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THE PICTORIAL CYCLE OF THE SIYER-I NEBI:  
A LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF THE  
LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

## ABSTRACT

### THE PICTORIAL CYCLE OF THE SIYER-I NEBI: A LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

By Carol Garrett Fisher

The manuscript copy of Mustafa Darir's Siyer-i Nebi, produced in the Topkapi Palace atelier in 1594-5, contains the largest single cycle of religious painting in Islamic art. Commissioned for Sultan Murad III, this Siyer-i Nebi comprised six large manuscript volumes, and was illustrated with over eight hundred miniatures, giving the most complete visual portrayal of the life of the prophet Muhammad ever made in Islamic art. This manuscript is probably a "watershed piece" since it introduces new painting styles and yet, in many ways, represents the sixteenth century "classical" Ottoman style.

The Siyer-i Nebi and the research on it raise several important problems. First, only individual volumes of the manuscript have been dealt with in any depth, and Volume V has been considered missing. Second, its literary cycle has not been

outlined. Third, the miniatures and the colophons do not indicate artists responsible for specific pieces. Scholars have been able to suggest its connections with such court artists as Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, Lütfü Abdullah and Osman. The fourth problem is to explain how the Siyer-i Nebi reflects the artists who made it, the patron who commissioned it, and the historic period in which it was produced.

This dissertation attempts to solve some of these problems. To do this, I have given a description of the manuscript; an examination of the Empire during the reign of Murad III; a brief study of siyer literature and its importance to an Islamic state; and a study of precursors for the Siyer-i Nebi in the genre of religious illustrated manuscripts.

Based on this framework, I have defined the Siyer-i Nebi literary cycle as it probably existed in the sixteenth century, and based on the recent Modern Turkish critical edition of Darir's text. Existing identifications of extant Siyer-i Nebi miniatures were studied to determine missing portions of the extant manuscript's illustrations. This material suggests a solution for the so-called missing volume. There may be no missing volume per se, but rather missing portions interspersed throughout the manuscript's cycle.

Secondly, I have tried to define the styles of painting in the manuscript and answer the questions: "Does its style/styles reflect older schools of painting?" "What is new about its style?" "Was its style/styles limited to the court? If not, may a connection be made stylistically with groups in other geographic areas?"

I conclude with the suggestion that the Siyer-i Nebi may be an early form of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century style that Çagman has identified with manuscripts done in Baghdad and Konya. I have suggested modes of transmission of this style through religious institutions, administrative personnel, and pilgrimage routes.

From the examination of the literary cycle related to known miniatures and stylistic analysis, I have specifically suggested reconstructions of the missing mi<sup>c</sup>raj section. Further, I suggest specific extant miniatures in other collections, particularly the Keir collection, which may be connected with this manuscript.

Finally, I examined the cycle, and tried to explain why Murad III commissioned such a large undertaking which seems to have had no direct model. I have attempted to link it to a time of political unrest as well as to Murad III's personal concerns such as artistic patronage, ceremony, religion, and the lunar millenium during which the manuscript was commissioned.

## DEDICATION

For Molly Teasdale Smith with great affection and  
in admiration of her scholarship and courage.

## NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND SPELLING

Where possible I have followed the guide to Turkish spelling: İmlâ Kılavuzu, 5th edition (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1957).

These diacritical marks have been used:

"ğ" to indicate the Turkish unvoiced "g" sounded as the "y" in "yurt".

"ş" is voiced "sh" as in "shoe".

"ç" is voiced "ch" as in "church".

"c" is voiced as "j" as in "jelly".

Three exceptions have been made in the words "Ka<sup>c</sup>ba, "mi<sup>c</sup>raj" and "Qur'an." Since the Arabic transliteration of these words is tightly connected in the minds of many with an entire cluster of ideas rather than a definition of a single word, it was deemed important to maintain these spellings.

## NOTES ON FOOTNOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

I have followed the accepted form of the College Art Association set out in the Art Bulletin, Vol. 61, 1979.

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## INTRODUCTION

The focus of a dissertation on the illustrated Siyer-i Nebi of Murad III (1594-5) is warranted for several reasons. Produced in the imperial Ottoman atelier connected with Topkapi Palace in 1594-5, this six volume manuscript contains the largest single cycle of religious painting in Islamic art. Commissioned for Sultan Murad III, this manuscript was illustrated with over eight hundred miniatures. Of these, one volume and approximately two hundred miniatures have been considered missing. These illustrations give the most complete visual portrayal of the life of the prophet Muhammad ever made in Islamic art.

The reign of Murad III (1574-95) is one of the periods of greatest activity and innovation in the art of the book in Islamic art history. This manuscript is often described as a "watershed piece" since it introduces new painting styles and yet, in many ways, represents the sixteenth century "classical" Ottoman style.

Although several fine publications deal with this manuscript, the subject is such a broad and complex one that it allows new approaches. Several important problems arise. First, the manuscript has never been considered in toto. Only individual volumes have been dealt with in any depth and

Volume V has been considered missing. Second, the literary cycle that it illustrates has not been specifically outlined, or correlated with existing miniatures. Thus, it has been difficult to suggest which parts of the cycle might be missing miniatures. If the pay records published by Meriç are accurate, there are nearly two hundred miniatures unaccounted for. Until unillustrated sections of the literary cycle are identified, gaps cannot be determined.

Third, the miniatures bear no signatures nor do the colophons indicate artists responsible for specific miniatures. In the past, scholars have been able, by stylistic comparisons and the study of Ottoman pay records, to suggest the connections of such court artists as Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, Lütflü Abdullah and Osman with this manuscript. At this time, without more information, this avenue of approach is impossible to pursue more definitively. It is necessary to change the thrust of the stylistic questions. Until the styles of the known miniatures of the manuscript are analyzed and identified, miniatures separated from the manuscript but possibly belonging to it could not be suggested with confidence. The combination of known gaps in the illustration cycle with determinable styles facilitates the identification of extant "missing" miniatures and their "placement" within the miniature cycle.

Stylistic analysis also reveals how this manuscript fits in an extremely productive and innovative period in Turkish painting. The manuscript's stylistic range defines more precisely Ottoman manuscript painting in the last decade

of the sixteenth century, and the manuscript's classification as a "watershed" piece. The question of what part of the past it reflects and how its style relates to newer contemporary styles both in the sultan's atelier and in the empire might be more completely developed.

A fourth problem remained. The Siyer-i Nebi has never been explained in terms of its historical framework, the artists who made it, the patron who commissioned it, and the events of the period in which it was produced. It is important to try to identify trends in art and literature of the time and to look for popular folk or royal ceremonies and traditions as well as significant political occurrences. This description should include a conception of the personalities of the leaders of the day and their position in the Ottoman Empire. Once these are identified, the Siyer-i Nebi can be considered in the light of the world in which and for which it was made.

This dissertation attempts to deal with some of these problems. In order to do this, I have first set up a framework from which to work. This begins with a detailed description of the manuscript. It includes an outline of the episodes in the Siyer-i Nebi cycle as it probably existed in 1594. This hypothesis is based on the Modern Turkish critical edition of Darir's Siyer-i Nebi. As can be seen, the material is massive. Due to its extensive nature, these episodes have been listed in Appendix A rather than in the text. Appendix A

outlines the literary cycle and page numbers of specific episodes in the Modern Turkish critical edition which correspond to miniatures. Here each episode is recorded and numbered. Further, if illustrated, the illustration has been indicated, and the specific volume and page numbers for the episode as found in the modern critical edition are recorded in the right hand column.

These are then collated with identifications of Siyer-i Nebi miniatures made by modern scholars. Appendix B identifies the miniatures and gives their placement within the manuscript volumes. From this I hoped to see a) if a pattern emerged in the arrangement of illustrated material, and b) the placement in the cycle of possible missing portions of illustrations.

I then continued to establish a framework by an examination of the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Murad III; a brief study of the background of siyer literature and its importance to an Islamic state; and a study of precursors for the Siyer-i Nebi in the genre of religious illustrated manuscripts.

Based on this information, I have suggested missing portions of the existing manuscript's illustrations. This material provided an overview of the structure of this cycle in both its literary and illustrated aspects, and suggested a solution for the so-called missing volume.

Secondly, I have tried to define more precisely the styles of painting involved in the manuscript and to answer

the questions: "Does its style/styles reflect older schools of painting either in subject matter or approach? If so, which ones?"; "What is new about the style of this manuscript?"; "Was the style/styles of this manuscript limited to the court? If not, can a connection be made stylistically with either non-court groups or groups in other geographic areas?"

Using the information gathered from the examination of the literary cycle as it relates to extant miniatures and stylistic analysis, I proceeded to reconstruct missing sections of the pictorial cycle and suggest specific extant miniatures in other collections which may be connected with this manuscript. In particular, the dissertation concentrates on the reconstruction of the mi<sup>c</sup>raj section and the possible locations of extant miniatures in other collections connected with this mi<sup>c</sup>raj segment.

Finally, I have tried to view the entire cycle, and explain why Murad III commissioned such a large undertaking which seems to have had no direct model. In other words, I have tried to explain this manuscript in terms of the customs and the history of the times for which it was made.

In the process of preparing this dissertation I have received help from many people and institutions. I would first like to express gratitude to my committee: Prof. Molly T. Smith, Prof. Alford T. Welch, Prof. Eleanor Huzar, Prof. Fauzi Najjar and Prof. Robert T. Anderson, all of Michigan



State University and Prof. Priscilla P. Soucek of the University of Michigan. Their knowledge, patience and kindness have been greatly appreciated during the months we have worked together. Additionally I would like to thank Prof. Walter Denny, University of Mass. at Amherst for providing copies of photographs from the Chester Beatty Library volume; Prof. William Hickman, Berkeley, for explaining literary customs and problems with special good humor; Mr. John Slocum, Newport, Rhode Island for immediately and with many details answering queries about miniatures in his collection; Mrs. Nancy Landes for locating important sources of information; Prof. Julie Badiee, University of Maryland, for her complete letters sharing unpublished research on angelic figures and the Ajâib al-Mahlûqât; Drs. Feliz Çağman and Zeren Akalay-Tanindi of the Topkapi Palace staff for the exceeding kindness, courtesy and the high degree of scholarship they gave me the benefit of during the academic year 1976-77 in the Topkapi Palace Library. Dr. Kemal Çiğ, then director of Topkapi Palace, extended to me the invitation and permission to work with this unsurpassed Turkish collection. Ms. Marie-Rose Séguy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris was most helpful in answering questions concerning their Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nama.

