Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art and David Lewis James, *The Master Scribes: Qur'ans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD*, (New York: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 30-31.

[451] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, pp. 82-83.

[452] R. Ward, "The Inscription on the Astrolabe by `Abd Al-Karim in the British Museum," *Muqarnas* [2004]: 345-57, p. 347.

[453] Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, Patronato de la Alhambra (Granada, Spain), and Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, NY), *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: Distributed by H.N. Abrams, 1992), pp.285-287, 326-327.

block print.[454] 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. [455] 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.[456]

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.[457] 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.[458] 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 *siḥr* (magic) is an

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[454]The David Collection. Nasrid coin.
http://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/spain/coins/c135?print=1

[455] Khaḍir Ibrāhīm Salāmah, *The Qurʾān Manuscripts in the Al-Haram Al-Sharif Islamic Museum, Jerusalem*, (Reading, UK; Paris: GarnetUnesco Publishing, 2001), pp. 66-83.

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

[457] Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," p. 128.

[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 traveled 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

[459] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

[460] Gary Vikan, and Dumbarton Oaks, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), pp. 4-5.

acknowledged that certain ritual practices originated with Christians and Jews."[461] 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.[462] 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.[463]

Along with this sacred topography comes a variety of pilgrimage literature.[464] In the following section, I will discuss Ibn al-Murajjā's *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis,* from the eleventh century and ʻAli ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's (d.1215) pilgrimage manual, *Kitab al-ishārāt ila maʿrifat al-ziyarat,* and how these very different manuals complement definitions of talismanic literature discussed in Chapter One.[465] 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 ʻAli ibn Abī Bakr al-Harawī's (d.1215) pilgrimage manual, *Kitab al-ishārāt.* One is struck by the fluidity of the definition of a pilgrimage site and how these stories and

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[461] Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 5.

[462] Ibid., p.15.

[463] Ibid., p.14.

[464] Ibid., p. 15.

[465] 'Ali ibn Abi Bakr Harawi and Josef W. Meri, *A Lonely Wayfarer's Guide to Pilgrimage: 'Ali Ibn Abi Bakr Al-Harawi's Kitab Al-Isharat Ila Ma'rifat Al-Ziyarat*, (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 2004); al-Musharraf Ibn al-Murajjāand Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis* (Bayrūt Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 2002).

myths are intertwined with certain talismans, relics of Prophets, and night visions of holy figures.[466] In fact, there are sites that are exclusively talismanic, such as a site in the city of Ḥimṣ, al-Harawī 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.[467] The healing power of the earth also keeps the city of Ḥimṣ free of scorpions and snakes.[468] This type of site is what Gary Vikan has characterized as a purely "magical" site.[469] 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."[470] 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.[471] 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 Ẓafar, which contains a rock

[466] 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*.

[467] Ibid., pp. 18-20. The names of the companions as listed by al-Harawī are: Thawban, al-Ḥārith ibn Ghaṭīf al-Kindī, Khālid al-Azraq al-Ghāḍirī, al-Ḥajjāj ibn 'Āmir and Ka'b.

[468] Ibid., p. 52.

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

[470] 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,* p. 52.

[471] Ibid.

upon which the" Prophet Muhammad sat and "if a woman is experiencing a difficult childbirth sits on it, she will give birth."[472]

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.[473] 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),[474] In his book, one gets a sense how hadith and Qurʾān 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, *Faḍāʾl bayt al-maqdis* (The Praise of the Dome of the Rock), one is struck by the use of the Qurʾān and hadith to sanctify the various visitation spots within the Dome of the Rock.[475] Ibn al-Murajjā identifies the stations where prayers will be answered and forgiveness is granted.[476] 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).[477] 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-*

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[472] Ibid., p. 246.

[473] Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage,* p. 7.

[474] Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*. I have translated *bayt al-maqdis* as 'Dome of the Rock' but it is most commonly known as 'Jerusalem.' See: *EI* online, "al-Ḳuds," (O.Grabar).

[475] Ibn al-Murajjā, and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*,

[476] Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil 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.[478] The most important part is to invoke God's greatest name, *ism Allāh al-ʿAtham,* and God answers all prayers.[479] 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-Murajjā'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 *Faḍāʾil 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-Ikhlāṣ, al-Falaq, an-Nās*:112,113, and 114) that were known for their talismanic powers and ability to keep the spirits away (fig. 16).[480] 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 Isrāfīl will call upon the people; and it is the spot where God forgave the people of Isreal.[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 كهيعص *Kaf Hā Yā 'Ain Ṣād* along with the names of God for forgiveness.[482] *Kaf Hā Yā '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 Qurʾān and is often found on a variety of talismans. [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).[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 Qurʾān. 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

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[481] Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, p. 88. For the location of the Dome of the Chains, see Necipoglu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," pp. 20-21.

[482] Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*, p. 89.

[483] T. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot, Hants, Great Britain; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate/Variorum 2004), pp.127-177.

[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.[485] 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.[486] Sanctified locations such as the Mihrab of Mary, Solomon's Throne, and Buraq's stairway are important spots in the Haram where

[485] Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyara and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt*; Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*, page numbers.

[486] Ibn al-Murajjā and Ayman Naṣr Azharī, *Faḍāʾil bayt al-maqdis*.

particular prayers are answered.[487] 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.[488] 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.[489] 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),

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[487] Ibid. Also see: Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage;* Necipoglu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses."

[488] 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*, p. 116.

[489] Ibid.

> the production and display of talismanic objects there, and finally its association with living and dead saints.[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.[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."[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 Qurʾāns because these scrolls mix and match various Qurʾānic verses creating efficacious prayers that will assist the carrier. They are "inanimate objects" that possess *baraka*.[493] By exploring the language used on these scrolls, it is evident that there is an "agent" (the scroll) and "a recipient

[490] Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*, p. 28.

[491] Ibid., p. 26.

[492] Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City,"p.763.

[493] Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*,., p. 102.

(devotee)."[494] I would even argue these talismanic scrolls function in the same way as relics. [495] 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."[496] 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.[497] 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 Qurʾān reciters at the tombs in Qarafa.[498] However, this cannot be established, as the verses included on the various scrolls do not fall into the genre of

[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.

[497] Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*, pp. 281-285.

[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. [499] They are verses that have "talismanic" efficacy. Verses and Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic chapters/verses to be read at the various tombs are: *Hūd* (11), *Al-Aḥzāb* (33:33), *Yā Sīn* (36). I think this needs further exploration because I am sure there is a larger list of Qurʾānic 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."[500] Emilie Savage-Smith

"In much of the Islamic world, the Koran has served as the most important divinatory text since the late Umayyad period."[501] 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.[502] 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 Qurʾāns 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-i Şerif* and *Duʿaname*.[503] 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-Jawziyah (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 Qurʾānic 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 *siḥr* (magic) or offer protection from a snake or scorpion, and various *furūsīyah* (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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verses, and end with some form of *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* (There is no strength or power without God),

[504] Abdalhaqq Bewley and Aisha Abdurrahman Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English*, p. 64.

and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny.[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.[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.[507] By template, I mean, there is a particular order and structure shared by both scrolls. First, they both begin with a *duʿa* (supplication) followed by seven self-contained sections called *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 Qurʾān for relief from headache. The last third of both scrolls are the illustrated sections, which are related to *furūsīyah* 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.[508]

[505] The exact details of each section maybe found in the catalogue of this dissertation.

[506] For a full transcription of the scrolls, please see the catalogue of this dissertation.

[507] Please see Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.

[508] Savage-Smith, *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).[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).[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-Sīn* (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).[511] *Yā-Sīn* (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-Sīn* (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 Qurʾānic 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 *Duʿa* 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 *duʿa* (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 *duʿa*.[514] It is likewise inscribed in one oblong cartouche. As one moves down both scrolls, after the *duʿa* section, they each launch into seven individual *haykal* (sanctuary) sections.

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chapter, **Function of the illuminations and illustrations.** See the catalogue for a full description and exact order of the textual content.

[512] See Chapter One for a discussion of *Yā-Sīn* (36) in al-Bunī.

[513] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol. 1, p. 62.

[514] See the catalogue for the details of the *duʿa* 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 Qurʾānic recitation as a veil of protection, and seeking refuge in morals found in Prophetic stories from the Qurʾān. 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 *ḥāmilihi* (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

[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.[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 Qurʾānic verses *Al-Ḥashr* (59:22-24) that call upon the names of God (figs. 21, 39). The names of God cloaked in Qurʾānic verse are known for their talismanic functions.[517] The use of the same set of Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verses that seek refuge in God on behalf of *ḥāmil 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), *siḥr* (sorcery), *makr* (deceit), and the *ʿadū* (enemy). It is in these direct phrases referencing the occult that one understands the talismanic function of the scroll.

[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.

[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.[518] Besides that, the word of God—be it Moses' tablets or the Qurʾān—are two important images that assist the supplicator on these scrolls.[519] Nevertheless, on both scrolls ultimate protection comes from the Qurʾān. In particular, through the following verses from *al-Isrāʾ* (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-Isrāʾ* (17:45-46). The verses state that whoever reads the Qurʾān will activate a hidden veil, which is a shield from all harm.[520] This is one of the most significant points of the scroll. In LNS 25 MS, the same set of verses from *al-Isrāʾ* (17:45-46) appears in the fourth sanctuary. [521] 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 *haykal*s 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-waḥsh* (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

[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 Qur'an). 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.[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.[523] There is a more direct approach in seeking protection from the occult.[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."[525] As Venetia Porter has observed, angels are an important part of Islamic amuletic culture and are rooted in Hebrew angelology.[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.[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-*

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[522] Please see the catalogue for a full description.

[523] Please see the catalogue for full a discussion of the details of each of the seven sanctuaries.

[524] See the discussion above of the third *haykal* on LNS 25 MS.

[525] Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, *Formation of the Classical Islamic*, p. xxiii.

[526] 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. 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.

[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 khātim Allāh al-musabiʿ* (the seal of God that has seven sides), which is also known as the seal of the heavens and earth.[528] 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 *khātim* (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 *khātim* (seal) that secures a legal document.[529] In other words, the seven sanctuaries achieve God's blessings through prayers and the selected Qurʾānic 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 *khātim 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 *ʾAwfāq al-ʾayyām al-sabʿ* ("the magic squares of the seven days"); namely, seven magic squares in the shape of a Qurʾānic *lawḥ* (tablet) (fig. 40).

[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 khawatim*) have strong Qurʾānic 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. [530] 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.[531] 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.[532] In addition, there are number of amulets that are in the shape of *lawḥ* (tablet) that are represented in various collections.[533] The magic numbers represent letters of the alphabet and depending on the book of magic they follow, the numbers spell out a particular phrase.[534] These charts have not yet been deciphered and need further research.

The number seven is an integral part of talismanic literature.[535] There is the general relationship to God and concepts of creation: God created the universe in seven days.[536] In addition, as Tewfik Canaan has put forward, the number seven is also associated with the first chapter of the Qurʾān *al-Fātiḥa* 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- maʿārif*, pp. 239-241.

[532] Ibid.

[533] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, p. 134, numbers: 64, 65. Also see: Venetia Porter, "The Uses of the Arabic Script in Magic," *Proceeding of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 40, [24 July 2009 (2010)]: 131-40. In particular, note the nineteenth-century brass talismanic plaque with Solomon and his jinns, p. 136.

[534] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 152-166.

[535] Ibid.

[536] *EI* online, "Sabʿ, Sabʿa," (Annemarie Schimmel).

planets, and seven days of the week.[537] There are also magical symbols that are the "seven signs assigned to the seven days of the seven planets."[538] These seven signs represent seven prophets and when they are combined they reveal the hidden name of God.[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.[540] And then there is the Qurʾānic story of the seven sleepers.[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 Qurʾān. 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 *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

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[537] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 130.

[538] Ibid., p. 169.

[539] Ibid., p. 170.

[540] *EI* online, "Ismāʿīliyya," (W. Madelung). This is a compelling theory needing further investigation; I plan to explore this further.

[541] The seven sleepers are an important part of Islamic talismanic literature. Venetia Porter "Amulets Inscribed with the Names of the 'Seven Sleepers' of Ephesus in the British Museum," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions: Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London, 18-21 October 2003*, ed. Fahmida Suleman and Institute of Ismaili Studies, (Oxford; New York; London: Oxford University Press; in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2007), pp. 123-34.

the appeal to God, is similar to Jewish texts on magic.[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 Qurʾānic verses that constitute a talismanic scroll.[543] In fact, it will become apparent that these two scrolls share a number of fixed chapter headings and Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic quotations to be efficacious.[544]

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[542] Michael D. 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* [2006]: 187-211. I discuss the relationship between Jewish and Islamic magical texts in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[543] Please see Appendix Two for a table of the two scrolls.

[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).[545] 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 Qurʾānic 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-Qaṣaṣ* (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.[546] 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-tuḥaf* (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 Qurʾānic 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-Bunī'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-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum"Of Malik Al-Ashraf."

[546] Varisco, "The Magical Significance of the Lunar Stations in the 13th Century Yemeni "Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum" Of Malik Al-Ashraf," p. 26.

> In the year 424 [1033] al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs sent [al-Zāhir] one more extremely valuable gift, which included four lions (*sibā'*), the largest and most frightening ones possible; twenty Saluki (*Salūqī* 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 (*'abīd*); 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: *Li'l-'ayn wa al-naẓra* ("for the [evil] eye and its glance"), and *Ibṭāl 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 *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 *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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[547] Ghada al-Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts and Rarities: Kitab al-hadaya wa al-tuḥaf*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1996), p.108.

[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 Qurʾānic 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.[551] 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.

Ibṭāl 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Yūnus* (10:81). Again, since LNS 12 MS and LNS 25 MS are larger scrolls, they also both

[551] See Keane, "Religious Language," p. 48; Swartz, "The Aesthetics of Blessing and Cursing: Literary and Iconographic Dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic Blessing and Curse Texts," pp.189-195. I discuss the efficacy of these prayers and their lanugauge in further detail in Chapter Four.

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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic 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 'an 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] In other words, in LNS

[552] I will discuss this further below. Christiane Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammad's Footprint," *Ferdowsi, the Mongols, and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia,* edited by Robert Hillenbrand, Andrew Peacock, and Firuza Abdullaeva (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), pp. 297-305.

[553] Keane, "Language and Religion," p. 433.

25 MS, there is a "ritual speech" through the repetition of certain phrases or Qurʾānic chapters, that creates its "power." [554] These "formal properties" of the prayers create an "expected outcome" of dispelling magic.[555]

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 *'ilāj 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-ʾawjā'* ("For the relief of pain"), *Bāb wa liʾl-dharbān* ("the section for throbbing"**)**, and *Liʾl-maghas wa al-qawlanj* ("For stomach aches and intestinal diseases").[556] In LNS 25 MS, the health sections are not grouped together; they occur on different parts of the scroll in the following order: *Lī-wajiʿ al-raʾs* ("for headaches"), *Lī-wajiʿ al-ʿayn* ("for eye pain"), *Li'l-ḥummā wa al-ḥumra* ("for fever and redness"), *Li'l-shafaqa wa al-ḍarb* ("for fear and throbbing"), and *Li-jamīʿ al-awjāʿ* ("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 Qurʾānic verses and supplications that are appropriately chosen to remedy an ailment.[557]

The Qurʾān: It Heals and Protects

The use of Qurʾānic verses and Prophetic stories is something that occurs across both talismanic scrolls. After all, as asserted above, the Qurʾān 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-ʾawjāʿ* ("For the relief of pain") uses Qurʾānic 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.[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.[559] The

[557] See the catalogue for a full transcription of each of the sections and how the Qurʾānic verses are appropriately chosen to match a particular ailment.

[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.

[559] Please see the catalogue for a full discussion.

moral in this section is about the rescue of Abraham and Lot from injustice.[560] Therefore, the contextual use of a particular set of verses depends on the heading of that section.

The fluid use of Qurʾānic 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.[561] On LNS 25 MS, it occurs on *Liʾl-ḥummā wa al-ḥumra* ("for fever and redness"); in other words, reading the Qurʾān is the ultimate protection from the pains of a fever.[562] 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

[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.[563]

Beginning with the chapter titled *Lī-ṭaʿn biʾl-ramḥ* ("when pierced by a spear or lance"), a gold lance is depicted on the two scrolls (figs. 26, 46).[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.[565] They come from the beginning of *Ash-Shūra* (42) and *Maryam* (19), respectively.[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*.[567]

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 *Sabaʾ* (34:10-

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[563] Shihab Al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furūsīyah Literature and Its Antecedents," *Mamluk Studies Review* VIII, [2004]: 141-200.

[564] Please note I discuss the function of these illustrations in the following section of this chapter: **Function of the illuminations and illustrations.**

[565] The text begins on the left side and reads: "One should pierce whoever with *Hā Mīm ʿAin Sīn Qāf*, and protection comes from *Kaf Hā Yā ʿAin Ṣād*."

[566] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 150-152.

[567] See the catalogue for a more complete understanding. The verses are in the following order: *Al-Baqarah* (2: most of 246), *Al-Nisāʾ* (4:74, 4:77), *Al-Baqarah* (2:244-45), and *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112).

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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān), 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 Furūsīyah 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.

[569] T. Fahd, *La divination arabe: études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'islam*, pp. 214-219; *EI* online, "Ḳur'a," (T.Fahd); Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, *Formation of the Classical Islamic World,* pp. xxxiii-xiv.

magic numbers. It is believed that the numbers, which are substitutes for the letters, are "more active than the letters alone."[570]

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 Qurʾānic verse, a striking phrase precedes the illustration of two arrows and a bow: *ʿaqadit ʻan 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.[571] 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 Qurʾānic verses at the end of this section is particularly gripping: they are from *al-Naml* (27:30-31), and *al-Aʿrāf* (7:196), respectively. The verses from *al-Naml* (27:30-31) occur a number of times on LNS 25 MS.[572] 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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[570] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 160.