Additionally I would like to thank the staffs of the Fogg Museum, Harvard; the Oriental Manuscript Reading Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the photographic services of Topkapi Palace; the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art,



Istanbul; Bogaziçi University, Istanbul and the Library of the University of Michigan for extending me guest privileges and allowing me access to important materials.

Finally, two important acknowledgements are necessary. The first is to Consul Bruce McGowan, American Consulate, Ljubliana, Yugoslavia, without whose vast knowledge of Turkey and introductions, none of this would have been possible. The second is a very special acknowledgement of the good humor and scholarship of my husband Prof. Alan Fisher and of the patience not only exhibited by him but by Elisa, Christy and Garrett who coped with me through it all.

## CHAPTER ONE

### A DESCRIPTION OF THE SIYER-I NEBI

Palace records indicate that the manuscript of the Siyer-i Nebi was commissioned in 1594-5 and originally consisted of six volumes.<sup>1</sup> These contained somewhere over eight hundred illustrations of the text. The paintings depicted events connected with the ancestry of the Prophet, his birth, life and death. Of the original six volumes, five have been identified. Volumes I, II and VI are in Istanbul in Topkapi Palace Museum.<sup>2</sup> Volume I contains 416 folios and 139 miniatures. It covers the history of the prophets beginning with the story of Adam, the events leading to Muhammad's birth and the early years of Muhammad's life. Grube indicates it also contains a fragment of the Futuh al-Sham of Muhammad ibn Sayyid al-katib al-Waqidi (?) at the beginning.<sup>3</sup>

Volume II has 506 folios and 85 paintings. It begins with the story of Hatice and Muhammad and ends with the trip to Mecca of Muhammad's followers, the slaughter of the camels of Yemen and the conversion of the seven Kureys tribes to Islam.

Volume III in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library begins with the mi<sup>c</sup>raj or Night Journey and

concludes with a group of priests discussing Islam with Muhammad. It includes 465 folios and 128 miniatures. An inscription on the fly leaf says that the manuscript was in the possession of Sultan Abdul'Aziz (1861-1876) "Who bequeathed it to his daughter Sultana Saliha." A library seal dated 1198/1783 reads "Ismetlu Bash-Rukhshah-qadin hazretleri" and appears on fol. 234 a.<sup>4</sup>

Volume IV is in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. It begins with the marriage of Fatima and Ali and ends with Abdullah presenting Süfyan's head to the Prophet. Its colophon states that the manuscript was copied by Mustafa b. Vali in 1003/1594-5. It offers prayers for the "trustee, Silihdar Hasan-aga." Folios 2b and 8b have inscriptions dated 1167/1753 stating that the book belonged to "Se'adetlu Bash-Rukhshah-qadin hazretleri."<sup>5</sup>

The final volume, Volume VI, now in Topkapi Palace Museum, states that the manuscript was done in 1003/1594-5 and copied by Ahmad al-Nuri b. Mustafa. Nurhan Atasoy and Feliz Çağman suggest that based on the information contained in the Ottoman pay records, the cycle of miniatures may not have been finished until a short time later.<sup>6</sup> It contains 420 folios and 125 paintings beginning with Sa<sup>c</sup>d ibn Mu<sup>c</sup>adh's marriage and concluding with the moving portrayal of the death of Muhammad. Finally, the location of Volume V has remained unknown.

All of the above volumes are similar in measurement, the variations being minute. The outside measurements are



37.4 x 27 cm. The written surface is approximately 29 x 17 cm. The script is a large naskh of thirteen lines to the page. Miniatures take either an equivalent of the written surface or share a page with two to six lines of script although the average is two to four lines per page. These are often arranged with two lines above and two below the miniature or three lines above and one below the miniature.

The style of the paintings indicates the hands of several artists. Unfortunately none of the paintings bear signatures, but through a study of official pay records and stylistic analogies made with signed contemporaneous manuscripts, both Akalay and Grube have suggested the participation of such artists as Lütflü Abdullah, Osman and Nakkaş Hasan Paşa in the miniatures of this manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

A great deal has been written about the Siyer-i Nebi volumes. In the late 1950s Minorsky identified and catalogued Volume IV in the Chester Beatty Collection.<sup>8</sup> He presented an analysis of the text in the context of its subject matter and using Darir's language. He also identified and described the miniatures. He was able to note certain dislocations within the text.

In the early 1960s Ernst Grube identified Volume III in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library.<sup>9</sup> He published a description of this volume, an identification of its miniatures and a suggested grouping and tentative identification of artists.

During the 1970s Z. Akalay-Tanindi worked in depth with Volumes I, II and VI.<sup>10</sup> In 1977, she not only identified the miniatures in the volumes, described the volumes carefully but suggested Nakkaş Hasan Paşa as a possible major artist who worked on this manuscript. The miniature identifications of all of the above scholars are the ones set out with minor modifications in Appendix B.

Akalay's colleagues, Feliz Çağman and Nurhan Atasoy, in their indispensable book published in 1974 on Turkish miniature painting have placed the Siyer-i Nebi in the context of late sixteenth century Turkish painting and suggested its stylistic importance to Turkish painting as a transitional piece.<sup>11</sup>

Several scholars have worked specifically on the problem of identifying artists connected with the manuscript. Based on palace records, S.K. Yetkin in 1978 published an article associating Lütflü Abdullah with an identifiable style in the manuscript.<sup>12</sup> Gunsel Renda, by stylistic comparison, has also identified Lütflü Abdullah as well as Osman with styles seen in the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>13</sup> In the late 1960s Emel Esin's Oriental Miniatures: Persian, Indian, Turkish, due to the brief space allowed by the book's format, gave a short summary and four miniatures from the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>14</sup> At the same time Ivan Stchoukine also published a brief description and eight miniatures from the Topkapi and Dublin volumes.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the work of these scholars, two other very pertinent publications should be mentioned. The first



is Meriç's publication of palace documents concerning artists and craftsmen from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> This book presents documents of the commissioning of the Siyer-i Nebi and lists of members of the palace atelier. Second is the publication in 1977 of a critical edition in modern Turkish of the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>17</sup> This depends heavily on the three Topkapi volumes with lacunae filled from other sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts in Turkey. These have been detailed in Appendix C.

Keeping this background material in mind and using the Siyer-i Nebi as the focus, I have organized the discussion in the following way. The first section presents background material. This consists of three topics that pertain to the manuscript: the Ottoman empire during the reign of Murad III, the history of siyer literature and the place in it of Darir's translation and the genre of illustrated manuscripts that portray religious subjects.

The second section uses this material to suggest answers to the questions "What was the original pictorial cycle and what is missing?" "Why is this a watershed manuscript?" "What and where are the missing miniatures?" "Why was this manuscript done in the reign of Murad III and how was it affected by its time?"

## CHAPTER ONE FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>R.M. Meriç, 7-14, 50, 70-1.
- <sup>2</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1221, 1222 and 1223.
- <sup>3</sup>E. Grube, 154.
- <sup>4</sup>E. Grube, 152. For a further description see Appendix B, pp. 331.
- <sup>5</sup>Turkish Manuscript 419. See V. Minorsky, 30-1. Also see Appendix B, pp. 331 for further details.
- <sup>6</sup>N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, 52-54.
- <sup>7</sup>See E. Grube, 114-125; G. Renda, 58-67 and S.K. Yetkin, 17-21.
- <sup>8</sup>V. Minorsky, 1958, 30-40.
- <sup>9</sup>E. Grube, 1965, 149-76.
- <sup>10</sup>Z. Akalay, 1977, and an unpublished manuscript which Ms. Akalay was kind enough to let me study in the winter of 1976-77 in Istanbul.
- <sup>11</sup>N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, 1974, 52-54.
- <sup>12</sup>S. K. Yetkin, 1978.
- <sup>13</sup>G. Renda, 1977, 207-16.
- <sup>14</sup>W. Lillys, ed. Plates 4-6.
- <sup>15</sup>I. Stchoukine, 1966, 130-32; 146-49 and Plates LXXX-LXXXVII.

<sup>16</sup>R. M. Meriç, 1953.

<sup>17</sup>Mustafa Darir. See Appendix C for a list of manuscripts used in the compilation of the critical edition. It should be noted that the translator often notes when sections are at variance with H. 1221, H. 1222 and H. 1223. It is further interesting to see that the texts seem quite standardized in their agreement.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF MURAD III

The Siyer-i Nebi manuscript was not only an illustrated version of a traditional text, but it was produced for a specific patron in the late sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. To more fully consider the manuscript, it is necessary to set an historic framework of the time in which it was made and to describe Murad III for whom it was made.<sup>1</sup>

Murad III (1546-1595) was the eldest son of Selim II and a grandson of Süleyman the Magnificent. His mother, Banu Sultan, was a Venier and a daughter of the first cousin of the victor of the Battle of Lepanto. A Venetian Bassa on her mother's side, she had a major influence on Murad's life as did his sister Esma, wife of the Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmed Paşa. Both Esma and her husband were well known as art patrons.

Of medium height and with a reddish beard, Murad, at seventeen, was sent to Manisa as governor (sancak beg). Manisa was his home for many of the remaining years until his accession to the throne in December of 1574, although he left it to take charge of the Konya strongholds briefly during the conflict between his father Selim and his uncle Beyazıt.

During the Manisa years Murad began the Muradiye complex with Sinan as his architect. This complex included a musical conservatory and inn as well as a mosque and religious schools and buildings. During these years, he studied under Sa'ed-Din Efendi who instructed him in Sufism among other subjects. The relationship between these two men lasted for Murad's lifetime as did his interest in poetry which he wrote in Turkish, Arabic and Persian and his interest in Sufism. Of his works, the Sufi work called Futuhât-i siyâm is most often cited.

During his term as sancak-beg of Manisa, Murad married a Venetian, Safiye. She was a great influence on him (some historians assert that he was faithful to her for twenty years before turning to other women) and the mother of Şehzade Mehmed who followed his father to the throne.

It is an interesting sidelight that during the Manisa years Murad's grandfather Süleyman sent for Murad and had him brought to the palace in Istanbul. The records are unclear as to what took place during this visit. In later years, however, one has an intriguing glimpse of the importance of Süleyman to the court of Murad III. D'Ohsson records a vision of Saatçi Hasan, a companion of Murad III's, who had been raised to governor of Diyarbakir and later to Silâhdar Ağâ in the palace.<sup>2</sup> He saw himself walking in the palace gardens with Murad III when a famous "predictor Şeyh Emir Eschtiby" appeared and saluted Murad. He approached Murad and presented him with a wand which he said was not useful for his needs. Thus, said

the Şeyh, he was returning the "key" to Murad. At the same instant Süleyman appeared at the foot of the garden and Murad, seeing him, approached to kiss his hands. Süleyman turned away in anger. The Şeyh begged Süleyman to indulge them and pulled from his front a Kibla-Nouma, a small plaque of marble in the form of an astronomical table which indicated the position of Mecca for the five daily prayers. After receiving it, Süleyman turned to Saatçi Hasan Paşa and asked him to examine it to see if it were well made. As he touched it, the tablet turned itself into a great map upon which was shown the Ottoman Empire and Hungary. Süleyman examined this carefully and with his finger pointed out places which hadn't existed in his lifetime. Suddenly the map left the hands of Saatçi Hasan Paşa and returned to its original form. Murad III was overcome with sadness and complained of his health. Süleyman replied that he was incurable unless he sacrificed fifty-two sheep of which forty should be black, eight "bigarres" and the others white.

When he awoke, Saatçi Hasan Paşa wrote down the vision and sent it to Murad who refused to take it seriously. Three days later Murad suddenly became ill with stomach pains. He sent money to Saatçi Hasan Paşa to see to the sacrifice of the fifty-two sheep.

Saatçi Hasan Paşa, it is said, consulted the other astrologues seeking an interpretation of the dream. It was determined that the Şeyh symbolized the Angel of Death and the

"key" which was given back was Grand Vezir Koca Sinan Paşa (an enemy of Saatçi Hasan Paşa) who had met with little success in battle in Hungary. The interview between Süleyman and Murad announced their reunion in Paradise and Süleyman's examination of the map and indication of the Hungarian forts conquered since his death presaged the instability of these new possessions. Finally, the sacrifice of the four black sheep was indicative of the destiny of the four first infants of Murad III. Whatever one makes of this story, this and later incidents in Murad's life indicate his interest in astrology and astronomy, a sense of destiny and his continuing preoccupation with the greatness of his grandfather Süleyman.

By the time Murad III ascended the throne, it is possible to describe him with a degree of precision. Added to what has been said, many historians have asserted that he took opium, then switched to wine (at what time in his life is not clear), had at middle age a strong penchant for women--numbers of wives and concubines range from forty to over five hundred in various accounts and numbers of children reach over one hundred in others--loved painting, mystic poetry and clock-making.<sup>3</sup> He could be temperamental and cruel. The exact truth of the picture is difficult to ascertain, but without doubt it can be said that Murad III appears as an intelligent, perhaps debauched, maybe weak and certainly complex person.

At twenty-nine, on his ascension to the throne on December 21, 1574, he had all five of his brothers strangled and on the same day buried with their father Selim II in a

türbe at Aya Sofya. This was to insure a strength of rule which had been somewhat diminished by the struggles for power between Selim and his brothers. These murders are continually stressed by historians. At the same time, the complexity of the man's character re-emerges when one reviews the circles of intellectuals and humanists which surrounded him. Members of this circle included Sa<sup>c</sup>d ad-Din, his hoca from Manisa; Loqman, the court historian; Çandaroğlu Şemsi Paşa, the poet; Bâqî, the lyric poet; Bostanzade, the famed Ottoman poet; Sinan, the Ottoman architect; the Grand Vezir and famous patron of the arts, Sokollu Mehmet Paşa; as well as Mustafa Ali, secretary for Lâlâ Mustafa Paşa whose accounts of several battles Murad had copied by the royal atelier.

Politically, during the reign of Murad III, Allen has noted a change of focus.<sup>4</sup> While his reign began with a focus on the Portuguese, battles in the Mediterranean and a struggle for power there, by the latter half of Murad's reign Ottoman attentions had switched to the Persian Gulf, the Crimea and Russia. This point will be expanded in Chapter Eight where it is necessary to move year by year through the late 1580's to the 1590's to place the Siyer-i Nebi in its chronological position and explain it in terms of its time. It is enough here to note that during the 1580's the wars were reopened with Persia. Tabriz was recaptured in 1585 and a peace treaty signed with Persia in 1590. At the same time, there were further troubles with Russia in 1584 although ambassadors were exchanged in 1584-5. There was



fighting with Hungary with whom a treaty was concluded in 1593. On the other hand Murad's reign is remembered for friendly relations with Venice, France and the official opening in 1583 of trade negotiations with England when the embassy of William Harborne was sent to Istanbul.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout all of Murad's reign plague and famine were a problem. They struck immediately following his accession and again in 1592-3. Aside from these troubles--although not necessarily connected--were army revolts among the Janissaries in 1589, 1591 and 1592 and the sipahis (calvary) in 1593. There were economic problems caused by inflation and devaluation of currency. Murad III's reign was, in many ways, a time of troubles for the Ottoman Empire.

It was not a time without its celebrations and grandeur however. In July, 1582, Murad III began the eight week celebration which marked the circumcision of the royal prince Mehmet. Although European royalty declined their invitations, there were enough royalty, dignity, public celebrations and fanfare to make the event stand as a landmark in Ottoman history. It was an event which was recorded in the Surname (c. 1584?)<sup>6</sup> commissioned by Murad.

This celebration reveals another side of Murad III which has a bearing on the production of the Siyer-i Nebi. It is Murad's interest in court ceremony. Although ceremonial traditions surrounding the caliphs, princes and sultans existed from the earliest Islamic courts,<sup>7</sup> evidence suggests that

Murad III's reign was one in which Ottoman court rituals and ceremonies were further elaborated. This has been pointed out in the case of the elaborate circumcision ceremony of the crown prince. It is shown in the case of the Queen Mother, Nur Banu. Murad III was the first to bestow the title of "Valide Sultan" on a mother of a sultan. Further, at the time of her death in 1583, Murad decreed the custom of wearing mourning--an unusual feature in Islam. He also had the ceremony recorded in Volume II of the Shahinshahnama (1006/1597)<sup>8</sup> where he can be seen leading the funeral procession.

Most important vis à vis the Siyer-i Nebi is Murad III's reinstitution in 1589 of the court celebration of the birth of the Prophet. This will be discussed at greater length below but it should be noted that the ceremony was one which had historically been connected with court life. Further, if one is allowed to assume for a moment the connection of the production of the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi with this ceremony, then it is possible to see in each of the three examples given; the funeral of Nur Banu, the circumcision of Mehmet III and the reinstigation of the mevlid ceremonies a tendency on the part of Murad III to connect illustrated manuscripts or parts of manuscripts with these special court ceremonials much as state events are recorded on film today. This brings up the subject of Murad III's interest in artistic patronage.

All of the sources which describe Murad III stress the magnificence and breadth of his artistic patronage. It is curious that the area of architecture which had received such attention from his grandfather Süleyman, goes almost unnoticed by Murad. Sinan was still alive during a part of the reign of Murad and worked for the royal family, but even the genius of the great architect doesn't seem to have affected Murad or kindled in him an interest in a wide architectural program. His architectural interests are rather limited to repairs on existing monuments or focused on the palace. Some of the things he did ring quite true to character; others appear puzzling.

It is in keeping with Murad III's religious concerns that he completed the repairs on the Dome of the Rock which had begun under Süleyman, proceeded with needed repairs on the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba, necessitated among other things by flooding, and worked on the tomb of the Prophet in Medina.<sup>9</sup> Naima says he

caused also the roof of the temple of Mecca to be supported by pillars, a canal to be made, and an edifice, where religious rites might be performed to be erected. He transmitted many thousands of ducats to that city of religious fame.<sup>10</sup>

In connection with his interest in Sufism, Naima says that at Bektaş (today's Hacı Bektaş K8y) he "caused a splendid arch to be raised over the grave of Yahiah Effendi."<sup>11</sup>

In keeping with his intellectual and astrological concerns was the observatory which he had built at Tophane in 985/1577 and which was destroyed after the comet seen in 1580

roused the fear of an angry crowd.<sup>12</sup> In April or May of 1574, a fire began in the kitchens of Topkapi palace.<sup>13</sup> This damaged a part of the second court and parts of the third court including the harem. Although the basic plan of the palace never changed after the fire Murad ordered what amounts to a major rebuilding and refurbishing of the palace. Sinan designed new kitchens on the south side of the second court, rebuilt the Pavilion of the Robe of the Prophet and in close conjunction to it built the rooms now known as the Bedroom of Murad III (1578) and the Anteroom to the Bedroom (1578). At the same time a stone undercrofting was added to these great rooms with wooden floors, this turned some into dormitories. Directly below the Kafes where the princes stayed and the Bedchamber of Murad III, a large indoor swimming pool was built.

In the harem itself, the Court of the Black Eunuchs was redone as well as the Throne Room Within and in the outlying areas the Barrack of the Halberdiers with Long Tresses was redecorated. The Has Oda Throne Room was designed by Davut Aga in 993/1585 and in 1593 the Pearl Kiosk was built along the Bosphorus side of the palace. In short, it would seem that the palace itself provided a major focus for Murad's architectural programs.