[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-maḥābah wa al-ṭāʿah* (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, "Ḥawwāʾ," (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-ʻayn wa al-naẓra* ("for the [evil] eye and its glance").

talismanic culture exemplified by the *Falnāma* tradition of illustrating Solomon at Bilqis' court.[573] The sanctity of the Qurʾān 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 *Dalā'il al-khayrat*, Ottoman devotional manuscripts, and Persian counterparts such as the *Falnāma*.[574]

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 *Tā'a wa qubūl* ("for obedience and acceptance"); in LNS 25 MS it is titled *Ṭal'a 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 Qurʾānic verses; they both contain verses from *Yā-Sīn* (36:38-40). LNS 25 MS has a longer set from *Yā-Sīn* (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 Qurʾānic verses and the movement of the sun and moon, allow an object or a

[573] Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 68-71; Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 136, 144; Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, p. 115.

[574] Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*.

supplication to become talismanic. Therefore, it is appropriate that this particular section of the DAI scrolls is concerned with the sun and the moon.[575]

There are two additional illustrated sections on LNS 12 MS that differ from the illustrated sections in LNS 25 MS: *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* ("for annulling magic"), *Li'l-ḥayya wa al-'aqrab* ("for the snake and scorpion") (figs. 19, 27). As discussed above, *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* ("for annulling magic"), on LNS 12 MS has a depiction of Moses' white hand. *Li'l-ḥayya wa al-'aqrab* ("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 *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.[576] Talismans against rodents and reptiles are often found on multiple surfaces in the Islamic Mediterranean.[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 *furūsīyah* 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

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[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 "Kitab Al-Tabsira Fi 'Ilm Al-Nujum" Of Malik Al-Ashraf," pp.19-28.

[576] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar, *Al-Qur'an Al-Karim : Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn*, p. 53.

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

Christie's catalogue, and the second Sotheby's is identified as Ilkhanid.[578] The Christie's catalogue has a chapter titled in Persian that is illustrated with two bows and an arrow; the Qurʾānic 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-'adu.*"[579] 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

[578] Christie's London, *Islamic Art and Manuscripts,* Thursday, April 29, 2003, "QurʾānScroll," lot 57. Also see: Sotheby's London, *Arts of the Islamic World Day Sale: Including Fine Carpets and Textiles*, 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-Burdah. A Poem in Praise of the Prophet Muhammad." Persia. Late 13th-14th century," lot 61.

[579] Sotheby's London, *Arts of the Islamic World Day Sale: Including Fine Carpets and Textiles,* October 5, 2011, "An Ilkhanid Illuminated Talismanic Scroll contatining one of the earliest complete copies of al-Busiri's (d. circa 1294-6 AD) Al-Burdah. A Poem in Praise of the Prophet Muhammad. Persia. Late 13th-14th century." lot 61; al-Būṣīrī's (died sometime between 1294-1297) *Burda*, a poem on the Mantle of the Prophet that is known for its magical powers. Below, I discuss the importance of this poem and its significance to LNS 25 MS.

abdjadiyah," also known as *budūḥ* and *ajhzṭ* (fig. 30).[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-An'ām* (6:115) (fig.51). The verse from *al-An'ām* is poignant, as it states that one should trust in God and the Qurʾān[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).[582] It is reminiscent of features found on Mamluk works on paper and the arts of the book.[583] Textually, it is similar to the rest of the scroll in that it is a mixture of *duʿā* and Qurʾānic content.

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[580] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 157.

[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."

[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: Qurʾans of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD*. For examples of *naskh* script, see pp. 24-27; for *muhaqqaq* script, see pp. 34-39.

[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 Qurʾānic verses are from two chapters: *al-Qaṣaṣ* (28) and *Ṭāʾ Hāʾ* (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 *lā takhif* ("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, *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

[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.

[585] Keane, "Religious Language," pp. 61-62.

[586] There is one typo for (20:46): Instead of *lā takhif* (do not be scared), it reads *lā takhshā* (do not be scared).

[587] Keane, "Religious Language," pp. 58-61.

[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.[589] It is apparent from the above analysis and the catalogue, that both scrolls are empowered by God through his names and the Qurʾānic verses. The next question is how the layout and visual illuminations and illustrations reference the occult.

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-Ṣafāʾand al-Bunī, a theory of licit practice of the occult was understood. The Ikhwān Al-Ṣafāʾprovided a theory of the history of occult sciences with translations from Greek Neoplatonic sources, Biblical stories, and the Qurʾān. They divided occult sciences into five categories: chemistry, astrology, the science of magic and talismans, medicine, and *tajrīd* (cleansing of the soul).[590] Chapter One developed the ideas that the construction of a talisman was one of the basic skills of life and was considered to

[589] I discuss the efficacy of these prayers in Chapter Four.

[590] Ikhwān al-Safā', 4:287.

be a religious science.[591] Ultimately, knowledge of the occult comes from God and the Qurʾān. 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 Qurʾān. 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 *ʻilm 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 Qurʾān.[592] Emilie Savage-Smith has argued that it is impossible to align a theory of the occult with the physical aspects of talismanic material objects.[593] 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 Qurʾān and *duʿā* on the two DAI scrolls that the names of God and the Prophetic stories, as conveyed in the Qurʾān, are an important part of the occult. Beginning with the Qurʾānic structure of the borders and the illumination on these scrolls, it becomes apparent that there are certain verses and Qurʾānic 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.[594] In this section, I discuss how the balance of manuscript illumination accentuates certain Qurʾānic verses and highlights their talismanic function.

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[591] de Callataÿ, "The Classification of Knowledge in the Rasail," pp. 58-82.

[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'apres l'oeuvre d'al-Bunī," pp. 61-108.

[593] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, p. 62.

[594] I discuss the efficacy of these Qurʾānic 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 *furūsīyah* 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, (Leidin: Brill, 2010), pp. 3-16; Anna Contadini, *A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the Kitāb Na't Al-Ḥayawān) in the Ibn Bakhtīshū' Tradition* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp.1-10.

images found in the *Fālnāma*s.[598] 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."[599]

(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 Qurʾānic verses reveal that this is "the most important divinatory text."[600] It is implicit that the Qurʾānic verses endow the borders with an apotropaic function. On both scrolls, two bands of minuscule red *naskh* script containing *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) repeated over and over again flank the large black *naskh-thuluth* inscription on either side.[601] The individuality of each scroll's border lies in the choice of the Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verse from *al-Baqarah* (2:285).[602] 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

[598] Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*.

[599] David Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," pp.767-770

[600] Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, p. 20.

[601] For script identification, see: Nabil F. Safwat and Mohamed U. Zakariya, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries* (London: Published by the Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1996), p.234.

[602] LNS 12 MS most likely contained the whole of *Yā-Sīn* (36).

scroll is emphasized in the designation and use of these two chapters of the Qurʾān within the border: *Yāʾ-Sīn* (36) and *al-Ikhlāṣ* (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, *Yāʾ-Sīn* (36) is the heart of the Qurʾān and through a discussion of al-Bunī (d.1225), *al-Ikhlāṣ* (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 *Yāʾ-Sīn* (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-Ikhlāṣ* (112) repeated over and over again. The black marginal *naskh* script continues with carefully selected verses from *Yāʾ-Sīn*, followed by a *basmala* introducing *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) a transitional chapter that launches into the right side of the border. [605] All the

[603] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 129.

[604] Necipoglu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," pp. 50, 71.

[605] It commences with (36:14-50); then continues twenty verses forward with *Yā-Sīn* (36:68-83).

Qurʾānic chapters on the right side of the border are from the last third of the Qurʾān. 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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān, 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 Ottman prayer manuals *Duʿaname*(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.

[608] Mahalli, Suyuti, and Sawar, *Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn*, pp. 811-812.

[609] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 129.

[610] Mahalli, Suyuti, and Sawar, *Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn*, pp. 823-827.

Zalzalah (99), *al-ʻĀdiyāt* (100), *Al-Qāriʿa* (101), *al-Takāthur* (102), *al-ʻAsr* (103), *al-Naṣr* (110), *al-Masad* (111), *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112).

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-An'ām* (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.[611] 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:

[611] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English*, p. 127.

Beginning with a set of three roundels, the central roundel is larger than the two flanking it.[612] The central circle has a border that is inscribed with the all too familiar *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) in red script. A teardrop palmette with the formulaic Qurʾānic 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.[613] For example, as mentioned elsewhere, it occurs on one scroll case from DAI, LNS 834 M (fig. 53).[614] The verse is often seen on smaller silver amulet cases, along with magic-medicine bowls.[615] 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-Ikhlāṣ* (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]."[616] As we have seen, the six-pointed star was represented on one of the talismanic block prints (MMA 1978.546.32) (fig. 6).[617] Both the five-pointed and six-

[612] See the catalogue for a full description.

[613] This particular verse is one of the most common Qurʾānic verses on talismanic material: Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 129; Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndakī Şifalı Gömlekler* (Istanbul: Euromat, 2006), pp. 40-41, 76-77, 108-109.

[614] See the catalogue for a detailed description.

[615] Columbia University, Islamic Talisman #15. Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol., pp. 61-62, 96.

[616] 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. 166-168.

[617] See the catalogue for a description of this block print.

pointed star occurs on a number of Fatimid and Mamluk ceramics.[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 *Kufic* set on a blue with gold vegetal scroll, it contains the following Qurʾānic verses from *al-Wāqiʿa*(56:77-80). It instructs the reader of the importance of performing the ablution before reading or touching the Qurʾān. These verses appear on a variety of Qurʾāns; for example it appears on the bindings of Mamluk Qurʾāns (LACMA M.73.5.557).[619] Although LNS 25 MS is not a Qurʾān, the reader is asked to treat the sacred text in a similar manner. Islamic techniques of the occult continuously invoke practices associated with the Qurʾān and "orthodox" Islam.[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

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[618] On Fatimid material objects, both five-pointed and six-pointed stars are common. See: Marianne Barrucand, Élisabeth Antoine, and Institut du monde arabe, *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, *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, *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, 13th-14th century (CER-506-TSR); a Mamluk bowl with pseudo Kufic inscriptions and four fish swimming around the star from Egypt, 14th -15th century, (CER-615-TSR); a Mamluk bowl 14-15th century Syria (CER-1728-TSR); a panel of tiles, Mamluk, 15th century Syria (CER-501-TSR); a fragment of a basin with a star dated as Mamluk Egypt, 14th-15th century (CER-609-TSR). Lastly, there is a glass bowl in the David collection with a six-pointed star: http://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/dynasties/mamluks/art/isl_223

[619] http://collections.lacma.org/node/239924

[620] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 135-137; Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic,* pp.59-63.

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: *al-'asmā' 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.[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 *ʾAwfāq al-ʾayyām al-sabʿ* ("the magic squares of the seven days") is *al-kawākib al- dhurriya* ("the shining stars").[622] This comprises most of al-Būṣīrī's (d. ca. 1294-97) *Burda*, a poem on the "Mantle of the Prophet" known for its magical powers (fig. 41).[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.[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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[621] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 135-137; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, *Formation of the Classical Islamic World,* p. xxiii; Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, pp. 106-107.

[622] The title has a typographical error: it should be *durriya*: "The shining stars."

[623] *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," *Journal of Arabic Literature* [2006]: 145-89: Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith. Art. Culture:Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library*, pp. 44-45.

[624] S. Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman Al- Busiri's *Qasidat Al- Burdah* (*Mantle Ode)* and the Supplicatory Ode," p. 145.

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-siḥr* ("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 Qurʾānic 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.

[626] Sotheby's London, *Arts of the Islamic World Day Sale: Including Fine Carpets and Textiles,* 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-Burdah. A Poem in Praise of the Prophet Muhammad. Persia. Late 13th-14th century," lot 61

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[627] James, "Mamluk Painting at the Time of 'Lusignan Crusade' 1365-70," p. 78.

"technical illustrations."[628] Rather, it is through a specific Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān 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,

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[628] Ibid.

[629] Flood, "Image against Nature: Spolia as Apotropia in Byzantium and Dar Al-Islam."

[630] Ibid., p. 143.

[631] Swartz, "The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts," p. 197.

[632] Ibid., p. 200.

[633] Ibid., p. 202.

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 *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* ("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.[634] 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. [635] 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.[636] Relics, prophets, and saints are an important part of the religious agenda of the practitioner,[637] as noted by Frank Burch Brown:

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[634]Christiane Gruber, "A Pious Cure All: The Ottoman Illustrated Manual in the Lilly Library," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University,* ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), pp.116-153; Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library,* (New York: Oxford University Press: New York Public Library, 1992), pp. 48-50.

[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 Muhamad's nephew, Ali b. Abi Talib, in Hims.

[637] F. B. Brown, *Religious Aesthetics: A Theological Study of Making and Meaning*, *Studies in Literature and Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

> 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān in this context.[642] In addition, thinking of the minuscule red script of *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) enclosing the larger black script filled with the Qurʾānic 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, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*.

religious and aesthetic experience of the scrolls.[643] In fact, there is a cultural milieu in which theses scrolls circulated.[644] 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 Qurʾānic content.[645] The earliest dated talismanic shirt (1477-80) belonged to the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan.[646] 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.[647]

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-Kawākib* **(**also dated to the thirteenth century).[648] Indeed, the illustrations on the two scrolls make

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[643] Brown, *Religious Aesthetics: A Theological Study of Making and Meaning*, *Studies in Literature and Religion.*

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

[645] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, pp. 106-124; Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndakı Şifalı Gömlekler*, pp. 68-71.

[646] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol. 1, p. 117.

[647] I discuss this further in Chapter Four.

[648] Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book," *Muqarnas* 17, [2000]: 37-52; Oya Pancaroğlu, "Socializing Medicine: Illustrations of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq," Muqarnas* 18, [2001]:

them an important part of the discussion on medieval Arabic painting, in that they are from a similar shared intellectual culture.[649] 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).[650] There are two important dated Qurʾāns that can be found at the British Library, London: the Qurʾān of Sultan Baybars II (BL Add 22406, Add 22408) is the earliest dated example from the Mamluk period; and the Qurʾān of Sultan Faraj ibn Barquq (BL Or. 848).[651] The use of floriated *kufic* script set on an abstract vegetal scroll on the chapter headings

155-72, pp. 155-166; Jaclynne Kerner, "Art in the Name of Science: The Kitab Al-Diryaq in Text and Image," in *Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 25-39.

[649] Contadini, "The Manuscript as a Whole," pp. 3-16; Contadini, *A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the Kitāb Na't Al-Ḥayawān) in the Ibn Bakhtīshū' Tradition,* pp.1-10; Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (New York: Skira; Rizzoli, 1977); Eva R. Hoffman, "Islamic Scientific and Technical Illustration," *Grove Dictionary of Art* Online (Oxford University Press); Eva R. Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book," 37-52.

[650] Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250-1382* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); Colin F. Baker, and British Library, *Qur'an Manuscripts: Calligraphy, Illumination, Design*, (London: British Library, 2007).

[651] Baker, Colin F., and British Library, *Qur'an Manuscripts: Calligraphy, Illumination, Design*, pp. 38-39, 43, 48-49, 66-67. For a representation see: http://www.facsimile-editions.com/baybarsquran/images/BaybarsQuran.pdf

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.[652] Another important factor that relates to dating these scrolls, is the appearance of *al-kawākib al- durriya* ("the shining stars") that comprises most of al-Būṣīrī's *Burda*, a poem on the "Mantle of the Prophet" known for its magical powers (fig. 41). This is poem was distinctly important for the Mamluks.[653]

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.[654] 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).[655] Yet, it was under the

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

[652] Ibid., p. 42.

[653] Amy Whittier Newhall, "The Patronage of the Mamluk Sultan Qā'it Bay 872-901/1468-1496" (Ph.D. diss, Harvard University, 1987), p. 197.

[654] David Alexander, and Maktabat al-Malik ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-ʻĀmmah, *Furūsiyya,* (Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: King Abdulaziz Public Library, 1996), pp. 118-135; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 143-160; James, "Mamluk Painting at the Time of 'Lusignan Crusade' 1365-70."

[655] Alexander and Maktabat al-Malik ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-ʻĀmmah, *Furūsiyya;* Al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furūsīyah Literature and Its Antecedents,"; Ulrich Haarmann, "The Late Triumph of the Persian Bow: Critical Voices on the Mamluk Monopoly on Weaponry," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, (Cambridge; New York:

Mamluks that the *furūsīyah* manuals were illustrated. The *furūsīyah* sections that occur on both scrolls are further indicators of a Mamluk date.[656] 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-ṭa'n 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: *li'l-naṣr 'alā al-a'dā'* ("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-ṭa'n bi'l-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). [657]

It might be useful to create a context for these illustrations with a visual comparison to *Nihāyat al-suʾl wa'l-umniyya fī taʿallum aʿmāl al-furūsiyya* ("The Petition of Aspiration to Acquire the Works of Equitation"), manuscripts attributed to al-Ahsara'i (d. 1348) in Damascus published by David James.[658] James studies various illustrated *Nihāyat al-suʾl wa'l-umniyya fī taʿallum aʿmāl al-furūsiyya* 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)

Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.174-87; James, "Mamluk Painting at the Time of 'Lusignan Crusade' 1365-70;" G. Rex Smith, *Medieval Muslim Horsemanship: A Fourteenth-Century Arabic Cavalry Manual* (London: British Library, 1979).

[656] Al-Sarraf, "Mamluk Furūsīyah Literature and Its Antecedents," p. 142.

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

[658] James, "Mamluk Painting at the Time of 'Lusignan Crusade' 1365-70."