One puzzling aspect of Murad's architectural patronage is the Muradiye complex. As has been said, it contained a mosque with two minarets, a school, religious establishments,

an inn and a conservatory.<sup>14</sup> Begun by Sinan when Murad was still a prince in residence in Manisa, it was completed by Mehmet Aga in 994/1586. While Manisa was the city where Murad spent fourteen years, it still seems noteworthy that this was begun before, not during, his reign and that with the exception of the Selimiye built by his father in Edirne, this is the only royal complex built outside the capital city of Istanbul. The reasons for this remain unclear.

At the same time, building throughout the empire, while not sponsored by the sultan, was not neglected. A glance at Appendix E suggests some of the major sites where building was done. These sites were scattered throughout the empire. Another important fact is the source of patronage. During the reign of Murad III one gets clear evidence of a spread of patronage beyond the royal family. A glance at the list of names indicates many court officials suggesting that by the reign of Murad III (in fact probably as early as Süleyman's reign) administrative classes and groups had achieved the degree of wealth and power necessitated to be a patron on such a scale.

All of the building programs involved a heavy use of tiles for both interior and in some cases exterior wall decorations. These tiles came from potteries located mainly in Iznik.<sup>15</sup> Although the size of this industry had increased steadily in the sixteenth century, by the time of Murad III the demand for these tiles reached such a degree that Murad

issued a decree banning their export from the Ottoman Empire.<sup>16</sup>

The point is important for it seems likely from palace pattern books that painters in the palace ateliers may have been a source for the designs on these tiles.<sup>17</sup> These painters bring one to the major focus of Murad's patronage. This is a patronage of the art of the book on a scale not seen before in the Ottoman Empire.

First of all, calligraphy received as it had always done, great encouragement. Stchouckine lists several calligraphers working in the court at this time and includes on this list the Crimean Abd Allah, Maulana Emir Mohammad, Babashah Isfahani, Qutb al-Din Yazdi and Ibrahim as well, he says, "as many others."<sup>18</sup>

Meriç lists the payroll of painters of 1004/1595-6 from the naqqashan as including sixty-two masters and sixty-two apprentices. Their daily pay varied between two and sixty aspers.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the number of painters seems to have been a real bone of contention if one reads a part of Mustafa Ali's Counsel for Sultans. There he complains that:

Still stranger is the curious matter of the salaries of the pompous ilk known as Court Artisans (ehl'i hiref). While five or ten skilled masters of each category of artisans (erbab-i sanayi') would suffice for the fulfillment of laudable services, there are close to one hundred men registered for each category. These are not burdened with campaign service. Although their daily pay is no more than five or six aspers, they have, like the Janissaries, obtained substantial salaries by way of half-asper raises. And becoming

highly paid without any qualifications and service, they have reached an elevated position similar to the müteferriqas of the noble court.

Among others there are sixty or seventy gold beaters and about two hundred illuminators and miniature painters full of intrigues. Each one of these consumes the pay of two or three sipahis. But when a royal campaign is ordered, they are--like the contemptible donkey--exempt from that service. If some work is ordered of the laudable services of the Sultan of Sultans--may God support him until the end of days!--they don't take that work in their hands until they are paid the expenses and fees they would be paid by any other person.

Not only that: when they were instructed on the basis of a praised royal decree to adorn with gilding and illuminations the book called Nusretname, one of the works of this humble author, one scribe copied it in about one year's time. Beside the sixteen aspers a day he received as his scribe's pay he also was paid a fee which exceeded the value (of his work). And three gold beaters were not only given their salaries totalling 20,000 aspers in a year, they also sold gold foil in the value of 40,000 aspers, whereas they were supposed to receive the (necessary gold) but not to receive a fee for their work. However, they did receive the full amount of their pay and moreover demanded an extra fee for their work which was even more than what they had pocketed (by the sale of the gold) to others. Likewise about twenty painters, decorators, and gilders, who in one year are paid more than 50,000 aspers in salaries, received another 50,000 aspers in fees for the work on that book. When asked for the reason they gave the unsatisfactory answer: "It is the usage." The truth is that at the time of the previous sultans no such large jobs occurred; in the course of the year they were asked to decorate a cane or a few small plates and a bow and they were rewarded with a few gold coins. But to have to decorate such voluminous books and to be paid expenses and fees surpassing their salaries, that definitely did not take place.

It is certainly against the rules of the financial administrators that in this way (money) is squandered on such a worthless and, in view of the (sacred) tradition "All picture-makers (belong) in the fire (of Hell)," particularly condemnable breed of scoundrels and that the treasure of the King of the Faith is constantly wasted on these artisans. That this has not been repeatedly reported to the foot of the sublime throne is in no way whatsoever defensible and correct. In short, this squandering and waste has already been described under the fourteenth requirement. If the total were calculated, the unnecessary expenses were abolished and the necessary ones were treated with honesty and reliance, and if (a paragraph) were entered in the book of statutes stating that the pay of the Court artisans may not exceed ten aspers per day, and if those with high salary and those who surpass the required number were transferred to the calvary troops, neither would anybody suffer a real injustice nor would the public treasury incur a clear loss."<sup>20</sup>

Thus, one is aware of the massive numbers of craftsmen working for Murad III and their favored positions. Indeed, if one examines what is probably only a partial list of illustrated manuscripts dated to the time and the court of Murad III (Appendix D) the amount of work done under his patronage is far greater than at any time in the Ottoman Empire to date. It is staggering. 2,839 miniatures alone in major collections are still extant from this twenty year period. Painting, like poetry, was a passion for Murad.

By the end of the sixteenth century artistic patronage while still emanating from the royal family had spread to include wealthy court officials and the administrative class. Further one can suggest that Murad III's major areas of patronage were focused in particular on the arts of painting and calligraphy, the art of the book, with lesser but still



significant attention paid to architectural projects so popular in the previous sultans' reigns.

The Siyer-i Nebi was produced in the context of Murad's patronage and fits within the historical context and temper of its time. Next, it is important to see how the production of the Siyer-i Nebi fits in the framework of religious illustrated manuscripts.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

<sup>1</sup>The following is a synopsis of several primary and secondary sources. It is mainly based on J. de Hammer, VII, 1837; W.E.D. Allen, 1963; U. Heyd, 1960; B. Kütükoğlu, 1960; A. Tietze, ed., I, 1979; M. Tarhi, I, II, 1976; Naima, 1932; Y. Oztuna, 1976; S. Shaw, I, 1976; I.H. Uzunçarşılı, III/1, 1951 and III/2, 1954, M. d'Ohsson, 1788. I am grateful to my husband for pointing these sources out to me.

<sup>2</sup>M. d'Ohsson, 1788, 399-403. It is interesting that as noted in Chap. 1, Minorsky, 1958, pp. 30-1 says Volume IV of the Siyer-i Nebi bears a colophon which offers prayers "for the trustee, Silihdar Hasan-agma."

<sup>3</sup>I. Stchoukine, 1966, 33.

<sup>4</sup>W.E.D. Allen, 1963, 31-40.

<sup>5</sup>S.A. Skilliter, 1979, 22 indicates that this trade was established by the mid-1570's. England sent large amounts of tin to Turkey. In 1580, an Ottoman named Ahmed was given a letter of introduction to Queen Elizabeth by Murad III. He had been sent to England "to make purchases for the Imperial household."

<sup>6</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1344.

<sup>7</sup>O. Grabar, 1955.

<sup>8</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum, B. 200, fol. 146a.

<sup>9</sup>U. Heyd, 1960.

<sup>10</sup>Naima, 1932, 42.

<sup>11</sup>Naima, 1932, 42.

<sup>12</sup>This observatory is recorded in a miniature in the Shahinshahname I, Istanbul University Library F. 1404, fol. 57a.

<sup>13</sup>The most detailed information of this comes from G. Goodwin, 1971, Chaps. 7-8 and F. Davis, 1970, 147. She notes that during the restoration of the Pavilion of the Mantle, Murad III brought together the relics of the Prophet from their various places and put them in this spot for the first time.

<sup>14</sup>Naima, 1932, 42.

<sup>15</sup>G. Oney, n.d., 66-69 and G. Goodwin, 1971, 339.

<sup>16</sup>F. Davis, 1970, 217.

<sup>17</sup>W. Denny, 1977, 190. Also W. Denny, 1979, 8-15.

<sup>18</sup>I. Stohoukine, 1966, 35. Interestingly, the names indicate these may have been Sufi dervishes and that some may be from Persia. As a sidelight, a reading of V. Minorsky, 1969 does not yield the name of a single calligrapher or painter who had left Persia for Turkey during the late sixteenth century wars although it does mention that several left for India during these troubles. Perhaps the calligraphers mentioned had come during earlier conflicts in the first half of the sixteenth century. See also A. Tietze, 1980, Note 128.

<sup>19</sup>A. Tietze, 1980, 61-2. Although so disapproving of these artists it is interesting that Mustafa 'Ali also produced the Menaqub-i Hünerveran (Biographies of Artists). V. Minorsky, 1959, 17-18 says Mustafa Ali's treatise is an earlier version of Qadi Ahmad's tradition.

## CHAPTER THREE

### HISTORY OF SIYER LITERATURE

Although the episodes in Muhammad's life and the history of siyer literature are readily available, the information bears review while considering the content and grouping of miniatures in the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi. The traditional story of Muhammad's life begins with his birth in Mecca ca. 570. When he was about twenty-five he is said to have gone on a trade expedition to Syria, a mission which was backed financially by the wealthy widow, Hatice, whom he married shortly after. Muhammad received the prophetic call and first revelations c. 610 in Mecca, and began his public ministry c. 613.

A time of troubles began in c. 616 when, due to persecutions, some of his followers immigrated to Abyssinia. This was followed in 620 by the deaths of Hatice and Muhammad's uncle Ebu Talib, who was also his guardian and the chief of his clan. After their deaths Muhammad lost his clan protection and had to seek a new home for his followers. He visited at-Taif in 620 and in 621 he reached a tentative agreement with some leaders of Yathrib (later Medina) to settle there and serve as a sort of chairman of the council of clan chiefs. In 622 the final agreement was reached with the Medinans and in

the same year Muhammad and his followers made the immigration (hegira) to Medina. It is from 622, the year of the hegira, that the Muslim lunar calendar is dated.

In Medina, Muhammad began to take a role as political as well as religious leader. In late 623 or early 624 the kible or direction of prayer was changed to face Mecca instead of Jerusalem as it had previously and in early 624 Muhammad and his followers began razzias culminating with the victory of the battle of Badr. In the spring of the same year, the Meccans raided Medina and in the spring of 625 caused a Muslim setback at the Battle of Uhud. However, in a Meccan siege of Medina in the spring of 627 the Meccans were repulsed in what is known as the Day of the Trench. The Treaty of Hudaibiyya was signed in the spring of 628 and in the spring of 629 the Muslims made their first pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca followed in January of 630 with the surrender of Mecca to the Muslims. 632 marks the final year of Muhammad's life. In the spring of this year his Farewell Pilgrimage was made to Mecca and in June of 632 Muhammad died.<sup>1</sup>

Originally much of the material concerning Muhammad was transmitted orally or suggested in the Qur'an.<sup>2</sup> Soon, however, problems arose. There was not enough information to serve the growing Muslim community. Watt, Guillaume and Tor Andrae<sup>3</sup> all state that the original Meccan Muslims were too busy coping with a new society to record events as they occurred. Muhammad's early years may not have been considered important to the story of the revelation. But, when the

Muslims became a major power they needed a background, a respectability gained perhaps from a more complete account of Muhammad's life. As the community grew, such men as Shafi'i (early ninth century) wanted to provide a legal basis for a rapidly expanding interracial, intercultural Islamic world. There were immense gaps in the material on Muhammad's life. At the same time, there arose a thirst and delight on the part of the people to relate any known material about Muhammad--material which would give a grandeur to their tradition, a raison d'être or simply satisfy a curiosity concerning the person of Muhammad in a medieval Islamic society which became ultimately biography-oriented.<sup>4</sup>

Arising from these needs and within an Arab tradition of story telling,<sup>5</sup> two strands of traditional biography of Muhammad developed.<sup>6</sup> The first is what is called the Traditions, such as those of al-Bukhari (d. 870) and Muslim (d. 875). These, although interested in the events of Muhammad's life, are especially concerned with those episodes that 1) pertain to the daily practice of the Muslim community, and 2) result in a unity of practice in the world of Islam.<sup>7</sup>

The second was the siyer literature, the type of biography which pertains to the manuscript under discussion. It differs from the Traditions in the thrust of the information concerning Muhammad. The material may be true or false, and it often contains miraculous happenings. All of it is dutifully recorded even though, as Guillaume points out, Ibn Ishaq,

for example, often hedges by the use of such phrases as "za'ama" and "fi ma dhukira li", thus providing an early version of "it is alleged that.." for the reader.

Levi della Vida suggests that the siyer is an outgrowth of the siyar al-mulk, the histories of pre-Islamic Persia.<sup>8</sup> Its style was applied to the life of Muhammad. The siyer literature had also a close association with the gazi literature, the history of Muhammad's battles. Both may reflect a continuation or development of the literature aiyam al-'Arab (The Battle Days of the Arabs) in the fresh style and a tendency to break the narrative into a number of episodes which are only slightly connected with each other. Levi della Vida suggested that the "abundance of poetical quotations must have formed the kernel" of this literature.

This siyer literature may reflect a need to counteract Judaic and Christian literature which was attractive in its recitation of fabulous events.<sup>9</sup> Goldziher feels that the siyer literature also contained a "formulation of doctrine or a polemical point rather than historical statement."<sup>10</sup> Yet it was seen as a part of the scheme of universal history, a continuation and conclusion of Christian and Jewish history which preceded it. Indeed, Ibn Ishaq is not only relayed by Ibn Hisham but also by al-Tabari in his Ta'rîkh (History) and Tafsîr (Commentary).

The earliest siyer is that of Ibn Ishaq (relayed by Ibn Hisham). Ibn Ishaq's siyer (85/704-151/768) contains

three basic divisions. First come the ancient legends of the Prophet's ancestry and the Judaic past as well as the events leading to Muhammad's birth. This is the genesis (mūbtada) section. In this part Ibn Ishaq (and later Darir's version based partially on Ibn Hisham's copy) relied heavily on Jewish and Christian informants, the book of Abu Abdullah Wahb b. Munahbih (A.H. 34-110 or 114) Kitab al-Mubtada' and al-Isra'iliyyat literature which Guillaume notes was originally entitled Kisasi Enbiya.<sup>11</sup> It is from the latter that Ibn Ishaq received the South Arabian legends and the history of the prophets from Adam to Jesus.

The second section of the siyer (mab'd) in the text begins with the birth of Muhammad and ends with his struggle for a base at Medina. The third section is concerned with the history of Muhammad's battles (gazi).<sup>12</sup> This part is based on early accounts, and may be considered the most historically accurate.

The siyer literature contains distinct groups of material. It involves the expansion or development of Qur'anic material with groups that include 1) Arab genealogies and pre-Islamic events, 2) events from gazi materials (usually given without an isnad), 3) poetry (giving attitudinal information of one tribe or another), 4) documentary material (of which there is little), and 5) "anecdotes" or stories about particular incidents. The last is probably the most important for illustrative purposes. Watt notes that there is



"an important distinction to make between anecdotes which have been modified or distorted by party interests, political, theological or legal (including anecdotes which are sheer inventions) and anecdotes which have not been affected by interests of this kind."<sup>13</sup> Guillaume describes some of these stories as being based on what he calls "the Goldilocks Model" in which the precise wording of a story may be repeated several times in connection with various episodes. One such, he says, is the case of Muhammad's arrival in Medina. There he visits all of the tribes and the story repeated in each case is the same. Both the gazi material and the anecdotes furnish the basis of the illustrations in the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>14</sup>

Two examples illustrate the story-telling aspect of the siyer literature. The first is one of the versions of the beautiful story of Muhammad's Night Journey which Muslim traditions connect with the brief allusion in Sura 17:1. The Siyer rendition gives a detailed description of the heavens as well as the milky whiteness of Buraq and the ladders by which Muhammad ascends to heaven. Every heaven is carefully described as well as the names and descriptions of the gatekeepers, angel guides and prophets found in each one.

The second story is Darir's description of the birth of Muhammad in which angels dressed as women come to help Amine. Other angels scatter golden wheat and at the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba groups of angels descend and circumnavigate the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba on

horseback while still more angels remain behind to spread a green silken coverlet in the sky. Even at Ctesiphon, the story relates, the earth trembles. These stories are not primarily concerned with the specific daily practices or habits of the prophet as were those of the Traditions, but rather reflect the tradition of story-telling on the Arabian peninsula.<sup>15</sup> It may be that the siyer literature later played a strong role in the development of "folk" religious traditions. This will be detailed later in the specific example of mevlid traditions of later Islam and specifically the description of the Prophet's birth in the Mevlid-i Sherif which reflects the story structure of that episode in Darir.

The siyer of Ibn Ishaq, as has been said, is the earliest example of siyer literature. Heavily edited by Ibn Hisham, it is the best known in the West.<sup>16</sup> Muhammad Ibn Ishaq was born in Medina c. 85/704 and died in Baghdad in 151/768. His grandfather, Yasar, was a slave who was freed upon his acceptance of Islam. His father and uncle, Musa, were well-known traditionists. Ibn Ishaq studied and associated with the second generation of traditionists incurring, in the process, the dislike of Malik b. Anas. It is probably for this reason that his Sunan was never widely accepted.

This siyer of Ibn Ishaq was copied by his student al-Bakka<sup>ci</sup>. Of the two copies made, one was copied by Ibn Hisham (d. 218). It is this copy which Guillaume used in his critical edition. He notes that Ibn Hisham "abbreviated, annotated, and sometimes altered" the text.<sup>17</sup>

In his introduction, Guillaume discusses the problem of knowing precisely which parts of Ibn Ishaq's siyer may have been changed by Ibn Hisham. He discusses the importance of the writing of several others such as al-Waqidi (d. 207) and al-Tabari (d. 310) for the purposes of understanding this. Guillaume indicates in the text where these authors are at variance with Ibn Hisham.

While it is Ibn Ishaq to whom a Westerner refers to-day in discussing siyer literature, the text of the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi is a copy of a version of the Life of the Prophet written by Mustafa b. Yusuf b. 'Omar al-Maulavi al-Arzan al-Rumi, called Darir, "The Blindman." He lived at the end of the fourteenth century and left Erzurum (Turkey) to travel in Egypt, Qaraman and Syria. Around 793/1388 he dedicated a translation of Waqidi's (?) Futuh al-Sham to Saif al-Daula Malik Cholpan (The Morning Star), governor of Aleppo" on behalf of Sultan Berquq".<sup>18</sup> Darir began a translation of the Siyer-i Nebi "into our Turkish tongue" under Al'a din 'Ali in 779/1377 and finished it in 790/1388. From at least 784 Sultan Berquq acted as his patron and "learned from him". The first miniature of the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi is considered an enthronement miniature of Sultan Berquq.<sup>19</sup>

By Darir's own account, he used authorities such as Abdul Malik b. Hisham, Abul-Hasan al-Bakri, Şeyh Dumyati (probably Abd al-Mu'min b. Khalaf (d. 1305), Seyyid al-Nas (?), Uyun al-Athar (probably Abul-Fath Muhammad b. Abi-Bakr Muhammad Fath al-din al Yamari al-Andalusi b. Sayyid al-Nas).<sup>20</sup>

At the beginning of Volume I he states that he has combined Ibn Hisham and Abul Hasan al-Bakri since Ibn Hisham, while having much information, is difficult to translate and thus Abul Hasan al-Bakri makes certain parts more understandable.<sup>21</sup> As stated in Chapter One, the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi, a sixteenth century copy of Darir, has been outlined in full in Appendix A.