(fig. 60).[659] James identifies the "manner" of the illustrations as an "Arabic 'scientific' illustration"[660] because there is no foreground or context for the depictions—they are arbitrarily placed and seem to be "technical" in their representation.[661] 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.[662] Thus, it becomes clear that for the DAI scrolls in the their representation of the various weapons are not part of a *furūsīyah* 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 *furūsīyah* manuals but constitute a different genre.[663] The illustrations of *furūsīyah* 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.[664]

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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 *furūsīyah* manuals are of a different genre but one interesting connection is the depiction of the double-sworded horseman in Mamluk *furusiyyah* manuals such as on the Chester Beatty Library's *Nihāyat al-suʾl wa'l-umniyya fī taʿallum aʿmāl 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 *furūsīyah* manuals in greater detail.

[664] Christie's London, *Islamic Art and Manuscripts,* Thursday, April 29, 2003, "QurʾānScroll" lot 57; Sotheby's London, *Arts of the Islamic World Day Sale: Including Fine Carpets and Textiles,* 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-Burdah. A Poem in Praise of the

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 Qurʾān. 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 *riyāḍāt* (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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Prophet Muhammad." Persia. Late 13th-14th century," lot 61. I recently contacted the auction houses and plan to study these scrolls if they are available for further investigation.

[665] See Chapter One for a discussion of these terms.

[666] Contadini, "The Manuscript as a Whole," pp. 3-16; Contadini, *A World of Beasts: A Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Arabic Book on Animals (the Kitāb Na't Al-Ḥayawān) in the Ibn Bakhtīshū' Tradition,* pp.1-10*;* Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*; Hoffman, "Islamic Scientific and Technical Illustration;" Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book, page numbers.

[667] Hoffman, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Illustrated Book," p. 48.

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),[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.[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.[670] In addition, as Savage-Smith has shown, there are a number of bowls for the *ibṭāl al-siḥr* (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 hāmilihi min kul shayṭān* (supplicates to God to protect the carrier of the scroll from all demons); and, in general terms, the *ḥirz* (amulet) will protect the carrier from the gaze of the evil eye, from a fever, hardships of childbirth, when entering on kings, for the dispelling 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.

[669] Christie's London, *Islamic Art and Manuscripts*, Thursday, April 29, 2003, "QurʾānScroll," lot 57; Sotheby's London, *Arts of the Islamic World Day Sale: Including Fine Carpets and Textiles*. 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-Burdah. A Poem in Praise of the Prophet Muhammad." Persia. Late 13th-14th century," lot 61.

[670] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, p. 74.

ailments.[671] 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.[672] 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."[673] 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.[674] 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.

[671] Ibid., p. 76.

[672]Yehoshua Frenkel, "Dream Accounts in the Chronicles of the Mamluk Period," in *Dreaming across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. Louise Marlow, Ilex Foundation, and Center for Hellenic Studies (Cambridge, MA: distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 214-216.

[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.[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."[676] The earliest known magic medicine bowl belonged to Nur al-Din al-Zangi (r. 1146-1174).[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'zz in 650 (1252), states that a bad omen was in the air.[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 Kaʿba and that the Kaʿba stayed for twenty-one days without a *kiswa*.[679] This was the *faʾl* (omen) of the end of the Abbasid time; indeed, Hülegü destroyed Baghdad and killed al-Musta'sim Bi-Allah [several years later!].[680] Ibn Iyās continues: 656 (1258) was a year of great devastation.

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[675] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, p. 60.

[676] Ibid., p. 60.

[677] Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[678] *EI* online, "Ibn, Iyās" (W.M. Brinner); Iyās Ibn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *Badāʾi' al-zuhūr fī waqāʾi' al-duhūr*, (al-Qāhirah: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1982), pp. 290-291. Please note the following is my translation and a paraphrase of Ibn Iyās' text.

[679] Ibn Iyās and Muṣṭafá, *Badāʾi' al-zuhūr fī waqāʾi' al-duhūr*, pp. 290-291.

[680] Ibid.

News came that Hülegü had killed al-Mustaʿsim, the last Abbasid caliph. And a man in Egypt by the name of Afif al-Din b. al-Baqal 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 Taghribirdi (d. 1412) writes in the year 657 (1259) that no sooner had Qutuz been enthroned that he ordered a *munajjim* (astrologer) who used *ʻilm 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]

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[681] Ibid., pp. 297-299.

[682] Ibid., pp. 297-99.

[683] *EI* online, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrībirdī" (W. Popper); Frenkel, "Dream Accounts in the Chronicles of the Mamluk Period," p. 215; Ibn Taghrībirdī and Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, (al-Qāhirah: al-Muʾasasah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʻĀmmah lil-Taʾlīf wa-al-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr, 1963), V. 7., pp. 85-86.

[684] Ibn Taghrībirdī and Yūsuf, *Al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, pp. 85-86.

[685] Ibid.

Another version of this story appears in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Ibn al-Dawādārī *Kanz al-durar wa jāmi‘ al-ghurar* (“Translation”) regarding the year 657 (1259).[686] 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)?”[687] 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.[688] The astrologer said that this was the name of the person who would defeat the Mongols.[689] Qutuz said: Mahmud b. Mamdud is my name.[690]

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).[691] 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.[692]

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[686] *EI* online, “Ibn al-Dawādārī” (B. Lewis); Frenkel, “Dream Accounts in the Chronicles of the Mamluk Period,” p. 215; Ibn al-Dawādārī, Abū Bakr ibn ‘Abd Allāh, and Bernd Radtke, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi‘al-ghurar,* vol. 8 (al-Qāhirah: Qism al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, al-Ma‘had al-Almānī lil-Āthār bi-al-Qāhirah, 1960), pp. 41-42.

[687] Ibn al-Dawādārī and Radtke. *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmi‘al-ghurar*, vol. 8, pp. 41-42.

[688] Ibid.

[689] Ibid.

[690] Ibid.

[691] Remke Kruk, “History and Apocalypse: Ibn Al- Nafis' Justification of the Mamluk Rule,” *Der Islam* 72, [1995]: 324-37.

[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-ʻAsqalānī (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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[693] *EI* online, "Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī," (F. Rosenthal).

[694] Frenkel, "Dream Accounts in the Chronicles of the Mamluk Period," p. 203.

[695] See: Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya, pp. 598-610; Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology Annotated Translation Three Fatwas," pp. 147-208.

[696] I discuss the category of "illicit magic" in Chapter Four.

[697] Felix Klein Franke, "The Geomancy of Ahmed B. 'Ali Zunbul: A Study of the Arabic Corpus Hermeticum," *Ambix* 20, no. 1 [1973]: 26-35; Robert Irwin, "Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of

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 'uthmān* ("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 *firāsa* (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*

History," in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray, (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), pp 3-15.

[698] Irwin, "Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History," p. 4.

[699] Ibid., p. 5.

[700] Ibid., p. 7.

[701] Ibid., p.7; *EI* online, "Firāsa." (T. Fahd).

[702] Irwin, "Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History," p. 8.

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 Qurʾānic 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[703]

> "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[704]

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.[705]

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[703] Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Sorcerer and His Magic," *Sturctural Anthropology* 1, (1963): 167-85, p. 168.

[704] Keane"Language and Religion," p. 431.

[705] Keane, "Religious Language," pp. 47-71.

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."[706] 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.[707]

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.[708] 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-

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[706] Ibid., p. 48.

[707] Ibid., p. 49.

[708] 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*; Swartz, "The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts." pp. 187-211.

Nadim's (d. 991) *al-Fihrist*, and Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) *al-Muqaddima*.[709] 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 ISLMAIC 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."[710] 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.[711] In addition, he studies the visual elements of sixth-century Aramaic bowls from Iraq.[712] The most important relationship between the Jewish and Islamic amuletic

[709] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Vols. 1 and 3.

[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."[713] There are certain linguistic and visual "motifs" that overlap with the Islamic tradition.[714] 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.[715]

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.[716] As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the Islamic talismanic scrolls rely upon the power of the names of God.[717] 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, *hilyah*s (verbal descriptions) of the Prophet Muhammad, and the visual auguries of the *Falnama*.[718]

Next, Swartz highlights another essential theme in the Jewish context, viz. the use of "lists" in "incantation texts."[719] 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.

[718] Bain, "The Late Ottoman En'am-ī şerif: Sacred Text and Images in Islamic Prayer Books."; Gruber, "A Pious Cure All: The Ottoman Illustrated Manual in the Lilly Library," pp.116-153; Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, pp. 28-39.

[719] Swartz, "The aesthetics of blessing and cursing: literary and iconographic dimensions of Hebrew and Aramaic blessing and curse texts," pp. 191-192.

voice; similar to a legal decree, these texts are contracting with God for protection.[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.[721] In addition (discussed in Chapter One), lists are an important element in the primary sources, such as al-Bunī's *Shams al-Ma'ārif* and *'ilm al-ḥurūf* (science of letters).[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 *'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 reaches the moon.[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.[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."[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

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

[721] See the catalogue and Chapter Three. Also see Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans."

[722] See Chapter One.

[723] Al-Bunī, *Shams al- ma'ārif*, p. 10.

[724] See Chapter One.

[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]

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[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 housed at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo. It is published in: Fares,"Figures Magiques, " p. 55; Fehervari et al, *The Kuwait Excavations at Bahnasa/Oxyrhynchus (1985-87)*, p. 358. Another block-printed talismanic scroll with an abstracted mihrab niche resides in a private collection in Tunisia: Demeerseman, "Les donnees de la controverse autour du probleme de l'imprimerie." pp. 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* (2006): 187-211, p. 202.

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.[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.[732] I fully agree with Dols: the continuous conquests in Islam engendered an increase in Islamic magical beliefs.[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-Tanbīhāt wa'l-Ishārāt* replace the Qurʾān."[734] Besides these historical contexts, the two scrolls (LNS 12 MS, LNS 25 MS)

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[731] I return to this question of Arabic being a sacred language later in the chapter. Michael W. Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (publisher: 2004), pp. 87-101.

[732] Ibid.

[733] Ibid., p.90.

[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 Qurʾān, 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 Qurʾān was a "sacred language" that "was ideally suited to magical practices, whether written or oral."[735]

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."[736] 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.[737] 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

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[735] Ibid.

[736] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, Volume 1, p. viii.

[737] *EI* online, "Ibn al-Nadīm," (J. W. Fück; Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing." Also, for an in-depth discussion of Ibn al-Nadim's survey of the occult, see the following dissertation that I discussed in Chapter One: Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," Chapter 3, pp.72-97.

chapter on "exorcists, jugglers, and magicians,"[738] 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.[739] 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.[740] 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."[741] 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

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

[739] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 2, pp. 723-724.

[740] Ibid., vol. 2, pp.728-733; Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," pp. 76-79. See Chapter One for the discussion of Hermeticism.

[741] Ibn al-Nadīm and Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, volume 2, p. 723; Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," pp. 91-93.

about the life of Ibn Hilal.[742] 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."[743] 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-Muʿtadid (r.892-902) as "among the exorcists who worked by the names of Allah" and that his "system was praiseworthy."[744] 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.[745]

An important part of Ibn al-Nadim's discussion is "the condemned system" sources. *Siḥr* (magic/sorcery) was what "Allah prohibited."[746] Ibn al-Nadim begins with a description of a system in which spells are related to Iblis' daughter or son Bidhukh.[747] 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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[742] Ibn al-Nadīm and Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, volume 2, p. 729; Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," pp. 91-3.

[743] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 2, pp. 729,743; Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," Chapter 3, pp. 91.

[744] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 2, p. 729; Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," Chapter 3, pp. 91.

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

[746] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 2, pp. 725, 730; Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," Chapter 3, pp. 91.

[747] Ibn al-Nadīm and Dodge, *The Fihrist of Al-Nadīm: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, vol. 2, pp. 730-732.

who was known for his sources on magical scripts and dedication to Hermetic knowledge.[748] 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 '*Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt* (The Wonders of Creation).[749] 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.[750] He writes in the later Mamluk period, and his thoughts and classification of talismans and their conception as an *'ilm* (science) is important.[751] Because he discusses the occult in two different sections of *al-Muqaddima*, one

[748] See Chapter One and Francis IV, "Islamic Symbols," Chapter 3, pp. 83-85; Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, pp. xxiv, 59: *EI* online, "Ibn Waḥshiyyah" (T. Fahd).

[749] Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam*, pp. 28, 144-148.

[750] Ibid., Ibn Khaldūn and Franz Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, p. 3; Ibn Khaldun, Franz Rosenthal, and N. J. Dawood, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* abridged ed., pp. 70-89, 367-398.

[751] Please see Chapter One and the classification of talismans as *'ilm* (science) in both Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and al-Bunī.

can perhaps style Ibn Khaldun as a medieval anthropologist.[752] 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."[753] 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.[754]

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.[755] However, prophets are people who are fully aware of their supernatural perception.[756] 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."[757] 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.[758]" As Ibn Khaldun states, the soothsayers "received heavenly information from the

[752] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, p. 3.

[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."[759] Ultimately, soothsayers have a "misguided desire to become prophets."[760] One example of this type of person is Musaylima, the "false prophet."[761] Besides being false prophets, soothsayers include a different class of people who are diviners (i.e. they practice divination).[762] 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."[763] These people have "sensual perception" opposed to the "supernatural perception" of the prophets.[764] 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."[765] 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.[766] Nevertheless, the Sufis "shun" this experience as they seek to get closer to God.[767] This group of diviners are known as "*'arrāf"* and they attain some form of the

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[759] Ibid.

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

[761] Ibid. Also see: *EI* online, "Musaylima" (W. Montogmery Watt).

[762] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, pp. 213-214, 216.

[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."[768] 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.[769]

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).[770] For Ibn Khaldun, this ability is discernible in the Prophet Muhammad's companions 'Umar and Abu Bakr.[771] '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.[772] This premonition by 'Umar is a mystical state that pious people are able to experience.[773] Thus, it is considered a sanctioned practice.

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

[769] A few great objects of divination can be found in: Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*; Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*; and Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*.

[770] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, p. 223. For a basic understanding of *firāsa* see: *EI* online, "Firāsa," (Fahd); Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, pp. xl-xliv.

[771] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, pp. 223-224.

[772] Ibid., p.223.

[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."[774] Geomancers practiced *'ilm al-raml*, which was considered a sanctioned practice.[775] 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.[776] There is another set of people who practice *ḥisāb al-nīm*, this practice is derived from Ptolemy and they discover the supernatural through "astral influences."[777] Again, this science maybe related to letter magic but, as Ibn Khaldun states, this process was "not verifiable."[778] 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.[779] 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).[780] 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.*

[776] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, pp. 229-234.

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

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

[779] Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya," pp. 598-610; Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology Annotated Translation Three Fatwas," pp. 147-208.

[780] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, pp. 238-245.

states that these people do not have the power of supernatural perception.[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 *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.[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."[783] This is important, as "religious law" is a significant part of the medieval consciousness of sanctioned practices. The story of Yusuf in the Qurʾān illustrated the supernatural perception involved in dream interpretation.[784] There are two types of dream visions: true visions and false visions.[785] The false vision is the one empowered by memory; the

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[781] Ibid.

[782] 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.

[783] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*,, vol. 3, p. 103. Also see Chapter One, the Ikhwān and their discussion of dream interpretation.

[784] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*,, vol. 3, p. 103.

[785] Ibid., p. 105.

true vision receives it images from a "rational spirit."[786] 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."[787] 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."[788] The ones from the angels "require interpretation" and the ones from Satan are "confused dreams."[789]

In the discussion of *'ilm* for both the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and al-Bunī, the movement of the stars and planets was an essential tool for the construction of talismans.[790] 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."[791] 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.[792] It is

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[786] Ibid.

[787] Ibid., vol. 3, p.108.

[788] Ibid.

[789] Ibid.

[790] See Chapter One.

[791] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 134-135.

[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.[793] 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.[794] Sorcery exercises "an influence on the world of elements" without any aid.[795] Talismans activate their powers through "the aid of celestial matters," which relate back to astrology. [796] 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*.[797] In fact, as Dols suggested, for Ibn Khaldun "the souls that have magical ability are of three degrees."[798] 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**

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

[793] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 148-151.

[794] Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 156-171.

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

[796] Ibid.

[797] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 157; Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," pp. 94-95; *EI* online, "Djābir b. Hayyān" (P. Kraus [M. Plessner]); *EI* online, "al-Madjrītī" (J. Vernet).

[798] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to HistoryThe Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 158-159; Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," p. 94.

> **make talismans**; and thirdly, those **who played on people's imagination by creating phantoms and illusions.**[799]

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."[800] 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.[801] 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.[802] 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.[803] 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.[804]

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[799] Dols, "The Theory of Magic in Healing," p. 94.

[800] Ibn and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, p. 159.

[801] Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 160-165.

[802] Ibn and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 161, 164-5.

[803] Ibid, vol. 3, p. 160.

[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-Bunī's science of letters.[806] The first is the efficacy of the numbers 220 and 284 for love and friendship. This recalls al-Bunī'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

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

[806] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 162-63.

[807] Ibid. See Chapter One

[808] Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol. 1, p. 138; At Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah these amulets are unpublished: LNS 730 M, LNS 1130 M, LNS 1188J, LNS 2385 J, LNS 1314 J, LNS 1887 J, LNS 1185 J a, LNS 1185 J b.

[809] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, p. 170. See Chapter Three regarding the evil eye.

[810]Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 171-182.

[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.[812] 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.[813] 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, Abi Yazd al-Bistami (d. 874) performed a miracle by joining the two banks of the Tigris because he was in a hurry.[814] 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 "zāʾirjah."[815] This process is linked to divination using letters. It is not "supernatural," but a technique of breaking down the letters.[816]

From the previous discussion about Ibn al-Nadim and Ibn Khaldun, it becomes obvious that concepts of magic, science, and religion were intertwined through other sources such as Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'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-'Arabī." (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. ʿ Īsā b. Surūshān al-Biṣṭāmī," (H. Ritter).

[815] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, pp. 182-214. See: *EI* online., "Zā'irja." (Anne Regourd).

[816] Ibn Khaldun and Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, vol. 3, p. 183.

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.[817] 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.[818] 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 [819]

The efficacy of these scrolls, and the cases that enclose them, is in the repetition of certain Qurʾānic chapters such *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112).[820] In addition, the potency and power of a particular

[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.[821] For example, the same Qurʾānic verse from *Yūnus* (10:81) is used on the section titled *Ibṭāl 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.[822] The verse from *Yūnus* (10:81) now functions as a directive from God to annul magic.[823]

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."[824] 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.

[822] Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Sorcerer and His Magic," p. 168.

[823] Keane, "Religious Language," p. 52.

[824] Ibid.

authority and ritual efficacy" for the "text and the context" in which it is used.[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: *asʾalik* ("I ask you") and *aʿudhabik* ("I take refuge in you").[826] These verbs are placed strategically and create a cultural context for communication and "interaction" with God.[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.[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.[829] However, there are phrases, verbs, and Qurʾānic quotations that make them talismanic. There are the verbal phrases *asʿalik* ("I ask you") and *aʿudhabik* ("I take refuge in you").[830] In addition, a number of the talismanic scrolls refer to themselves textually as a *kitāb* (book) and they seek protection for the carrier of the scroll: *hāmilihi*.[831] For example, scroll MMA 1978.546.33 is a combination of floriated *kufic* and angular headings for the textblock that I

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[825] Ibid., pp. 60-62**.**

[826] For a full list of these phrases: see the Appendix One.

[827] Keane, "Religious Language," p. 48.

[828] Ibid., p. 49.

[829] See Appendix One.

[830] Ibid.

[831] Ibid.

attributed to a tenth/eleventh-century Fatimid context (fig. 7).[832] The prayers begin with one line of the Islamic creed in floriated *kufic* that reads "There is no god but God."[833] 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.[834] The text then uses the verbal phrase *asʾalik* ("I ask you") as a transition before launching into the names of God.[835] Similar to the DAI scrolls, it references itself as a *kitāb* that is hung for protection.[836] 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 Qurʾānic texts as a form of reported speech.[837] Some of the block-printed talismanic scrolls do not have a direct quotation from the Qurʾān, yet they borrow phrases that reference the Qurʾān (MMA 1978.546.34, fig. 8).[838] For example, on this particular scroll from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the phrase *kitāb al-masṭūr* ("the inscribed book") is a reference to the Qurʾānic verse from *al-Ṭūr* (52:2).[839] A learned audience with knowledge of the Qurʾān would be able to identify this phrase.

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[832] See Chapter Two.

[833] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 196-201; Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 131.

[834] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 197, 199.

[835] Ibid.

[836] Ibid., p. 198, 200.

[837] Keane, "Language and Religion," pp.439-440.

[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.[840] They each begin with a *basmala* ("In the name of God, the most Gracious, most Merciful"), followed by either the verbal phrase *asʾalik* ("I ask you") or *aʿudhabik* ("I take refuge in you") that asks God to protect the carrier of the scroll: *ḥāmilihi*. After the recognized request, they each launch into a Qurʾānic 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.[841] Each of the particular sections on the DAI scrolls ends with some formulation of *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-Allah* ("There is no strength or power without God"), sometimes asking the reader to repeat this phrase 1,000 times.[842] 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.[843] The structured linguistic feature of each of these individual sections of the DAI scrolls creates a ritualized and performative aspect to the talismanic texts.[844] 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.

[843] Keane, "Religious Language," pp. 55-57.

[844] Ibid., p. 63.

strength or power without God"), be it only once or 1,000 times.[845] 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.[846] 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.[847] 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.[848] 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.[849] Thus, as Keane has proposed, the religious language creates agency through the practitioner and exploits "a wide range of the

[845] See the catalogue of the dissertation.

[846] Webb, "Language and Religion," pp. 431-48.

[847] See Appendix One.

[848] See Chapter Three. Keane, "Language and Religion, pp. 431-48.

[849] See the catalogue.

formal and pragmatic features of everyday language."[850] The convention of this ritualistic language creates the efficacy of the talisman.[851] The way the language is structured within these prayers establishes an "authoritative action" of ritual.[852] This ritual speech found on each of these seven sanctuary sections of the two DAI scrolls produces a specific speech genre.[853] 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.[854] 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.[855] 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.[856] 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

[850] Keane, "Language and Religion," p. 431.

[851] Ibid., p. 433.

[852] Ibid., p. 434.

[853] Ibid., p. 435.

[854] Keane, "Religious Language," p. 57.

[855] Keane, "Language and Religion," p. 439.

[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 Qurʾān 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.[857] 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 *siḥr* (magic) is considered a *ʿilm* (science) and that it was based on five sources: 1) Plato; 2) a story from the court of al-Maʾmun, and verses from scripture; 3) the Qurʾān; 4) the Bible; and 5. the

[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).

Torah.[858] 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 *siḥr* (magic) is an Arabic word and is considered to be a *fann* (craft) that must be cultivated.[859] This craft is tied to a Neoplatonic theory of God; and this *fann* is a learned skill that is provided from God.[860] 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.[861] 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.[862] 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.

[860] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Beauty in Arabic Culture,* Princeton Series on the Middle East (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1998), pp. 107-123.

[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.[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.[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.[865] Ultimately, this strict religious regimen and structure, which resonates with Ṣufi practices, activates the soul of the practitioner and cultivates certain spirits from God to trigger a talisman's efficacy. The Sufi essentials: *dhikr* (remembrance of God), *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

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[863] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Beauty in Arabic Culture*, pp.108-09.

[864] See Chapter One and Three.

[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.[866] I compare the talismanic scrolls to another corpus of block prints: the dated Ayyubid block-printed pilgrimage scrolls.[867] 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.[868] 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.*

[867] Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,"; Domnique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades*.

[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 Qurʾān 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 Angles 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 Qurʾān 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-Bunī but it occurs across the primary sources and within devotional literature.[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.[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.[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.[872] Although I do not have complete information on how these scrolls were

[869] Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotion: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use,* pp. 94-107.

[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.

[871] Ibid., p. 197.

[872] See: John W. 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," pp. 147-208.

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.[873] The talismanic scrolls are related to the Arabic and Persian traditions of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat*, the Ottoman devotional manuals such as the *Du'a-name*, and Persian divination manuals such as the *Falnama.*[874] Chronologically, the '*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.[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 *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. [876] It is clear from the use of the Qur'ān on the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk scrolls, that the *Falnama* is founded on a similar system. However, it is worth mentioning, that:

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[873] For talismanic shirts and charts see: Francis Maddison, Emilie Savage-Smith, Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, and Tim Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic;* Emilie Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, pp.106-123; and Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı'ndakı Şifalı Gömlekler*, pp. 68-71.

[874] See Chapter Three. Alexander Bain, "The Late Ottoman En'am-ı şerif: Sacred Text and Images in Islamic Prayer Books"; Persis Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam*; Christiane Gruber, "A Pious Cure All: The Ottoman Illustrated Manual in the Lilly Library," pp.116-153; Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*.

[875] Berlekamp, *Wonder, Image, and Cosmos in Medieval Islam,* pp. 12-25.

[876] Farhad, Bağcı, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, pp. 20-22.

> 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*).[877]

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—include architectural landmarks (Mecca, Medina) and relics such as *Dhuʿl-Fiqār* (the two-bladed sword of the Prophet given to Ali).[878] However, the greatest cultural, textual, and visual overlap appears in how these scrolls are related to prayer manuals and the Ottoman devotional manuals, *Duʿa-name*. Having studied a number of *Duʿa-name*(s), I would assert that the use of the Qurʾān and the religious language of the scrolls have definite and clear affinities to the Islamic talismanic scroll. Although in Ottoman and Arabic, they to use a similar religious language they are a combination of Qurʾānic chapters, prayers, and illustrations of relics.[879] I plan to show/affirm/confirm that connection in the publication of this dissertation. In addition, later prayer manuals—such as *Dalā'il al-khayirāt*, which venerates the Prophet Muhammad and was

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[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 *Dhuʿl-Fiqār*. I plan to research these scrolls in further detail as an independent project.

[879] Bain, "The Late Ottoman En'am-ī şerif: Sacred Text and Images in Islamic Prayer Books"; Gruber, "A Pious Cure All: The Ottoman Illustrated Manual in the Lilly Library,", pp.116-153.

composed by Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazūlī's (d.869/1465)—also shares similar pattern of religious language with the scrolls.[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 Jazuli'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.[881] However, on the talismanic scrolls, God is the intercessor; on the *Dalā'il al-khayirāt,* 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?[882] In Byzantium, the "icon becomes one and the same with what it portrays."[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."[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."[885] If I apply Vikan's questions to the Islamic talismanic scrolls, then what makes them sacred for the practitioner? As I discussed in

[880] Yasmine Al-Saleh, "An Ottoman Prayer Book Goes to War;" Yasmine Al-Saleh, "An Introductory analysis of *Dalā'il al-khayirāt*: LNS 3 MS, from the al-Sabah Collection," pp.14-16.

[881] Yasmine Al-Saleh, "An Introductory analysis of *Dalā'il al-khayirāt*: LNS 3 MS, from the al-Sabah Collection," pp.14-16.

[882] Gary Vikan, "Sacred Image, Sacred Power," in *Late Antique and Medieval Art of the Mediterranean World*, edited by Eva Hoffman (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 135-46.

[883] Ibid., p. 136.

[884] Ibid., p. 140.

[885] Ibid.

Chapter Two: The sanctity of the object comes from the names of God and the Qur'ān.[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.[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).[888]

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[886] See Chapter Two.

[887] Francis Maddison, Emilie Savage-Smith, Ralph H. Pinder-Wilson, and Tim Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, pp. 72-105, 124-147; Venetia Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?," pp. 179-200; 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*; Anne Regourd, "A Magic Mirror in the Louvre and Additional Observations on the Use of Magic Mirrors in Contemporary Yemen," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'ān and Its Creative Expressions: Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London, 18-21 October 2003*, pp. 135-55; D. S. Rice, "A Seljuq Mirror," pp. 288-90.

[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'ānic 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'ānic Throne verse (2:255) all damascened in gold. The back of the blade is stamped in gold with the seal of

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"Amulets and Talismans from the Islamic World" in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000-) November 2006, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tali/hd_tali.htm.
For further reading please see: D. Alexander, *The Arts of War: Arts and Armour of the 7th to 19th Centuries,* (New York, NY: Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 21,1992).

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: unglazed with visible 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
Literature: Bulliet 1987, p. 429; Schaefer 2006, p.169-176
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 palmette 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-fātiḥa* (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 Fuṣṣilat* (41:41-42). Next, the text calls on itself as the *kitāb al-ʿaziz* (powerful scroll) that is

[889] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* p. 170; Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1961), pp. 84-85.

empowered by the preceding Qurʾānic verses; and asks the reader to hang this scroll upon himself.[890] 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-fātiḥa*, then the Throne verse from *al-Baqarah* seven times along with the *al-muʿwadhāt* seventy-one times over some water.[891] 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

[890] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, p. 171.

[891] al-Bunī, *Shams al-ma'arif,* 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.[892] A red line cuts across the space marking an introduction to the next section of text.[893] 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.[894] 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-wāḥid al-qahār* ("Sovereignty belongs to God, the only One, the One who

[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.

subdues").[895] 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).[896] 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").[897] Next, one encounters a longer monochromatic block that is almost identical to the one above; it is missing the last line.[898] The vertical text reads: *Al-Malik ilāh wāḥid 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 ilā 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

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[895] According to Manijeh Bayani and Venetia Porter, this phrase was engraved on the seal of ʻAli b. Abī Ṭalib. 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. 72.

[896] For a discussion of the significance of the repetition of certain chapters of the Qur'an, see Chapter Four of the dissertation.

[897] 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. 71-72.

[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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʿImrān* (3:18). [899] 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.[900]

[899] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp. 190-1.

[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
Literature: Barrucand, Antoine, and Institut du monde arabe (France), 1998, p.155; Depaulis 1998 p.36; Schaefer 2006, p.193-196; *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History:* http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1978.546.32. (October 2006)
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."[901] The text block begins with "In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful," the *basmala*, followed by invocations in the names of God, Qurʾānic verses from *Al-Baqarah* (2:1) and *Al-ʿImrān* (3:1), and references to *jinn* (supernatural beings).[902] The full text is not decipherable. However, it is interesting to note that the Qurʾānic verses include one of the "crowning words" of the Qurʾān: A-L-M. [903] These words are known for their talismanic power.

[901] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, p.195.

[902] Ibid., pp. 194-195.

[903] Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 150-151.

5.
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* 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").[904] It begins with four lines of angular *kufic* that quote the Qurʾān *Al-ʿImrān* (3:18). [905] The Qurʾānic 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.[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.[907]

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[904] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 197-201.

[905] Ibid.

[906] Ibid.

[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.[908] 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-Ṣāffāt* (37:10); and another important phrase, *al-kitāb al-masṭūr* (the inscribed book i.e., Qurʾān), is from a number of Qurʾānic verses.[909] 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

[908] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 201-205. Annmarie Schimmel's transcription can be found in The Metropolitan Museum of Art electronic database.

[909] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English*, pp. 432, 516: Muhammad Fu'ad Abd al-Baqi and Husayn A'Lami, *Al-Muʿjam Al-mufahras li-alfāẓ al-Qurʾān al-karim.. wa-yalihi al-fihris al-abjadi*, p. 430.

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 *hādhā al-kitāb fī 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: 10th-11th 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.

[911] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English*, p. 245.

circles and the prayers one should inscribe within them.[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.[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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic 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.[914]

[912] al-Bunī, *Shams al-ma'arif*, pp. 38-64.

[913] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 209-211.

[914] Bewley and Bewley, *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
Literature: Schaefer 2006, p. 211-215
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 Qurʾānic 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-fātiḥa* (1) and then is followed by *Al-ʿImrān* (3:18) from the Qurʾān 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.[916] The decorative motif of the rectangle resembles the ceiling of Cappella Palatina in Palermo.[917] The text of the block print evokes the name of God and one verse from the Qur'ān *sūrat Fuṣṣilat* (41:41).[918] 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.

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[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 Cappela 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, *ḥāmilih,* 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
Literature: Schaefer 2006, pp.182-185; Bulliet 1987, pp. 433-434
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 Qurʾānic verses are apparent: *sūrat Ṭā Ha* (20:105), and *Al-ʾAnfāl* (8:11).[920]

[919] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp.183-185.

[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
Literature: Schaefer 2006, p.187-191
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. [921] The proclamation is also known as *taqdīs* (stating God's holiness).[922] The banners flank a mihrab niche. Two knotted bands with inscriptions from *al-Ikhlāṣ* 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.[923]

[921] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms*, pp. 187-88; 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. 72.

[922] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 66.

[923] Aksoy and Milstein. "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," pp. 100-34.

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 Qurʾānic verse from *Aṣ-Ṣāf* (61:13) both were block printed.[924] 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.[925] 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.[926]

[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: 11th-12th 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
Literature: Barrucand, Antoine, and Institut du monde arabe (France) 1998, p.155; Depaulis,1998, p.134; Schaefer 2006, p. 205-209
Figure 16

Description:

Based on stylistic and paper analysis, these two block prints must be treated as one complete scroll.[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 *taʿwīdh* (refuge seeking).[928] The text also evokes the names of God,[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 Qurʾānic. It contains the last word of *al-fātiḥa* (1) and *al-muʿwadhāt* (*sūrat al-Falaq, an-Nās*:113 and 114) known for their protective function.

[927] I would like to thank Yana Van Dyke in the Department of Paper Conservation at the Metropolian Museum of Art for discussing these two objects with me in great detail.

[928] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 84.

[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 Qurʾānic verse *sūrat Al-Fatḥ* (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 Qurʾānic verse: *Liʾl-dukhūl ʾalā al-mulūk* ("for entry upon the kings") *Al-Māʾidah* (5:23), *Ibṭāl 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
Literature: Schaefer 2006, p.181-182, Bulliet 1987, p. 437
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 ghālib ilā Allah* ("There is no victor but God). This phrase is known as the Nasrid creed.[931] This declaration is known as *tasbīḥ* and *taqdīs* (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.[933] However, the outer frame of the circle is a mixture of letters and numbers that cannot as yet be deciphered.[934] Besides the textual content, there is some smudged red ink that probably resulted from folding the folio.

[933] Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms,* pp. 181-82.

[934] Ibid.

17.
Subject: Talismanic scroll
Date: undated, attributed to the 14th century[935]
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 Qurʾānic 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.[936] The black marginal text comprises verses from *sūrat Yā-Sīn* (36:37-83) and ends with most of the Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-Baqarah* (2:285).[937]

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

[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 Qurʾānic quotations and devotional prayers used in a talismanic context.

The first heading reads: *al-haykal al-ʾawwal* (The first sanctuary).[938] 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: *ḥāmilihi*. [939] 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.[940] As for the last two to three verses of *sūrat Al-Baqarah*, they are known as beneficial for the person seeking forgiveness.[941] In other words, the *al-haykal al-ʾawwal* (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").[942] This

[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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʾālih 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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets), "derives from the Qurʾān": *Al-ʾAḥzāb* (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 bi'l-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 (*alih wa ṣuhbih ajmaʿīn*).

[944] Ibid.

[945] Elaine Wright, *Islam: Faith. Art. Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* , p. 41.