As has been said, Darir's Siyer-i Nebi had strong Sufi overtones and the exploits of Ali are strongly emphasized. It is interesting that it was this version rather than the more orthodox "Sunni" version of Ibn Hisham that Murad III, sultan of the Ottoman Empire, chose for copying in an atelier belonging to a technically orthodox Sunni empire. Several reasons may exist for this. First, another version may not have been readily available. Second, the Bektaşî order of dervishes was strongly Sufi and was the order to which the Janissaries belonged. However, one needn't look further than the sultan to explain this choice. Among Murad III's belongings were Sufi pamphlets and it is known that he had many books brought from Egypt on Sufism.<sup>22</sup> His hoca was a Sufi and Murad is known to have written Sufi treatises. Zeren Akalay<sup>23</sup> suggests that the strength of Murad's personality made this manuscript a possibility. This version of the Siyer-i Nebi was widely accepted in the Ottoman Empire. The catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek manuscript collection in Germany lists nine Turkish copies or fragments of Darir's Siyer-i Nebi in their collection produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth

centuries in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>24</sup> Topkapi Palace still owns three volumes of the 1594-5 copy as well as several Persian copies; and the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul owns an illustrated seventeenth century copy.<sup>25</sup> Of these copies, the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi is the earliest and most complete copy to be illustrated. Furthermore, only the Turkish and Islamic Museum copy is known to also contain illustrations. It is thought to be a partial copy of Volume IV of the earlier manuscript.<sup>26</sup> Why this extraordinary cycle seemingly dies after this remains a puzzle.

Since the Murad III manuscript seemingly stands alone, one must look elsewhere for art historical influences. The source of illustrated manuscripts and the closely connected universal histories suggested themselves as important possibilities. Thus, having established the background of the story of Muhammad's life and a review of the history of siyer literature, the next chapter will move to the influence of illustrated religious manuscripts on the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi.

### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

<sup>1</sup>These are the most commonly accepted dates for Muhammad's life.

<sup>2</sup>I am accepting the thesis of Bell and W. M. Watt, (W. M. Watt, 1970). There is good evidence to show that the Qur'an was written at a very early time and that there was heavy editing of a written source during Muhammad's lifetime.

<sup>3</sup>See W.M. Watt, 1962, 23-34; A. Guillaume, 1955 and Tor Andrae, 1955.

<sup>4</sup>F. Rosenthal, 1968.

<sup>5</sup>It seems clear that the Traditions as well as the siyer literature can be treated as written formalizations of a pre-existent strong oral tradition and as such, they could be examined according to the historical methodology for treating oral traditions developed in this century.

<sup>6</sup>The collections of Traditions which I have examined are the Mishkat al-Masabih (trans. Robson, 1970); Muhammad Ali's Manual of Hadith (1944); al-Bokhari (Houdas and Marçais, 1903-14). The earliest collections of Traditions consist of Musnad: Taylisi (d. 203 A.H.); Musnad: Hanbal (c. 241 A.H.). Waqidi's Maghazi accounts are also extremely important as well as al-Tabari's Tafsir, al-Azraqi's Akhbar Nakka and Ibn Sa'd's Akbaru'l Nabi if one wished to expand this study and comparison. For siyer collections, I have leaned most heavily on A. Guillaume, 1955 and Darir, 1977.

<sup>7</sup>The content for example of Bukhari's ninety-seven books covers almost every topic for which a Muslim would seek help. Three deal with revelation, faith and knowledge; thirty with ablution, prayer, tithes, pilgrimage, and fasting; twenty-two with business, trusteeship, employment and legal matters; three on fighting for Islam and subject people; one on creation; four on prophets and some details of early prophets; one with Muhammad's career in Medina; three on marriage, divorce and family; two on miscellaneous matters and one on God's unity.

Thus, while they have included miraculous happenings such as the miraj, the Traditions used Muhammad's life as it related to societal practices. Above all, here Muhammad provides a behavior model for Muslims.

<sup>8</sup>"Sira," 440-2.

<sup>9</sup>"Sira," 441.

<sup>10</sup>"Sira," 441.

<sup>11</sup>A. Guillaume, 1955, xviii. This section is heavily based on W.M. Watt, 1962, 23-34.

<sup>12</sup>A. Guillaume, 1955, xxi, points out that much of al-Waqidi's gazi literature runs parallel to that of Ibn Ishaq of whom he speaks warmly. Al-Waqidi, however, often expands on stories of the Prophet where Ibn Ishaq doesn't.

<sup>13</sup>W. M. Watt, 1962, 29.

<sup>14</sup>A conjecture may be made about the use of illustrations to "modify party interests" in the sixteenth century if one looks at the role of angels in this sixteenth century Sufi influenced copy. This consideration is based on a suggestion made by Alford T. Welch. It is that when the angels function in the Qur'anic fashion, they perform "official" functions such as revelation and support for Muhammad in gazi or battle situations, or in episodes of revelation. In the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi one finds a more "Sufi" interpretation where the angels give personal help and inspiration to man and guide him along the path. For the orthodox interpretation see the Holy Qur'an, 1946, 638, Footnote 1942.

<sup>15</sup>These siyers especially that of Ibn Ishaq were little valued by the Traditionists and one can see that they were simply tangential to the kind of information they found useful.

<sup>16</sup>A. Guillaume, 1955, xiii.

<sup>17</sup>A. Guillaume, 1955, xiii.

<sup>18</sup>See Chapter 1.

<sup>19</sup>V. Minorsky, 1958, 31.

- <sup>20</sup>M. Darir, I, 1977, 26.
- <sup>21</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1221, fol. 12a.
- <sup>22</sup>M. Darir, I, 1977, 26.
- <sup>23</sup>Z. Akalay (Tanindi) unpublished manuscript.
- <sup>24</sup>B. Flemming, I, 1968.
- <sup>25</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1221, 1222, 1223, R. 1528, R. 1527, R. 1529, R. 1530 (all but the first three numbers represent Persian Siyer-i Nebis that have no illustrations); Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul No. 1974.
- <sup>26</sup>F. Çağman and Z. Tanindi (Akalay), 1979, 66.



## CHAPTER 4

### PRECURSORS FOR THE SIYER-I NEBI ILLUSTRATIONS

It has been suggested that this Siyer-i Nebi pictorial cycle is so complete it must have had a precursor.<sup>1</sup> While this may be so,<sup>2</sup> to date none has come to light. Even without such a forebear, however, precedents in illustrations of religious subjects had been set for the manuscript in both Persian and Turkish manuscripts of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Based on the observation that Islamic illustrated texts as well as Byzantine and Medieval European texts usually turned to earlier manuscripts for models, one can suggest possible models for the Siyer-i Nebi. Several groups of manuscripts suggest themselves. Among these manuscripts, the groups discussed in the following pages are significant.

Both Rogers<sup>3</sup> and Akalay<sup>4</sup> see the Jami<sup>c</sup>al-Tavârîkh of Rashid al-Din as first on this list because it contains the earliest extant representations of Muhammad, his companions and the events surrounding his life. Editions of this are in 1) the Edinburgh University Library dating from 1306-7<sup>5</sup> 2) a copy just sold by the Royal Asiatic Society dating from 1314<sup>6</sup>, and 3) the Topkapi Palace Museum manuscript dating from 1314.<sup>7</sup>

Basil Gray records Guner Inal's suggestion of an attempt by the Jalayrid Sultan Ahmad in the late fourteenth century to revive the Jami<sup>C</sup>al-Tavârikh in the Topkapi Palace Museum copy which contains miniatures attributed to 1390 as well as some attributed to 1317.<sup>8</sup> Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray also list fourteen miniatures "from a manuscript of Rashid al-Din's Universal History, now disbursed, but said to have borne the date 1318. Also said (with great likelihood) to have borne the seal of Shah Rukh..."<sup>9</sup>.

These manuscripts deal with the history of the world and are divided into four sections: the history of Muhammad, a history of China, a history of India, and a history of the Jews. This group of manuscripts is interesting, not only for the early representations of the life of Muhammad, but because some of the episodes from his life illustrated therein have also been included in the 1594-5 Siyer-i Nebi.

For example, in the former Royal Asiatic Society volume sold at Sotheby's on July 8, 1980,<sup>10</sup> the three miniatures dealing with Muhammad are "The Prophet Muhammad receives submission of the Banû Nadîr"<sup>11</sup>, "Muhammad addresses Hamza and 'Ali before the battle of Radr,"<sup>12</sup> and "Hamza leading the fight with the Banu Qaynuqa."<sup>13</sup> These episodes also appear in the Siyer-i Nebi and are often illustrated. Although stylistically different, compositionally many are surprisingly similar. Guner Inal, in a 1965 dissertation from the University of Michigan,<sup>14</sup> collated the miniatures from the Edinburgh, the Royal Asiatic Society and the Topkapi Palace volumes and

produced the listing shown in Table 1 in the left hand column. The placement of these episodes in the critical edition of the Siyer-i Nebi as listed in Appendix A is shown in the right hand column and the appearance of miniatures identified in Appendix B is also listed there. As can be seen, in every case, the topics appear in the Siyer-i Nebi and in a significant number, miniatures are extant.

It is interesting that only Miniature 12 is repeated in more than one copy of the Jami<sup>C</sup>al-Tavârîkh. It seems possible that others were repeated but are no longer extant. On the other hand, the cycle may not have been formalized until the fifteenth century efforts to reconstruct it.

Finally, a fifteenth century copy of the Jami<sup>C</sup>al-Tavârîkh (c. 1410-20) from Herat exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>15</sup> Additionally al-Biruni's al-Athar al-Baqiya in the Edinburgh University Library dated 707/1307 should be remembered,<sup>16</sup> although Inal notes its cycle is not as extensive as the cycle from the Jami<sup>C</sup>al-Tavârîkh.<sup>12</sup> Akalay notes Bal'ami's Persian translation of Tabari's Annals in the Freer from the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>18</sup> All of the above contain illustrated portions of the life of Muhammad.

Portions of at least one Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nama, done perhaps in Baghdad, may be from the fourteenth century. Four miniatures, likely from a Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nama and dated c. 1360-90, portray "Three Cups Offered to Muhammad", "Gabriel Carries the Prophet Over the Mountains," "The Presentation of a Town by the Angel

Gabriel," and "The Arrival of the Prophet in Paradise and Muhammad in Front of a Palace in Paradise." They are a part of an Album (Muraqa) in Topkapi Palace Museum.<sup>19</sup> This was prepared by Abul-Fath Bahram Mirza, brother of Shah Tahmasp in 951/1544. These paintings have sometimes been attributed to Ahmad Musa.<sup>20</sup> The importance of the mi<sup>c</sup>raj story to the Siyer-i Nebi will be analyzed in detail later in this dissertation.