[946] *EQ* online "Moses," (C. Schöck); *EQ* online "Commandments," (K. Lewinstein),

power without God," and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad, the *khātim al-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih 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-ʾIsrāa* (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-ʾIsrāa* (17:105). It is interesting that this verse from *sūrat Al-ʾIsrāa* (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 ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets), along with *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih 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 Qurʾānic text protects *ḥāmilih 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān 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. [948] In addition, the particular verses *sūrat Ṭā Ha* (20:5-8) quoted on the scroll, are verses that also reference the Qurʾān *sūrat Ṭā Ha* (20:1-4) that refer to the Prophet Muhammad's "sign of prophethood": The Qurʾān. 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-nabiyīn* (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.[949] The sanctuary then ends with a blessing upon God and a fraction of a Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-*

[948] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English*, p. 294; G. Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," pp. 17-105.

[949] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions,* p. 246.

ʿ*Imrān* (end of 3:173): "Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians."[950] This Qurʾānic verse is repeated over and over in this scroll and on LNS 25 MS.

The fifth sanctuary returns to the theme of Qurʾānic recitation and the power found in it using *sūrat Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:45-46). The verses state that whoever reads the Qurʾān 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.[951] Both of these sets of verses have talismanic connotations in that they call upon the Qurʾān to create a shield and protect the reader, and they call upon the ninety-nine names. The last verse, also from *sūrat Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:110), affirms the oneness of God and that there is "no partner in His Kingdom."[952] The sanctuary ends with the phrase *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God," along with the Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʿImrān* "Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians" (end of 3:173) and a *taḥmīd* (praise of God).[953]

Although the sixth sanctuary has the same beginning as the preceding five, its textual content is mostly non-Qurʾānic. 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 fī 'l-ghlūt* ("bless the demon [a being related to the *jinn*] in his mistakes / in the extent of his speed").[954] The two protective Qurʾānic 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

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[950] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* p. 64.

[951] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions,* p. 30.

[952] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* p. 274.

[953] Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p. 65.

[954] *EI* online "Waḥsh (a.)," (W. P. Heinrichs,).

al-muʿawidhatān (the two-refuge seeking [chapters]).[955] Once again, the text asks the reader to utter: *lā ḥawl 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 *alih wa ṣuhbih* (his family and companions) the Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʿImrān* (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-ghalwat*?[956] It proceeds to ask the reader to repeat the phrase *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" one thousand times, followed by the Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʿImrān* (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.[957] This is followed by a request to God to make *ḥāmilih* (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 Qurʾānic verses and prophetic stories.

The section, *Li'l-dukhūl ʾalā al-mulūk* ("For entry upon the kings"), begins with the *basmala* ("In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful") and enters into a continuous Qurʾānic text comprising verses from various chapters *Al-ʿImrān* (3) *Al-Māʾidah* (5) and *al-*

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[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.

Qaṣaṣ (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.[958] 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-Qaṣaṣ* (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-Qaṣaṣ* (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.[959] 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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[958] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti,and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* p. 140.

[959] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* pp. 371-72.

The last verse, *Al-ʿImrān* (3:37), narrates the story of Mary, daughter of Zakariya, who was protected by God.[960] 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 bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" one thousand times, followed by a blessing for God via the Qurʾānic 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 *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih 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-ṭā'ah* (For ?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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān; 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 bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" one thousand times, followed the Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (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

[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. *Faḍā'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 *naẓra*. It begins with the familiar *basmala* ("In the name of God, Most Gracious Most Merciful"). The text reads: *'aqadit 'an ḥāmil kitābī hādhā 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 Qurʾānic verse, the Throne verse (2:255). [961] Succinctly, the passage seeks protection in the name of God and the repetition of: *lā ḥawl 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 *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih ajma'īn* (his family and companions).

As the reader progresses down the scroll, the headings and the intention behind the Qurʾānic verses become more specific. The next three sections deal with bodily healing. The next heading reads: *Al-sāyir al-ʾawjāʿ* ("For the relief of pain"). It begins with the invocation of the name of God. Qurʾānic verses from the chapter titled *Al-Anbiyāʾ* (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

[961] T. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 131.

[962] The trail of scribal error continues as the last word of verse *Al-Anbiyāʾ* (21:70) was replaced with a synonym.

[963] *EI* online,"Nār," (T. Fahd).

scroll] from all forms of sickness: *ʿaqadit ʿan ḥāmilih jamīʿ al-amrāḍ*. After all, as the text asserts, the Qurʾān is a form of healing and peace for all believers in God. The text then recites two verses from *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:45-46) that further elaborates on the power of the Qurʾān.[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 Qurʾānic 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 *khātim al-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih ajmaʿīn* (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 Qurʾānic quotations and devotional prayers. The first Qurʾānic verse from the chapter titled *Al-Anʿām* (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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173): "Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians", and a blessing on the Prophet

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[964] *Al-ʾIsrāa* (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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets). The section ends in rhythmic verbs that are thankful to God and describe his attributes: *ʿāfī* (forgives), *ishfī* (heals), and *ikfī wa int 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 wa al-qawlanj* ("For stomach aches and intestinal diseases").[967] The Qurʾānic story that is emphasized is part of the story of Abraham smashing the idols from the chapter titled, *Ash-Shuʿarāʾ* (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 wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God," along with the Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173) "Allah is enough for us and the best of Guardians," and a blessing for the Prophet Muhammad *khātim al-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih ajmaʿīn* (his family and companions). The significance of the Qurʾānic 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]

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[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, *Lī-ḍarb al-sayf* ("For the striking of the sword"). Similar to the other sections, it is predominately Qurʾānic. The first two verses from the chapter titled *Sabaʾ* (34:10-11) relate the story of the gifts that David received from God.[970] In particular, God instructed David to "make coats of mail," an appropriate verse for protection from a sword.[971] The section continues with a verse from the chapter titled *Muḥammad* (47:4) which is a clear *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 *Al-ʾAnfāl* (the end of 8:12-13). The section ends by reiterating, *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God," along with the Qurʾānic 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 *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: *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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʾAnfāl* (partial 8:17) recalls a moment from the Battle of Badr, the Prophet Muhammad's first victory,[972] 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," *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

[970] *EQ* online, "David," (Hasson).

[971] Ibid.

[972] *EQ* online "Badr," (Nawas).

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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih 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 Qurʾānic 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, *ṭa'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 *Hā Mīm 'Ain Sīn Qāf*. and protection comes from *Kaf Hā Yā 'Ain Ṣād*." These mystical letters are from the beginning of *sūrat Ash-Shūra* (42) and *sūrat Maryam* (19), respectively.[973] Therefore, the Qurʾān is indirectly referenced by these mystical letters which "represent the heavenly language" of God.[974] 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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *mursilīn* (the preceding prophets).

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[973] T. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 150-152.

[974] Ibid.

In the section titled *Lil-ḥayya wa al-ʻaqrab* ("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 Qurʾānic 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. [975] 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-nabiyīn* (last of the Prophets) and *ʾālih wa ṣuhbih ajmaʻīn* (his family and companions) are interrupted by the depictions of the snake and scorpion.

The sun and the moon decorate the next section titled *Ṭāʻa wa qubūl* ("For obedience and acceptance"). The text is mostly Qurʾānic 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.[976] 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 Qurʾānic 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.

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[975] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn*, p. 53.

[976] *EQ* online "Sun," (Kunitzsch).

The talismanic nature of the scroll is explicitly understood in the next heading, *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* ("For annulling magic"). Appropriately, the passage recounts various Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān. 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

[977] *EQ* online, "Moses," (C. Schöck).

[978] Ibid.

Moses' nine signs and the fourth is about the ninety-nine names of God and the implied miracle of the Qurʾān. Here, the text transitions from the two important signs of Moses' prophethood (the white hand, and the rod) to the Qurʾān *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 worlds, 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 Qurʾānic verse *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173), and a blessing to the Prophet Muhammad *khātim al-nabiyīn* (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 *budūḥ* and *ajhzṭ*.[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."

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[979] Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd Al-Malik's Dome Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," p. 71.

[980] T. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," p. 157.

[981] Ibid., p. 158. Also see the box with a lid: MMA 91.1.538; it is inscribed with the word *budūḥ*. 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-Anʿām* (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 *Ṭāriq 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 Qurʾān *Aṭ-Ṭāriq* (86:1-2), and Judgment Day. An appropriate text, as the scroll continues with supplicating in God for assistance on Judgment Day.

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[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 *muaqqaq* script is reminiscent of a Mamluk style. See James, *The Master Scribes: Qur'ans 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Ar-Raḥmān* (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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-Jāthiya* (45:29), along with the mystical letters from the beginning of *sūrat Ash-Shura* (42:1-2): *Hā Mīm, 'Ain Sīn Qāf* and the phrase "There is no strength or power without God."[984] 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 *ḥāmilih* (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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat An-Naml* (27:30) that illustrates the power of the name of God.[985] 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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat An-Nisāa* (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).[986] The fragmentary Qurʾānic quotations from these two chapters, *al-Qaṣaṣ* (28) and *Ṭā Ha* (20) (sections of Qurʾān 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 takhif* (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-Māʾidah* (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).[987] 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-ʿImrān* (3:173), *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:45) and *Yā-Sīn* (36:9). The paragraph ends by asking God to protect *ḥāmilih* (the carrier of the scroll) from the evils of humanity and the *jinn* and recalls the Qurʾānic verse *sūrat Aṭ-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-ʿImrān* (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.

[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
Literature: *Fine Oriental Manuscripts, Miniatures, and Qajar Lacquer*, London: Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co, 13 October 1980, Lot 92; The Dar Al-Athar Al Islamiyyah, *Kuwait National Museum Newsletter,* April/May 1985; James 1988, p.98.
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 Qurʾānic 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 fatḥun qarībun*," and a formulaic Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verses from *sūrat al-Wāqiʿa* (56:77-80**)** instruct the reader about the importance of performing the ablution before reading or touching the Qurʾān. It reads, "It truly is a Noble Qurʾān in a well-protected Book. No one may touch it except the purified. Revelation sent down from the Lord of the Worlds."[988]

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-ʾAsmāʾ 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-

[988] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* pp. 533-4.

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 yanẓurūn ʾilā ṣīḥatun 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-Sharḥ* (94) with two mistakes, *At-Tīn* (95), *Al-Qadr* (97) is missing verse (97:2), *Al-Zalzalah* (99), *Al-ʿĀdiyāt* (100), *Al-Qāriʿa* (101), *Al-Takāthur*

[989] Ibid., p. 428.

(102), *Al-ʻAsr* (103), *An- Naṣr* (110), *Al-Masad* (111), *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) follow each with their own *basmala*.[990]

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).[991] 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 du'ā, 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 Qur'an convey a Judgment Day theme that I discuss in Chapter Three.

[991] *sūrat Ṭā Ha* (20:114), *Al-Mūʾminūn* (23:116)

takhlif al-mī ʻād (Allah will not fail to keep his promise).[992] In other words, God controls all hardships in life and the afterlife. Towards the end of the duʻā, 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 bi'l-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 Qurʾān in the nineteenth circle, and with one more repetition of *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-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.[993] Beginning with *al-haykal al-ʾawwal* (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 bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God." The passage continues by thanking God for one's

[992] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* p. 233.

[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 ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God." And directs the readers to the Qurʾānic verses from the following chapters: *Al-ʿImrān* (3:173-175), *Al-A'rāf* (7:196), *At-Tawba* (9:129), and *Yūnus* (10:62-65). The first set of verses from *Al-ʿImrān* (3:173-175) narrate the story of the Prophet Muhammad and his confrontation with Abu Sufyān at the market of Badr.[994] 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-A'rāf* (7:196), the Qurʾān protects the Muslims.[995] What is interesting about the verse from *Al-A'rāf* (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*. [996] The section ends by calling on one thousand recitations of *al-muʿwadhāt* from the Qurʾān (*al-Ikhlāṣ* 112*, al-Falaq* 113*, an-Nās* 114) and once again the phrase *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God." It ends with the familiar *Al-ʿImrān* (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

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[994] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* p. 91.

[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-ʿImrān* (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 bi'l-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 bi'l-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-ʿImrān* (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), *siḥr* (sorcery), *makr* (deceit), and the *'adū* (enemy). The passage asks the reader to recite *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) one thousand times and to submit to

[997] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn*, p. 95.

[998] *EI* online, "ʿAd̲j̲am," (F. Gabrieli).

God and ask for refuge from Satan. Additional Qurʾānic 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 Yaʿqūb (Jacob). Why Yaʻqūb? In the context of talismanic literature and material culture, such as the talismanic shirts, Yaʿqūb is blinded by his sadness over the loss of his son, Yusuf. Yaʿqūb eventually regains his eyesight when Yusuf is returned to his father and he wipes Yaʻqūb'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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʿImrān* (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 Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Ṭā 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 Qurʾān offers the ultimate protection with the

[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-wajiʿ al-raʾs* ("For headaches").

[1000] *EQ* online "Jacob," (A. Rippin); Roxburgh, *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600-1600,* pp. 458-9.

verses from *Al-ʾIsrāa* (17:45-46); this allows the scroll to turn into an amulet.[1001] The text continues with *sūrat Al-ʾIsrāa* (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 ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God," with the Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-ʿImrān* (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).

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-mustaḥiyāt* (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-Raʿd* 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-Raʿd*

[1001] This particular set of verses were discussed above under LNS 12 MS: the fifth sanctuary and *Al-sāyir al-'awjā'* ("For the relief of pain").
[1002] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* p. 464.
[1003] Ibid.

(13:11-14) 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, Mikāʾīl, ʾIsrāfīl, and ʾAzrābīl.[1004] These four archangels, according to the text, are known to surround the throne of God, and *ḥāmil kitābī hādhā* (the carrier of this scroll). Jibrīl is the support and pillow of the throne, Mikāʾīl is on the left of the throne, and ʾIsrāfīl is in front of the throne. God protects the carrier of the scroll.[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 quwwa ilā bi'l-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 *āl Muhammad* (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, Mikāʾīl, ʾIsrāfīl, ʾAzrābīl by reciting one

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[1004] T. Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," pp. 137-139. Cannan states that these four angels (Jibrīl, Mikāʾīl, ʾIsrāfīl, ʾIzrābīl) occur on most *ḥujub* (amulets).

[1005] The implication and voice of the text is that these angels surround God and the carrier of the scroll.

thousand times *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God." The next two sets of Qurʾānic verses from *sūrat An-Nisāa* (4:40) and *sūrat Yūnus* **(**10:44) communicate God's justice. It ends with verses that remind the reader of the consequences for those who do not believe in God from *sūrat Hūd* (11:121-123). After all, God's power is all encompassing as conveyed in the verses from *Yā-Sīn* (36:81-83). Once again, the sanctuary ends in a similar manner with the phrase *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God," the Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173), and a blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and and *āl Muhammad* (his family, i.e., his progeny) up until *yawm al-dīn* (Judgment Day).

The seventh sanctuary has a different opening than the other six and visually resembles a mihrab niche. It begins with the *basmala* and seeks refuge in *al-hayākil al-sabʿ* ("the seven sanctuaries"). It also calls upon all the prophets and the angels who carry the throne of God with one thousand recitations of *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) and *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God." It furthers the communication with God by repeating the names of God and asking for His forgiveness and mercy. The text continues with Qurʾānic verses from *sūrat Ṭā Ha* (20:46) and *An-Naml* (partial verse 27:10) both verses illustrate that one should not have fear and should trust in God. For the knowledgeable reader of the Qurʾān, both verses are part of the stories of Moses at the Pharaoh's court and God commanding Moses not to fear the Pharaoh. The following two sets of verses from *sūrat Aṭ-Ṭalāq* (65: end of 2 to beginning of 3) and *sūrat An-Nūr* (24:64) convey God's power and knowledge and ability to know everything. The text then states that *ḥāmil kitābī hādhā* (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll) in *ḥirz Allah* (God's protection) by the names of God and His power.[1006] The text ends by

[1006] 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-musabiʿ* (seal of God that has seven sides), which is also known as the seal of the heavens and earth.[1007] 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 ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" along with the Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (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 *ʾAwfāq al-ʾayyām al-sabʿ* ("the magic squares of the seven days").[1008] 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 Qurʾānic *lawḥ* (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**.**

[1008] Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* p. xxv; Maddison, Savage-Smith, Pinder-Wilson, and Stanley, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol.1, pp. 106-7.

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*.[1009] 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.[1010] The idea is that by reciting the poem one is able to see the Prophet Muhammad who has the ability to cure all.[1011]

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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-Baqarah* (partial 2:165) that appears after the initial *basmala*. The verse communicates that those who love God overflow with love.[1012] It elaborates further with a verse from *Al-ʾAnfāl* (8:63) that illustrates that God creates affection and devotion among his followers. The subsequent Qurʾānic verse from *Al-Anbiyāʾ* (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

[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.

[1012] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* p. 22.

when Solomon was eleven years old. Solomon had solved a problem in which a shepherd's sheep had eaten the crops on cultivated land.[1013] 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 Qurʾānic verses from *Al-ʿImrān* (3:31-35) is interrupted by five rows of magic numbers and symbols, which most likely invoke the names of God.[1014] 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 Qurʾānic verse is the last one, again from *Al-ʿImrān* (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-Allah* "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 ʾalā 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-Māʾidah* (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 Qurʾānic verses that follow from *Aṭ-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-Qaṣaṣ* 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).[1015] 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 bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" along with the Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173).

Ibṭāl al-siḥr ("for annulling magic"), begins with the same Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verses *Yūnus* (10:81-82) and then verses from *Al-A'rāf* (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 'an 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-Qaṣaṣ* (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 *Li'l-dukhūl alā al-mulūk* ("For entry upon the kings") LNS 12 MS (28: end of 25, end 28:31).

along with the Qurʾānic verse *Al-ʿImrān* (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: *ʻaqadit ʻan 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 Qurʾānic verses from *Al-Baqarah* (partial section of 2:18 or 2:171) *Yā-Sīn* (partial 36:9) *Al-Mūʾminūn* (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-Mūʾminūn* (23:115), most of *An-Naml* (27:85).[1016]

The first Qurʾānic 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.[1017] 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-Mūʾminūn* (23:115) in an authoritative voice that ridicules the infidels asking them if

[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.

[1017] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* pp. 3, 22.

God created them in jest. After all, as stated in *An-Naml* (27:85) and *Al-Mursalāt* (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 Qurʾānic voice, asks God to protect *ḥāmil kitābī hādhā* (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll) from *kul lisān nāṭiq bī sirr* (any eloquent tongue that speaks the secret of) one thousand recitations of *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā 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 Qurʾānic 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.[1018] In other words, it is implied that all the ill-spoken tongues are silenced by the Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (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-waji' al-ra's* ("For headaches"). After the *basmala*, it opens with a Qurʾānic verse from *sūrat Al-Furqān* (25:45) stating that God has the ability to cause a shadow to remain *sākinan* (stationary). [1019] The scribe builds on the context of the Qurʾān through a play on words by asking God to *iskin* (calm) the

[1018] *EI* online, "Ramaḍān," (M. Plessner).

[1019] Bewley and Bewley, *The Noble Qur'an: A New Rendering of Its Meaning in English,* p. 346.

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.[1020] The scribe asks God to protect *ḥāmil kitābī hādhā* (the carrier of this book, i.e., scroll) from headaches with *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God." The text returns to supplication by a set of Qurʾānic verses from *Al-A'rāf* (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 bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" and a blessing to the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment Day.

Lī-waji' al-'ayn ("For eye pain"): After the *basmala*, this section of the scroll opens with the quintessential *Nūr* (Light) verses (24:35-38).[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 bi'l-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 *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny to Judgment day.

[1020] Ibid., p.114; http://www.usc.edu/org/cmje/religious-texts/quran/verses/006-qmt.php

[1021] *EI* online, "Light," (J. Elias.).

The next two sections are related to military accomplishments. The first one, *li'l-naṣr 'alā al-a'dā'* ("For victory over the enemy"), begins with the *basmala* followed by Qurʾānic 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.[1022] The passage continues to highlight the reality that victory comes from God as conveyed in the verses from *Al-ʾAnfāl* (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).[1023] Indeed, God aided the Muslims in a number of victories (Badr, Qurayẓa, Naḍīr).[1024] 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).[1025] Besides the Prophet Muhammad's victory, the Qurʾānic verses from *Aṣ-Ṣāffāt* (37:116-118) emphasize Moses' victory over the Pharaoh as confirmed in the Torah.[1026] Five lines of magic numbers and symbols interrupt this set of verses, which then

[1022] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* p. 830. Also see: *EQ* online "Mecca," (J. Chabbi); *EQ* online, "Victory," (M. Gordon).

[1023] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. 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.

[1024] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* p. 242-3; *EQ* online, "Expeditions and Battles," (R. Faizer).

[1025] Ibid.; *EQ* online, "Ḥunayn," (I. Mattson).

[1026] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* p. 594.

reiterate that Moses was set on the path of God. The passage ends with two more verses from *Aṣ-Ṣāffāt* (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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (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-Ikhlāṣ* (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, Mikāʾīl, ʾIsrāfīl. It asks each of the angels to be on a particular side of the horseman and his horse: Jibrīl on the right, Mikāʾīl on the left, ʾIsrāfīl in front, with God protecting them from above. Once again, the theme of the Qurʾānic 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-Raʿd* (13:11). As stated in *Al-Ḥijr* (15:9), it is important to remember the recitation of the Qurʾān. Speaking of the power of the words of God, the text recounts the Qurʾānic 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-Ikhlāṣ* (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-Ḥummā wa al-ḥumra* ("For fever and redness"). The theme of this section is that the Qurʾān 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 bi'l-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.

Li'l-'ayn wa al-naẓra ("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 bi'l-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-A'rāf* (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

[1027] In talismanic text the word *'ain* 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (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 Qurʾānic verses from *Al-Anbiyāʾ* (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 Qurʾānic 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-Anbiyāʾ* (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

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[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 Qurʾānic verse.[do you mean the 'subsequent Qur'anic 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.

[1032] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* pp. 427-28.

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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173) and wishes for prosperity. It is interesting that there is no blessing on the Prophet.

Li'l-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-Falaq, an-Nās* (112,113, 114). It then reads *al-fātiḥa* (1) and ends with the phrase: *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God" along with a Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173) and blessing on the Prophet Muhammad and his progeny, and companions to Judgment Day.

The following section, *Li-jamīʿ al-awjāʿ* ("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-awjāʿ* ("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 bi'l-Allah* "There is no strength or power without God," as well as *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112).[1033] The passage continues to quote from the Qurʾān from *Al-A'rāf* (7:196), a verse that seeks refuge in God and the Qurʾān. This verse was discussed above in the first sanctuary and the *Li'l-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

[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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (end of 3:173).

Lī-rukūb al-baḥr ("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, *ḥīn tarkab al-baḥr*. Appropriately, the Qurʾānic verses from *Al-ʿImrān* (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.[1034] 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).[1035] It is followed by an apt verse from *An-Naḥl* (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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (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: *Ṭalʿa 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

[1034] This set of verses from *Al-ʿImrān* (3:26-27) occurs in the fifth sanctuary of LNS 25 MS.

[1035] See above regarding the significance of the Qur'anic chapter *An- Naṣr* (110) and the conquest of Mecca.

the initial *basmala* the text proceeds with Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic verses from *Al-ʿImrān* (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-Ikhlāṣ* (112) followed by one thousand *lā ḥawl wa lā quwwa 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-ramḥ ("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 Qurʾānic 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).

[1037] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* pp. 582-583.

[1038] *EQ* online,"Samuel," (Philip F. Kennedy).

[1039] Ibid.; Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* p. 53.

verses are from *sūrat An-Nisāa* (4:74, 4:77) and *Al-Baqarah* (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-ʿImrān* (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-ʿImrān* (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 Qurʾānic verses from *Al-ʾAnfāl* (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.[1040] 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.[1041] The subsequent Qurʾānic verse from *Sabaʾ* (34:54) continues with the victories of the Prophet Muhammad and the fate of those who do not follow him. The text quotes *al-muʿwadhāt*: *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 Qurʾānic 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-fars* ("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 Qurʾān).[1042] 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.

[1040] *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.

[1041] *EQ* online, "Victory," (M. Gordon).

[1042] 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").

Bāb li'l-muṭalaqa ("The absolute last charm"), is the last section of the scroll and it begins with Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾān, *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.[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 Qurʾānic verse from *Al-ʿImrān* (3:173).[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.

[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-Alsin* (forgiveness of tongues).

[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
Literature: *Islamic Art and Manuscripts,* London: Christie's, May 1, 2001, Lot 231.
Figure 52

Description:

This repousséd, 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 repousséd 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."[1045] 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 Qurʾānic 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 Qurʾānic inscriptions in *naskh* script.

The top domical terminal begins with the ultimate victory-seeking verse, *Aṣ-Ṣaff* (61:13) followed by the end of *al-Jumuʻa* (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.[1046] 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-Ḥashr* (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-ʻAsr* (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.[1047] The Prophet was afraid of being abandoned by God. However, God reminded the Prophet Muhammad through the revelation of

[1046] I have divided the case into sections based on the DAI object catalogue.

[1047] Jalal al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad Mahalli, Suyuti Suyuti, and Marwan Sawar*, Al-Qur'an Al-Karim: Bi-Al-Rasm Al-'Uthmani. Wa-Bihamishi Tafsir Al-Imamayn Al-Jalilayn,* pp. 811-812.

this chapter that he was blessed with prophethood and that he should reveal his message.[1048] As for *Al-ʻAsr* (103), it was revealed after the conquest of Mecca.[1049] 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-ʻAnkabūt* (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-muʻwadhāt* (112, 113, 114) are known for their refuge-seeking properties.[1050] 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-ʻAsr* (103) in LNS 25 MS.

[1050] See above for a discussion of these chapters.

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ILLUSTRATIONS[1]

[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 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

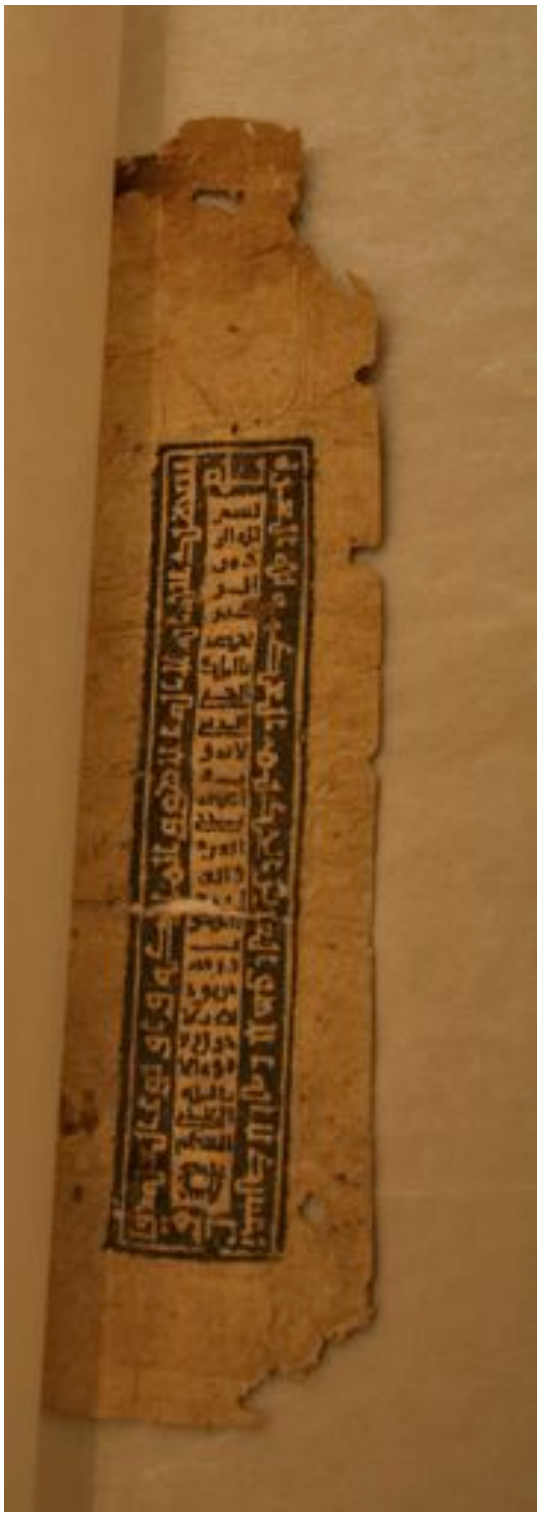


Figure 5 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1975.192.20



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

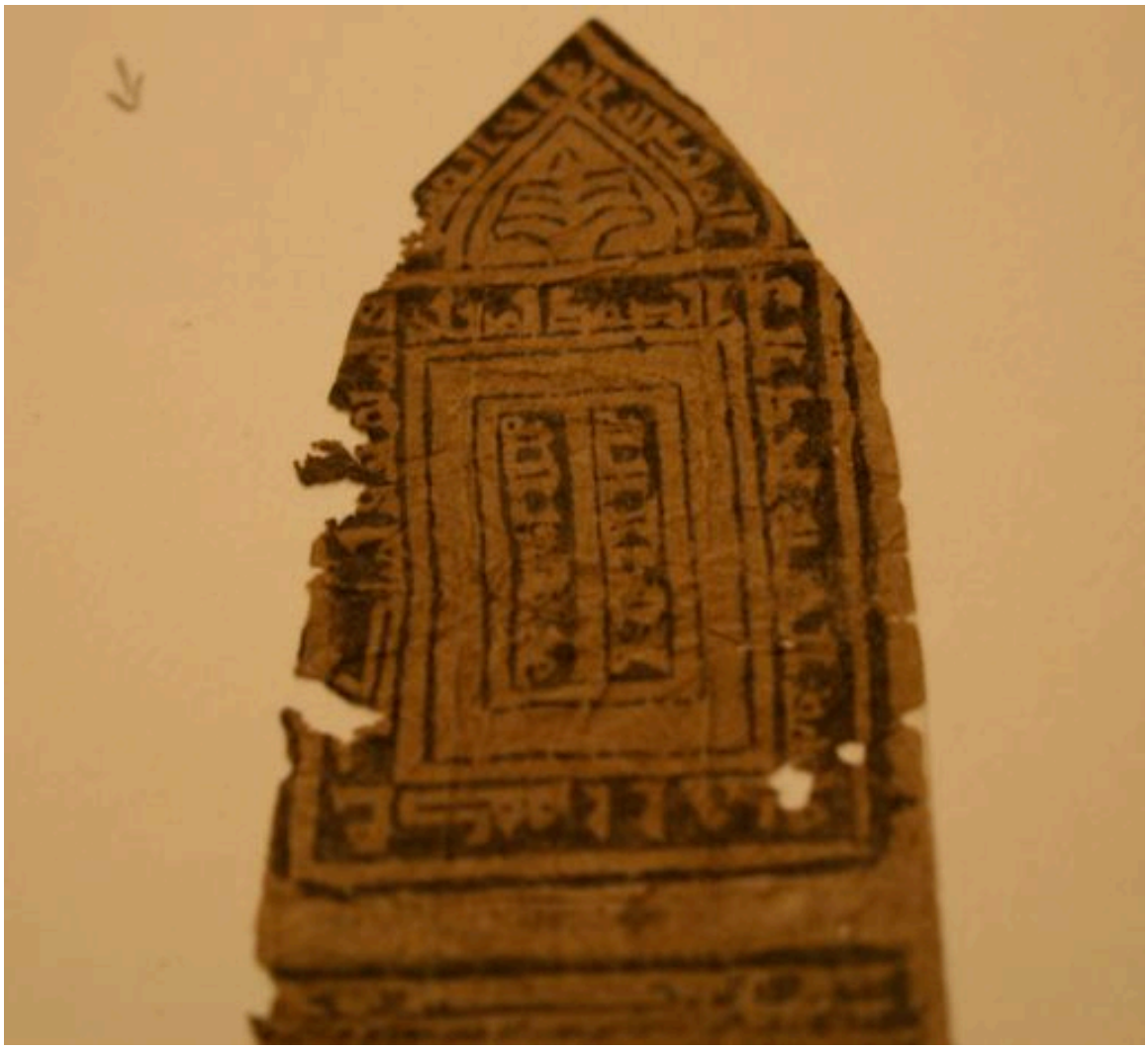


Figure 10 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, MMA 1978.546.38



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

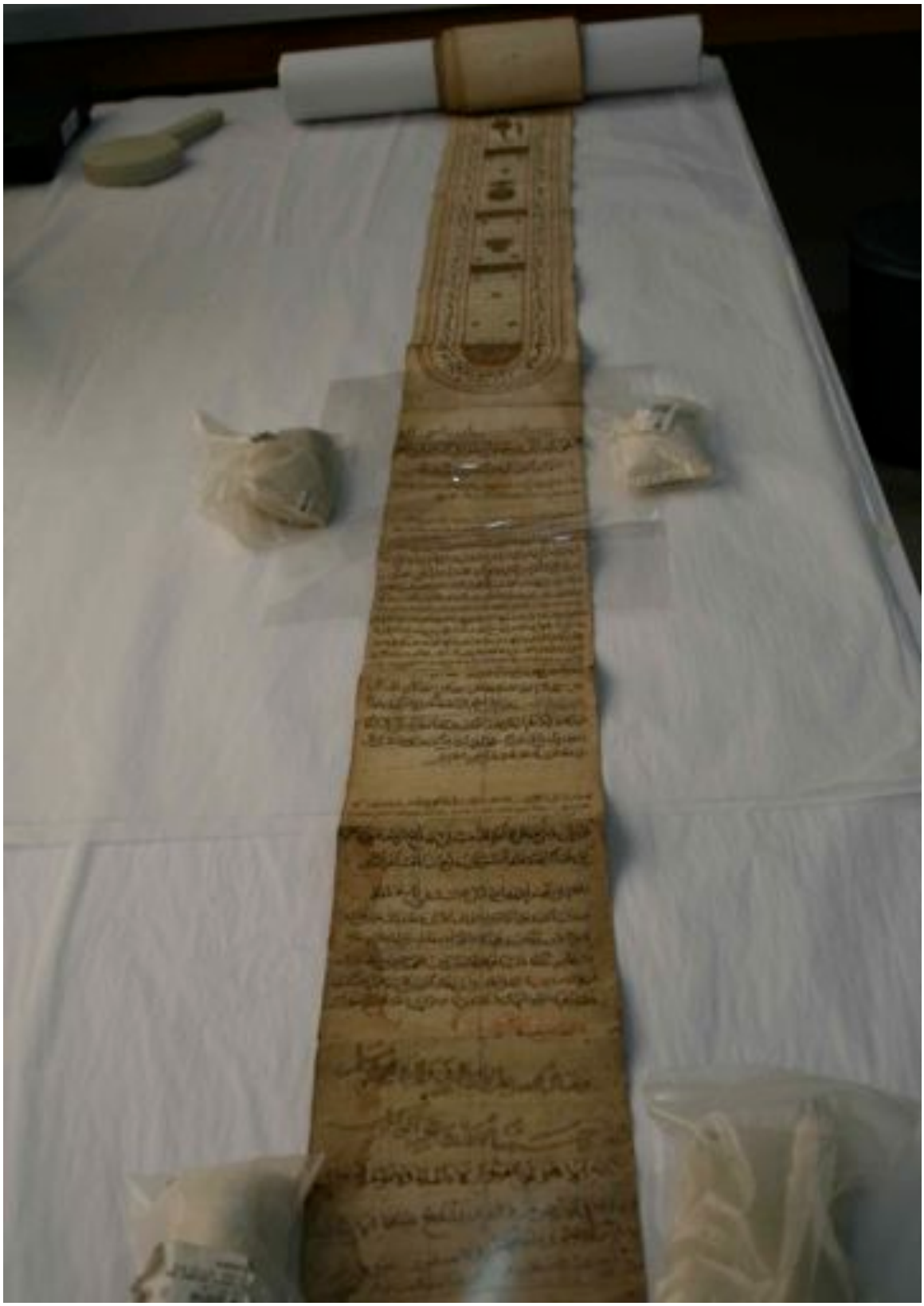


Figure 19, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, view of scale of scroll