An entirely different type of manuscript should also be considered from the fourteenth century since it may have some bearing on the Siyer-i Nebi. This is the Ajâib al-Makhlûqât (Wonders of Creation) by Qazwînî.<sup>21</sup> Two examples of this manuscript are the 790/1388 copy done for Sultan Ahmad, probably in Baghdad<sup>22</sup> and a Freer Gallery copy<sup>23</sup> which has recently been redated to the end of the fifteenth century by Mrs. Julie Badiée.<sup>24</sup> This redating places this manuscript chronologically even closer to the Siyer-i Nebi.

The Ajâib al-Makhlûqât attained great popularity and continued in "updated" versions into the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire as evidenced in Topkapi Palace Museum's two copies.<sup>25</sup> For example, Lûtfû Abdullah, a painter who will be connected with the Siyer-i Nebi manuscript is listed in court records as having worked on an Ajâib al-Makhlûqât. Within these manuscripts the angels, such as the Angel Israfil<sup>26</sup>, are quite similar in their visual renderings to the descriptions given them in the Siyer-i Nebi.

Fifteenth century illustrated religious manuscripts also provided a source of illustrations for artists working on the Siyer-i Nebi. Shah Rukh's ateliers produced manuscripts which can be considered in the context of illustrated subjects. Again, he was interested in universal histories producing copies of the Majmu'a-i Tawârîkh and the Bibliothèque Nationale Jamî<sup>c</sup>al-Tawârîkh tjat has been previously mentioned. In addition, such manuscripts as the Historical Anthology of Hafiz-i Abru, court historian to Shah Rukh (c. 1425-33) contained miniatures of religious subjects such as "Angels Prostrating Themselves before Adam" and "Saleh and the Camel". Both subjects appear as illustrations in the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>27</sup>

Herat produced the famous Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nama of 1436.<sup>28</sup> This will be dealt with in greater detail later in its connections with the Siyer-i Nebi. Grube and Sims call it a "unique text" stylistically.<sup>29</sup> They suggest it reflects primarily its Central Asian heritage.

Rogers notes a "striking growth of mystical and devotional literature in the fifteenth century" and connects it with Sufism's stress on personal sanctification.<sup>30</sup> Literature, and in some cases, illustrations may have served to help in contemplation. Rogers notes three types of fifteenth century manuscripts specifically connected with this:

1. The Khawara-nama (1426) of Muhammad ibn Husayn (dec. 1480) deals with the adventures of Ali.
2. Jâmi's Nafahat al-uns (1480), a series of

biographies written of Sufi saints.

3. Jâmi's Shawahid al-nubuwwa which is a biographical account of how Muhammad revealed himself as Prophet.

All of these reappear in the sixteenth century in Ottoman Turkey and, there are illustrated copies of the first two done in the Ottoman Empire.

The sixteenth century developed the interest in biographies of religious personalities. Rogers believes this began with the Il-Khans who, after 1295 wanted to emphasize a convergence of Ilkhanid and Islamic history. These manuscripts suggested a legitimacy for the cause of Muslim sovereigns and directly connect the court to Muhammad. The movement intensified under Timur's patronage through his encouragement of the cults of saints and continued as an appealing approach for Persian and Turkish rulers.<sup>31</sup>

It is important for this study that a large proportion of this literature was illustrated. There is a continuing emphasis on the individual's learning by example from a specific life of a saint. Of particular note are the Kisasi Enbiya manuscripts in Persia and the Ottoman Empire. These are still popular in Turkey today. They are important for, as has been seen in Chapter 3, such scholars as Watt see the Life of the Prophet as beginning with a geneology of prophets.

Considering the discussion to date, it seems that if one were to look for a source other than an earlier copy of

the Siyer-i Nebi for a pictorial model, it might well be in a combination of these two sources: the first, histories and the second, religious biographies. It is furthermore interesting that these illustrated biographies may have been introduced to the Ottomans via a chain which led first to the 1507 conquest of Herat by Shah Isma'il. This resulted in the transfer of the Royal Library to Tabriz. It continued with the conquest of Tabriz by Yavuz Selim I and the transfer of booty from the Tabriz library to Istanbul.<sup>32</sup>

In the first half of the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire, Selim I was generally unsympathetic to Sufi thought.<sup>33</sup> There was instead a stress on illustrated historical manuscripts, and little patronage of much of the material discussed to date. By the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-66) however, the commissioning of an Kisasi Enbiya (History of the Prophets) is recorded.<sup>34</sup> Finished the 12th Jumada I 965/2nd March, 1558, it contained ten miniatures and a colophon indicating it was done "at the command of Hazrati Padishah-i Alempenah", i.e. the Padişah, Süleyman.

During the reign of Selim II (1566-74) which followed, portraiture grew in popularity and thus it is really only with the reign of Murad III (1575-95) that religious painting reappears. Sufism was tolerated and perhaps accepted by the state with Murad III's declared interest in it. The point is an important one for several of the most popular texts of Murad III's time were the Maktal-i Ali Resul of Lâmi'î Çelebi,

a biography of Ali<sup>35</sup> and the Hadîkat al-Su'ada of Fazûlî, a text dealing with the lives of holy men.<sup>36</sup> Finally, a Jamî<sup>c</sup> al-Siyar or lives of prophets and caliphs, by Muhammad Tahir ibn Seyn Nurulah al-Necibi al-Suhravardî is in Topkapi Palace Museum.<sup>37</sup> This was produced in Baghdad at the request of Hasan Paşa, son of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmet Paşa of which more will be said later.

As in Persia earlier, world histories commissioned during the reign of Murad III carried religious overtones as was to be expected in an Islamic state. Many, if not all, of these were illustrated.

Three copies of the Zubdat al-tavârikh by Loqman are extant from this period.<sup>38</sup> The earliest is in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul and is dated 991/1583. Other copies are in Dublin in the Chester Beatty Library and in Istanbul in Topkapi Palace Museum. This world history contained four sections. The first dealt with the creation of the universe and earth; the second with a history of the prophets from Adam to the Seven Sleepers (This section contains twenty-three of the forty miniatures); the third with the lives of Muhammad, the caliphs and the Muslim dynasties and the fourth with Kingdoms of Anatolia, the foundation of the Ottoman Empire and historic events leading to the reign of Murad III.

A similar type of history appears in the form of Yûsuf b. Hasan b. Abdûlhâdî's Silsilanâmas. These contained a geneology of the prophets, and a second section dealing with



a history of prophets, caliphs, Muslim tribes and a geneology of Ottoman rulers. Today three copies exist. Two are in Topkapi Palace Museum.<sup>39</sup> The first has a colophon which states it was made in Baghdad in 1006/1597. The second gives the same place of production and the same date. A third copy in the Chester Beatty collection, Dublin, also states it was made in Baghdad in 1006/1598.<sup>40</sup> These were all made when Hasan Paşa, son of Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, was governor of Baghdad and all three are illustrated.

In looking at other contemporary manuscripts, it is important to realize that, while not in as fully developed a cycle as the Siyer-i Nebi, many manuscripts depict episodes identical to those in the Siyer-i Nebi. Miniatures of the same type and from about the same time appear, for example in the Javâhir al-gharâib tardjamat Bahr al-Ajâ'ib translated by Jennâbî (d. 1590) and done during the reign of Murad III.<sup>41</sup> This manuscript contains a picture of the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba which is comparable to those done by the "Ka<sup>c</sup>ba painter" who will be mentioned in Chapter 6,<sup>42</sup> a picture of "Salman, the Persian in a Grove of Date Palms" which is an episode and perhaps a missing miniature in the Siyer-i Nebi,<sup>43</sup> and "The Request of Musa To See Muhammad's Face is Granted" is close in style to the scenes of Moses and Muhammad in the Siyer-i Nebi's mi<sup>c</sup>raj section.

Separate miniatures exist today whose original manuscript sources remain unclear but which stylistically suggest sixteenth century dates. One such example is "An Episode in the Life of the Prophet" in the Goloubew Collection in the

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>44</sup> In short, many of the illustrations of religious events as well as the interest in the life of a holy man are not only seen in the Siyer-i Nebi but are common to many manuscripts in the sixteenth century.

It has been shown that specific visual models from earlier manuscripts for specific episodes already existed in the Topkapi Palace libraries. However, the vitality of the art of painting at this time and the existence in the palace ateliers of artistic models and devices must be stressed. At the same time that Murad III had artists working on the Siyer-i Nebi, some of the same artists, Lûtfî Abdullah being a case in point, were working on a copy of the Zubdat al-Tavârîkh, the geneology of the ancient prophets and caliphs.<sup>45</sup> A copy of Fazuli's Hâdiqat al-su'ada was finished by this court workshop in 1596. Could religious themes or motifs have migrated from earlier or contemporary Jami<sup>c</sup>al-Tavârîkhs Zubdat al-tavârîkhs, Ajâib al-Makhlûqats and Kisasi Enbiyas to the Siyer-i Nebi? It might have been helpful to use the angel imagery, produced in three centuries of experimentation and thought from the Ajâib al-Makhlûqât scenes, mi<sup>c</sup>raj scenes as defined in earlier renderings from a Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâme or Jami<sup>c</sup>al-tavârîkh and scenes of prophets from a popular Kisasi Enbiya. At the same time these great painters would have exercised artistic license and genius in adapting these scenes to their purpose. Indeed, such experimentation in what was adopted seems to be in order.

During the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire, many copies of the Darir Siyer-i Nebi were produced although as has

been already stated the Murad III manuscript and the seventeenth century copy are the only two illustrated copies found to date. The Murad III manuscript has been described at length in the opening sections of this dissertation; its contents are defined in detail in Appendix A and B, its place in the history of siyer literature developed and its style will be examined in Chapter 6. Here, it seems better to simply note it chronologically in the history of religious illustrated texts stating that in its emphasis on the geneology and history of the prophet and the personalized episodes concerning the lives and battles of Muhammad and his followers, it is very much a product of the literary trends of its time. Having said this, one must also look at the only other Turkish copy and compare it with the Murad III one.