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, *Li'l-dukhūl '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*

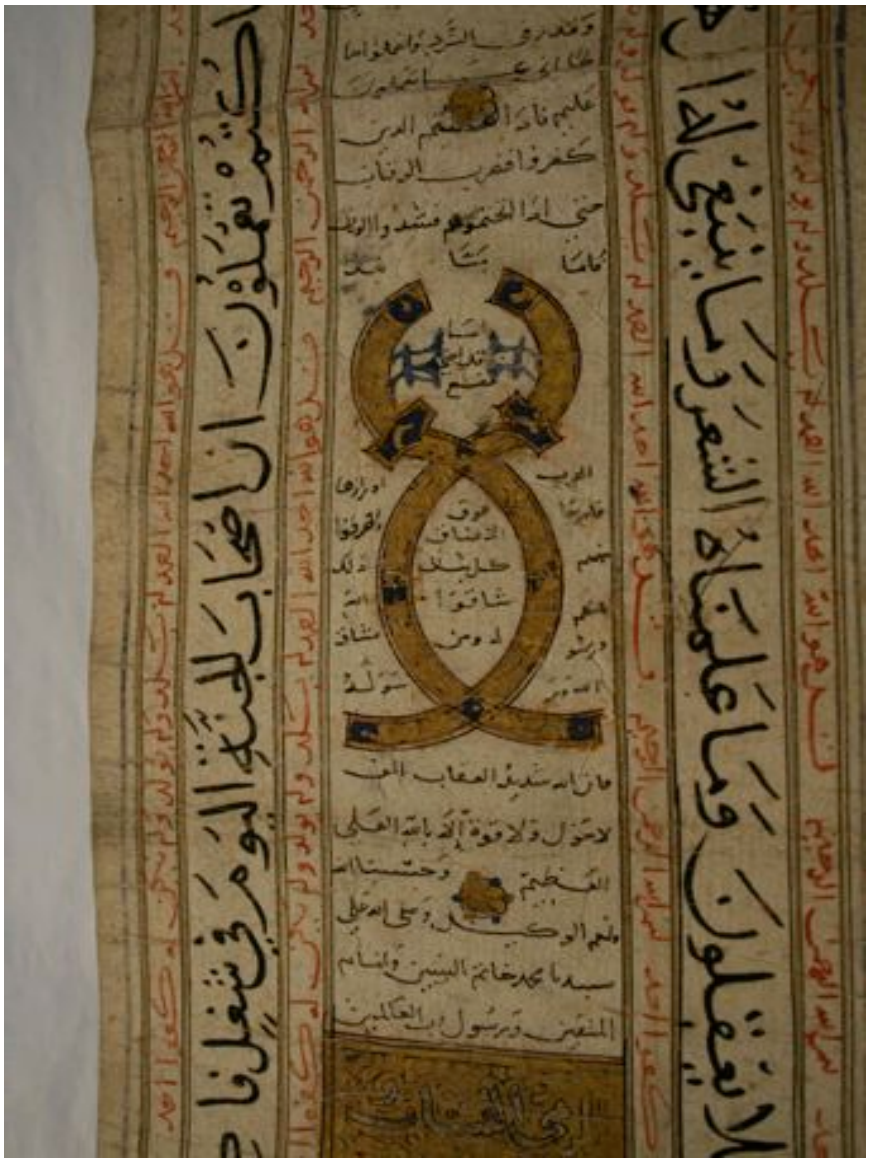


Figure 24, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li-ḍarb al-sayf* (“for the strike of the sword”)



Figure 25, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li-ramī al-nashāb* ("the casting of arrows")

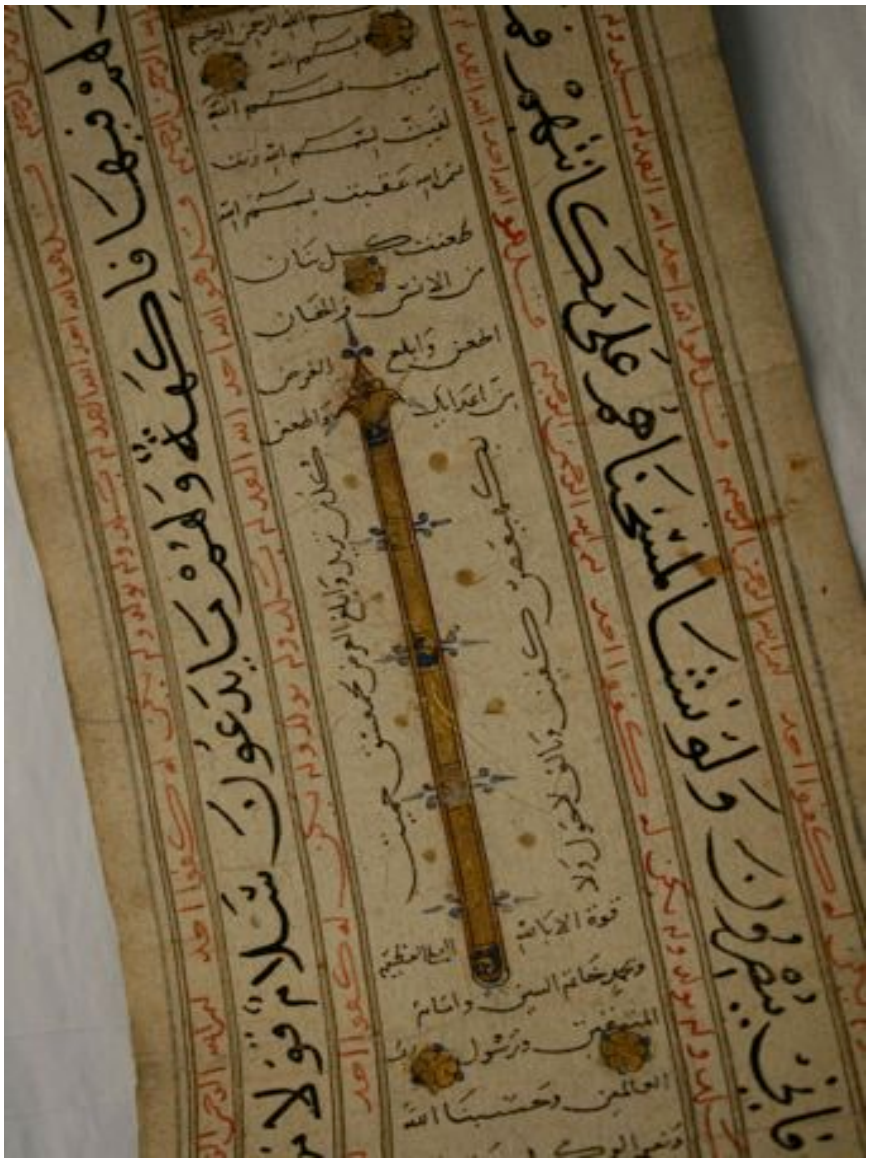


Figure 26, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Lī-ṭa'n bi'l-ramḥ* ("when pierced by a spear or lance")



Figure 27, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Lil-ḥayya wa al-ʻaqrab* ("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, *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* (“for annulling magic”)

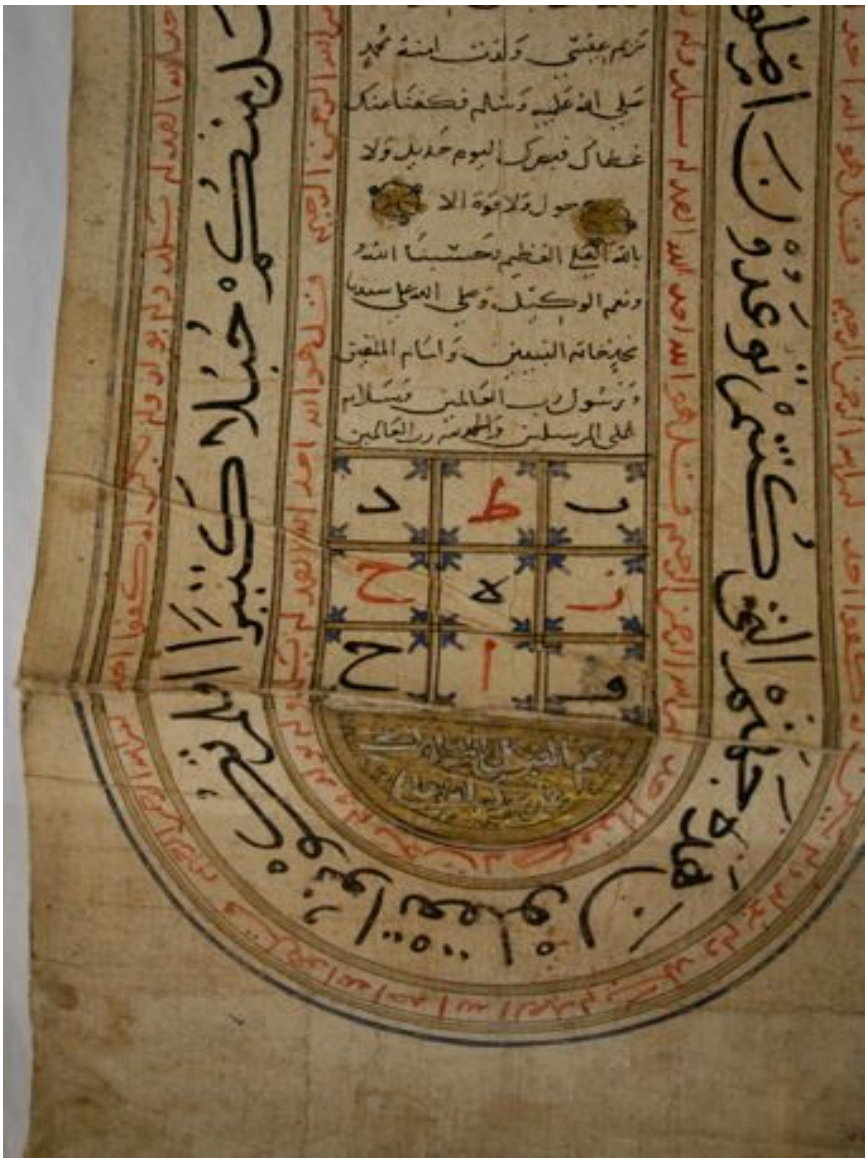


Figure 30, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 12 MS, *Li'l-muṭalaqa* ("end and absolute charm"), *budūḥ* square.



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

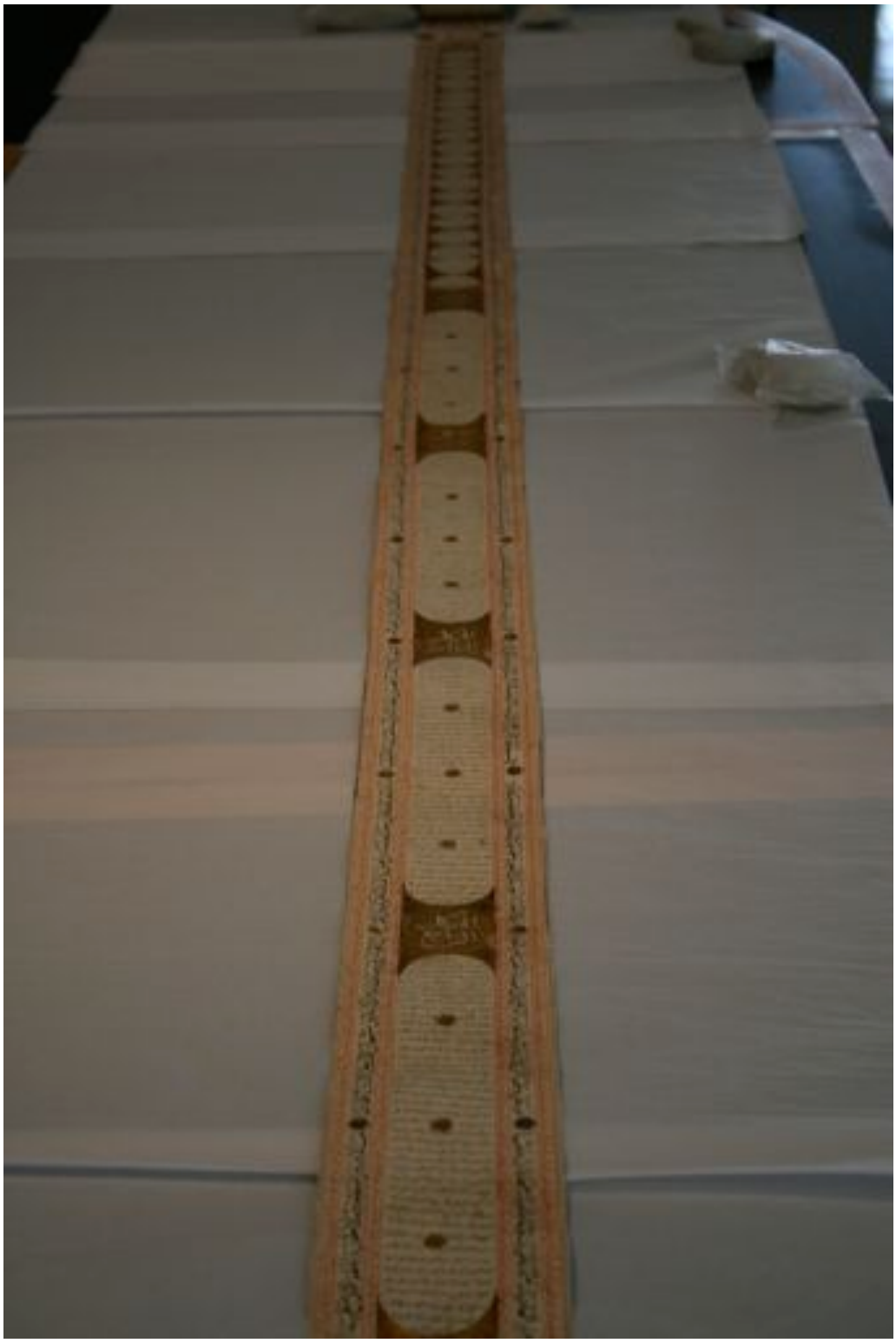


Figure 33, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, view of scale of scroll



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 *sūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff* (61:13)



Figure 36, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, oblong medaliion (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

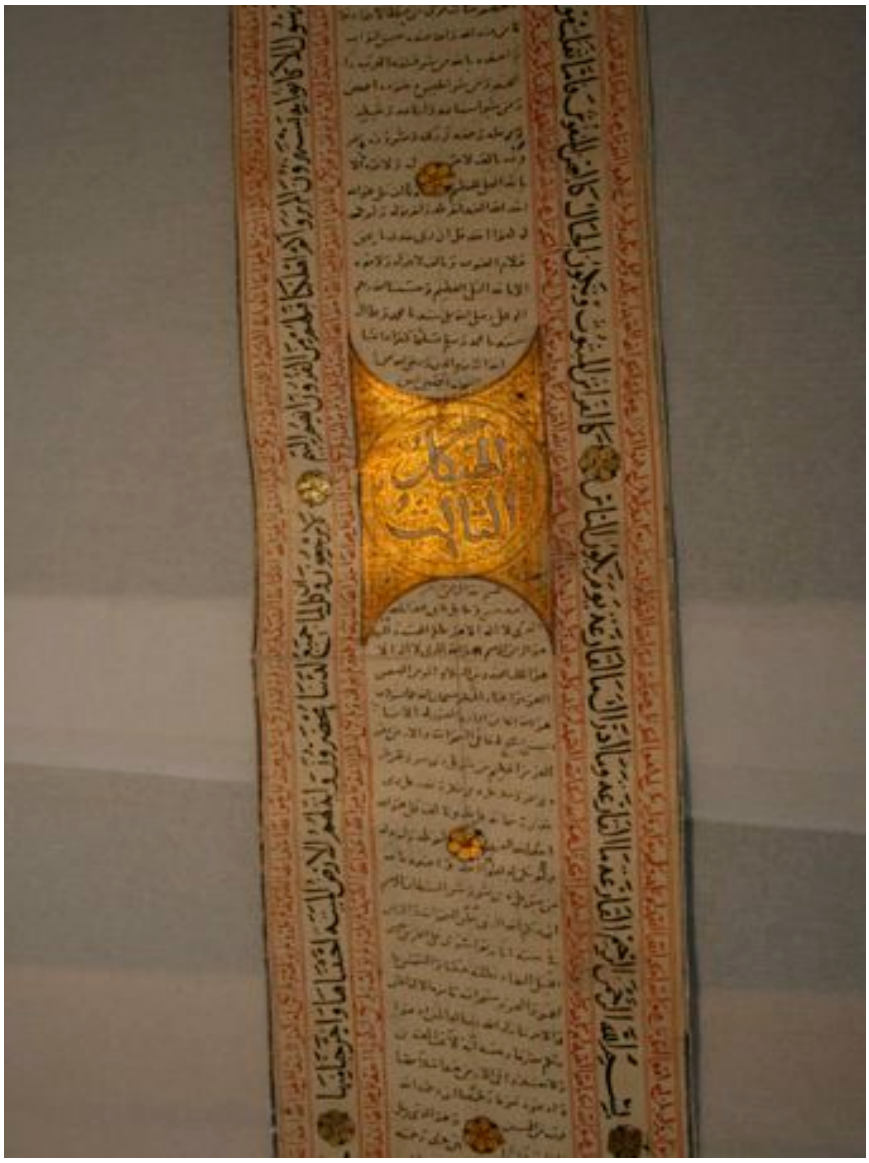


Figure 39 Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Al-haykal al- thālith* (the third sanctuary) *Al-Ḥashr* (59:22-24)



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-Māīdah* (5:23)



Figure 43, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* (“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-qamr* ("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

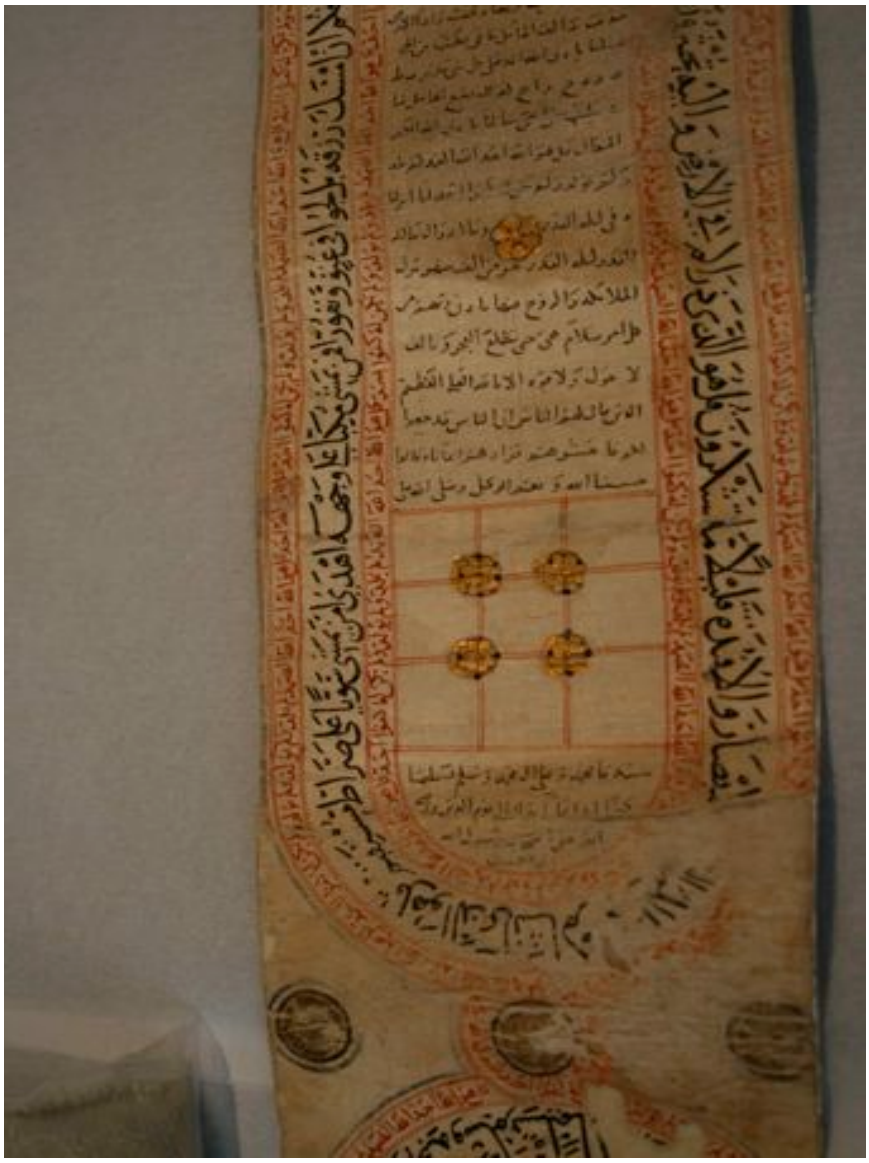


Figure 50 Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, detail of the blank magic square

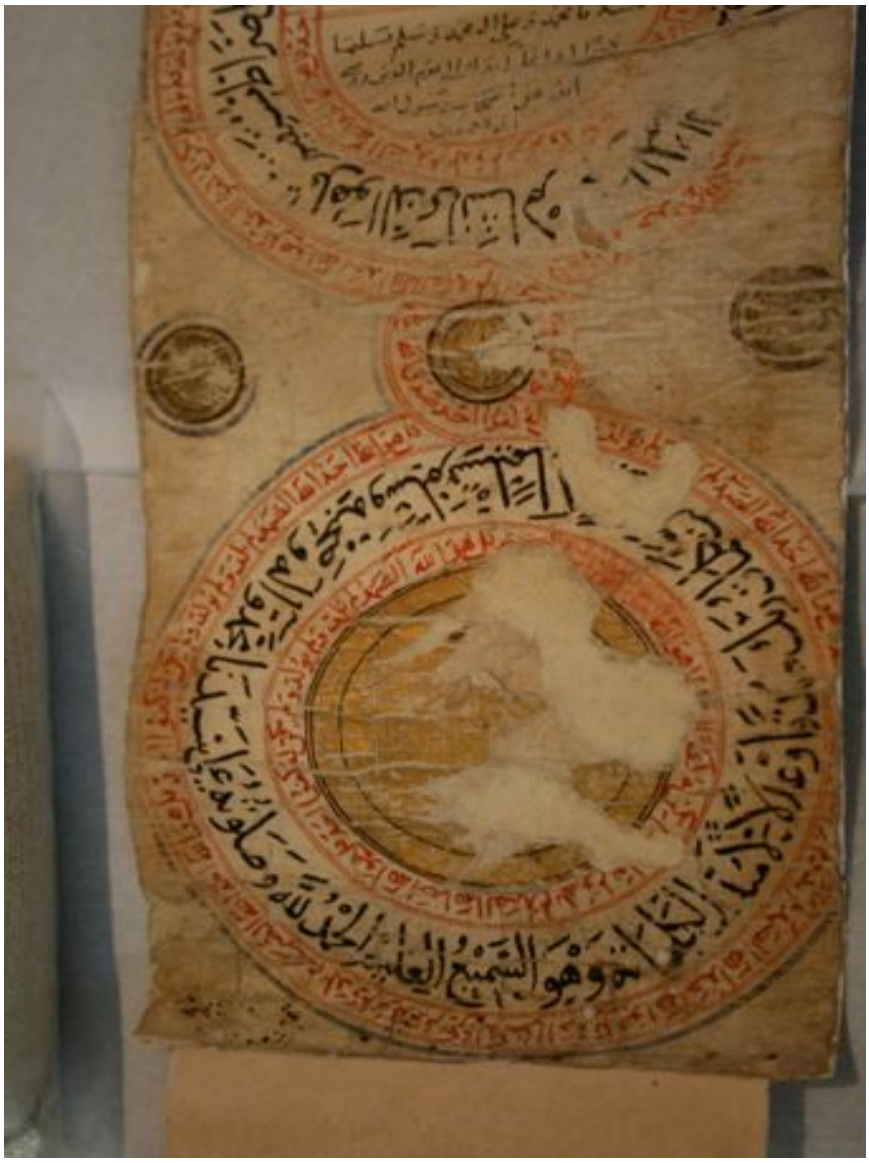


Figure 51, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah LNS 25 MS, concentric circles with *Al-An'ām* (6:115) and *al-Ikhlāṣ* (112) at the end of the scroll.



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



Figure 53, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M dated seventeenth century



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, (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 60, British Museum Add. 18886, *Nihāyat al-Su'l wa'l-Umniyya fī Ta'allum A'māl al-Furūsiyya* (Alexander and Maktabat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿĀmmah, *Furūsiyya,* vol.2 p.78; Harvard Fine Arts Library, Visual Collections - Slides and Digital Images)



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[1]

Qurʾānic Verse	Collection, Accession no., date
(1:1-7)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E31 Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32, Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1, Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.152 (R&V) Columbia University, Papyrus 705b, MMA 1978.546.38 Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(1:7-final word)	MMA 1978.546.35-1978.546.36
(2:1)	MMA 1978.546.32
(partial of 2:18 or 2:171)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(2:165)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(2:243)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(2:244-45)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(2:246)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(2:255)	The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr Columbia University, Papyrus 705b Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(2:255-257)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102,
(2:284)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(2:285)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyahm LNS 12 MS
(2:286)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(2:285-286)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32,
(3:1)	MMA 1978.546.32
(3:2)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102,
(3:4)	LACMA, M. 2002.1.371
(3:6)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102,
(3:16)	UPENN, E 16311,
(3:18)	Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 11970, Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E31, Chester Beatty Library, Is. PP 21

[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*)

	Heidelberg University, Institute for Papyrology, P. Heid. Inv. Arab 3000,
	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.140 (VÓ),
	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.146 (VÓ),
	MMA 1975.192.20,
	MMA 1978.546.33,
	MMA 1978.546.38,
	Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B
	LNS 350 MS
(3:26-27)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:31-35)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:37)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(3:123)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:160)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:173)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:173-175)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:190-191)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(3:190-195)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(4:40)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(4:74, 4:77)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(4:75)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(4:166)	MMA 1978.546.39
	Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,
(5:23)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(6:1)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(6:13)	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.149 (VÓ)
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(7:54)	National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb
	Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B, y
(7:54-56)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32
(7:54-58)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(7:54-57)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(7:118-122)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(7:118-119)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(7:120-122)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
(7:143-146)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(7:196)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

(8:12-13)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(8:10)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(8:13)	LACMA, M. 2002.1.371
(8:17)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(8:mid 17-19)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(8:63)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(9:21-22)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(9:25-26)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(9:129)	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.136 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.144 (VǾ), Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(10:44)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(10:55)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(10:62-65)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(10:62-64)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(10:81)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(10:82)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
(10:81-82)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(10:85-86)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(11:most of 6)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(11:121-123)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(12:62)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
(13:11)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(13:11-14)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(13:15)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(15:9)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(16:14)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(17:45)	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.152 (R&V), Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(17:46)	Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,
(17:45-46)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(17:50-54)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

(17:81-82)	National Library of the University of Strasbourg, Papyrus Heb
(17:82)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32, Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
(17:81-83)	Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,
(17:105)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(17:110-111)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(18:110)	Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B
(19:1)- mystical letters	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(20:4-8)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(20:5-8)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(20:40)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(20:46)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(20:68)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(20:77)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(20:105)	LACMA, M. 2002.1.371,
(21:69-70)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(21:78)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(22:18)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(22:65)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(23:115)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(24:35-38)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(24:64)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(25:45)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(25:58)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(26:78-83)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(26:85-87)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(26:217-218)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(27:10)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(27:30)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(27:30-31)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(27:85)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(27:88)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135

(28:25)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(28:31)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(28:end of 25, partial 28:31)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(28:70)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102,
(29:most of 57)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(33:25)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135,
(34:1-6)	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.150 (VǴ),
(34:10-11)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(34:48-50)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(34:54)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(36:1-5)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(36:8-9)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135
(36:9)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(36:1-13)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(36:14-49)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(36:38-40)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(36:37-46)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 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
(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 Princeton University, Scheide Library, Scheide 4.3.3B,
(42:1-2) mystical letters	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(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 (VǴ),
(55:35)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(56:77-80)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS

(57:25- mid-27)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(59:21, 24)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(59:22-24)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(60:7)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(61:13)	MMA 1975.192.21,
	MMA 1978.546.37,
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(62:11)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(65:2-3)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(65:3)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(67:1-19)`	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(67:21-22)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(67:23-25)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(67:26-27)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(67:30)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(73:9)	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102,
(76:1-31)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(77:35-36)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(78:38)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(84:1-3)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(84:1-4)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(85:20-22)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
(85:21-22)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E33
(86:2-3)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
(93:1, 93:3-11)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
93	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
94	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
95	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
97	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
99	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
100	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(100:10)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(100:11)	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
101	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
102	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
103	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border

	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
110	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
111	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS border
(112:1-2)	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.149 (VǾ),
(112:1-4)	Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 11970,
	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32,
	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1,
	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 1971.237.1,
	MMA 1978.546.37,
	MMA 1978.546.38,
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS border
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(113:1-5)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32,
	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.138 (VǾ),
	Columbia University, Papyrus 705b,
	MMA 1978.546.35-1978.546.36,
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M
(114:1-6)	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E32,
	Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1
	Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.138 (VǾ),
	Columbia University, Papyrus 705b,
	MMA 1978.546.35-1978.546.36,
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 834 M

Source or Phrase	**Scrolls**
al-Bunī	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,

	Cambridge University Library, Michaelides (Charta) E29, Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1, Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 38.135, Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 41.102, Cambridge University Library, T-S NS 306.27, The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr Heidelberg University, Institute for Papyrology, P. Heid. Inv. Arab 3000, Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.136 (VǾ), Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.138 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.139 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.140 (VǾ), Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.141 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.142 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.143 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.144 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.151 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.152 (R&V) Wren Library, Trinity College, Ar 1, Columbia University, Papyrus 705b, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Atiyah Gift- Ms. 9, LACMA, M. 2002.1.370, LACMA, M. 2002.1.371, MMA 1971.237.1, MMA 1975.192.20 MMA 1978.546.32 MMA 1978.546.33, MMA 1978.546.34, MMA 1978.546.37, MMA 1978.546.38, Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 12 MS Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Blessings on the Prophet	Egyptian M and Papyrus collection Berlin, Arab. 11970 Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.140 (VǾ), Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.144 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.151 (VǾ) Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.152 (R&V) Cambridge University Library, T-S Ar 20.1,

	The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.140 (VǾ) 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 (VǾ), Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.138 (VǾ), Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.146 (VǾ), 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 ḥawl wa lā quwwa ilā biʾl-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 (VǾ), Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch. 12.151 (VǾ) 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
Ḥāmil (carrier)/ or a variation of the word	The Gutenberg Museum, GM 03.1 Schr Austrian National Library, Papyrus Museum, A. Ch.

	12.152 (R&V) Columbia University, Papyrus 705b, 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 Columbia University, Islamic Talisman Uncatalogued Ms. Oriental 4/24/1974
Asʾalik (“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 (VǴ), 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
Aʿudhabik (“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
Shaytān (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 (VǴ), MMA 1978.546.34, MMA 1978.546.38, LNS 350 MS
Siḥr/ (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

	Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah, LNS 25 MS
Ḥirz (protective amulet)	
	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

Scrolls- Order of the text and illustrations.	LNS 12 MS	LNS 25 MS
Frontispiece	Missing	Figure 34, 35, 36
Names of God in a grid	None	Figure 37
Duʿā initiates main text block	The beginning is lost	*al-Duʻā al-sabʻ* (“the seven supplications”)
Seven *haykal* (sanctuary) sections	Includes all seven	Includes all seven
’Awfāq al-’ayyām al-sabʻ (“the magic squares of the seven days”)	Not included	Figure 40
Al-kawākib al-durriya (“The shining stars”)	Not included	Figure 41
Middle of the scroll: thematic overlaps.		
Li’l-dukhūl ʿalā al-mulūk (“For entry upon the kings”)	Figure 22	Figure 42
Li’l-ʻayn wa al-naẓra (“For the [evil] eye and its glance”)	Figure 23	Figure 44
Ibṭāl al-siḥr (“For annulling magic”)	Figure 29 this is illustrated and occurs in the last third of the scroll	Figure 43-unillustrated occurs after (“for entry upon the kings”)
Health issues	*al-sāyir al-ʾawjāʻ* (“For the relief of pain”)	*lī-wajiʿ al-raʾs* (“for headaches”)
	bāb wa liʾl-dharbān (“the section for throbbing pain”**)**	*lī-wajiʿ al-ʿayn* (“for eye pain”)
	liʾl-maghas wa al-qawlanj (“For stomach aches and intestinal diseases”)	*Liʾl-ḥummā wa al-ḥumra* (“for fever and redness”)
		li-jamīʿ al-ʾawjāʿ (“for all pains”)
Middle of the scroll: military accomplishments	None	
		li’l-naṣr ‘alā al-aʻdā’ (“for victory over the enemy”)

		al-fāris wa al-fars (“the horseman and his horse”)
Travel	none	*Lī-rukūb al-baḥr* (“For travel by sea”)
Last third of the scrolls the illustrated section: in the order of their appearance		
	Lī-ḍarb al-sayf (“For the striking of the sword”) Figure 24	*Ṭalʿa al-shams wa al-qamr* (“The appearance of the sun and moon”) Figure 45
	li-rami al-nushāb (“The casting of arrows”) Figure 25	*lī-ṭaʿn biʾl-ramḥ* (“When pierced by a spear or lance”) Figure 46
	lī-ṭaʿn biʾl-ramḥ (“If pierced by a spear or lance”) Figure 26	*Li-ḍarb al-sayf* (“For the strike of the sword”) Figure 47
	Lil-ḥayya wa al-ʿaqrab (“For the snake and scorpion”) Figure 27	*Li-ramī al-nashāb* (“The casting of arrows”) Figure 48
	Ṭāʿa wa qubūl (“For obedience and acceptance”) Figure 28	
	Ibṭāl al-siḥr (“For annulling magic”) Figure 29	
End of the scroll: the last charm with a magic square		
	Liʾl-muṭalaqa (End and absolute charm) with a *Budūḥ* and *ajhzṭ* . Figure 30	*Bāb liʾl-muṭalaqa* (“The absolute last charm”)- magic square is incomplete, yet the scroll is complete. Figure 49 and 50.
Addendum	LNS 12 has an addendum inscribed in a different hand. Figures 31 and 32	No addendum

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 *Ibṭāl al-siḥr* (“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.