The seventeenth century copy of the Siyer-i Nebi (c. 1700) is in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul.<sup>46</sup> The story is purported to be a one volume truncated form of the Murad III version. It has approximately one hundred and ten rather than eight hundred and fourteen miniatures. The artist or artists have borrowed several design motifs from the earlier manuscript. As in the other, the four companions are seated often in a diagonal line to the right of the picture and in the later version two black figures are often placed behind them. They do not appear regularly in this position in the Topkapi Palace volumes. Vertically, divisions are often in four with the left hand space occupied by an archway, door or gate as occurs in the earlier manuscript. A few

of the hills are left blank and pale in the manner of the "Ka<sup>c</sup>ba painter" who will be discussed later, but mostly the hills are covered with vegetation or "cubes" of outlined color. Again, the gold and blue sky is used as it has been in the earlier Murad III manuscript.

On the whole, the miniatures in this manuscript are more packed with overall decorative designs which are quite small in scale. Certain differences are readily evident which could be due to a difference in painter or a difference in time:

- 1) angel wings are shaded although the angels have knotted ribbons on their arms and ribbon belts as in the Murad III copy.
- 2) The clothes are drawn with intricate overall patterns.
- 3) Gold, when used, has been slightly tooled into a pattern.
- 4) In several places the white turbans are dotted with darker colors.
- 5) The totality of content in the cycle is different.

Almost the entire first portion of the Siyer-i Nebi is not illustrated in the Turkish and Islamic Museum copy. The illustrations begin with the grown Muhammad and the intimate scenes of the birth and nursing Muhammad as well as the scenes surrounding his death are missing. No mi<sup>c</sup>raj is illustrated in this manuscript. Ali, as before, plays a large role although stylistically he is painted in a different fashion with facial shading.

Quite interestingly, two pictures of Ali which have consistently been portrayed in previous works, his combats with the lion and dragon, do not appear in this volume.<sup>47</sup> Ali also sometimes appears without a veil whereas he, like Muhammad, is usually veiled in the earlier manuscript.

This volume contains a greater emphasis on the mothers of the caliphs and the story of Einsî. In proportion to the number of pictures within the text, the story of Süfiyan is proportionately larger. The story of Hamza continues to hold a big part in the illustrations, if anything expanding in importance.

If one assumes the manuscript is intact, it is difficult to explain these variations. While the nursing, birth and death scenes, for example, have not been consistently rendered in this tradition, the mi<sup>c</sup>raj and the scenes of Ali's combats with dragons and lions have been painted early. They have consistently remained a part of the repertoire of Islamic religious painting. Çağman and Akalay-Tanindi have suggested that the seventeenth century copy is a copy of Volume IV of Murad III's manuscript.<sup>48</sup> The place, date and importance of this volume bear further investigation.

Before closing this brief overview of illustrated manuscripts which portray the prophets, Muhammad and his followers in some fashion, a manuscript in the British Library entitled the Hamlah-i Haidan of Brazil (Muhammad Rûfi') cited by Norah Titley should be noted.<sup>49</sup> It is Kashmiri and dated to the early nineteenth century. It may well be the latest link to date in

this chain of illustrated manuscripts. The manuscript is a "poetical account of the life of <sup>c</sup>Ali," It has eighty-two miniatures. Most intriguing is that the listings of the miniatures are quite close in subject matter to many of those listed in Appendix B from the Siyer-i Nebi. They include Gabriel investing Muhammad with Prophetship, a mi<sup>c</sup>raj, the stories surrounding Ebu Cehil, gazi stories, the attacks on the Jews, and ends with Ali killing Abdullah ibn Wahb.

In summary, the Siyer-i Nebi can be fitted into a history of illustrated manuscripts which include as subjects episodes in the lives of the prophets and which emphasize episodes for either the life of Muhammad or the lives of other Islamic holy figures. This tradition can be traced back to a post Mongol invasion date in the early fourteenth century and vestiges of it appear until the nineteenth century. This pictorial tradition of portraying Muhammad spans five hundred years of Islamic history. It is interesting that it appears with the Ilkhanids and may have resulted from a need to legitimize Islamic dynasties by giving them a geneology since the religious histories have been in many cases a part of the histories of countries or dynasties. Its appearance may be a result of the Mongols' association with China and their reopening of trade routes. This brought the importance and technique of Yüan dynasty painting closely into contact with the west. Whatever the reason for its existence, one must return to the point that Murad III's manuscript containing eight hundred and fourteen miniatures is the most monumental attempt of all.

TABLE 1

Comparison of the miniatures in the Jami<sup>c</sup>al-Tavarikh  
and the Siyer-i Nebi

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|--|---|
| 1. <sup>c</sup> Abd al-Muttalib and his son looking for the Well of Zemzem. (Edinburgh, fol. 41a). | Appendix A, p. 267<br><del>#49-50</del> . This is in a gap in the run of miniatures.  |
| 2. The birth of Muhammad, Edinburgh, fol. 42a.   | Appendix A, p. 269, #85<br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 334-5<br>(5 miniatures)   |
| 3. Muhammad with the monk Bahirah, Edinburgh, fol. 43b.  | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 275-6,<br><del>#205-209</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 337-8  |
| 4. Muhammad's first revelation, Edinburgh, fol. 45b.   | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 279<br><del>#271</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 339   |
| 5. Placement of the Black Stone in the Ka <sup>c</sup> ba. Edinburgh 45a.                          | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 279<br><del>#258</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 339<br>(In Vol. I this appears before the revelation in the arrangement of miniatures but <u>not</u> in the text of the critical edition. |
| 6. The inquisition of the first Muslims. Edinburgh, fol. 48b.                                      | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 282ff.<br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 341<br><del>fol. 355a?</del>  |
| 7. Muslims take refuge in Abyssinia. Edinburgh 52a.  | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 287-8<br><del>#405-408</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 340<br>(Note that the manuscript is out of order at this point).  |
| 8. The meeting of the Kureys tribe. Edinburgh, 54a.  | <u>Appendix A</u> . several placements possible.  |
| 9. The Battle of Badr, Istanbul, 165a.   | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 311<br><del>#773ff</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 355   |

TABLE 1 (Continued . . .)

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|---|--|
| 10. The siege of the Qaynuqa',<br>Istanbul, 167a.                                   | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 313<br><del>#819ff</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 357  |
| 11. After the victory over the<br>Qaynuqa. London, fol. 8a.                         | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 313<br><del>#819ff</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 357  |
| 12. The punishment of the Banu<br>al-Nadir Istanbul, fol. 170b.<br>London, fol. 3a. | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 317<br><del>#874</del><br>Note that a large por-<br>tion of the text is<br>without extant minia-<br>tures here.                                     |
| 13. The battle of Ali. London,<br>fol. 7a.  | <u>Appendix A</u> , several<br>possible positions.<br><u>Appendix B</u> , p. 364?  |
| 14. Mi <sup>c</sup> raj. Edinburgh, 55a.  | <u>Appendix A</u> , p. 290<br><del>#499ff.</del><br><u>Appendix B</u> , a large<br>portion of this section<br>is without miniatures<br>but see p. 343 and then<br>Chap. 7. |
| 15. Ebu Bakir and Muhammad followed<br>by enemies. Edinburgh, 57a.                  | <u>Appendix A</u> . Several<br>possible places after<br>p. 296.  |



#### CHAPTER 4 FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>E. Grube, 1965, 157.

<sup>2</sup>M. Darir, 10. This introduction indicates the order was given to copy this in the following way: "Vesikanin arkas'na da "Siyer-i Nebi" kitabi yeniden yazilip tasvir olundukta hismeti sebkeyliyenlerin inam suretidir, yazilidir." This may suggest another copy. Assuredly there are several although none are illustrated.

<sup>3</sup>J.W. Rogers, 1970, 125-39.

<sup>4</sup>The following discussion is based on my research and examination of text, an unpublished manuscript of Dr. Zeren Akalay-Tanindi, and private correspondence with Mrs. Julie Badiee. See also K. Jahn, 1969.

<sup>5</sup>Arab Mss. 20.

<sup>6</sup>London, Morley 1.

<sup>7</sup>H. 1653.

<sup>8</sup>B. Gray, 1979, 96. Also S.G. Inal, 1965.

<sup>9</sup>L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, 1971, 46. This may provide a link in the fifteenth century attempts of Shah Rukh (1405-57) to reconstruct the text from copies he had collected and to revive the Rashidiya tradition in his ateliers (See B. Gray, 1979, 96).

<sup>10</sup>B.W. Robinson, 1980.

<sup>11</sup>fol. 3a.

<sup>12</sup>fol. 7a.

<sup>13</sup>fol. 8a.

<sup>14</sup> G. Inal, 1965.

<sup>15</sup> Supp. Pers. 1113. As a part of the problem of religion illustrations, the question kept reasserting itself as to why this religious illustrations and style suggested itself in the early fourteenth century when it has not been seen before. One has to turn to digress for a moment to explain this. It is necessary first to consider the art of the Yüan or Mongol dynasties of China. S. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, 1968, remark that very few people have closely examined the art of this dynasty. They point out that by the mid-fourteenth century Chinese painting had radically changed. The roots of this new style had started as early as the landscapes of the masters Ch'ien Hsuan (c. 1235- after 1300) and Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322). In Ch'ien Hsuan's "Home Again" (S. Lee and W. Ho, 1968, #184) one can see the elements of this style in the tsun knot hole areas and twisting trunks of the trees, the "chopped off land masses", the "green and blue mode" of painting derived as an archaizing influence from T'ang art, the kung-pi or fine line manner of drawing, schematized foliage, sharp outlining of rocks and "crystalline clarity" of the flat areas of design which lack depth, "are not realistic or pictorial", do "not swim in atmospheric tonality" and, Lee asserts, act as "carefully written symbols." These symbols reflect an underlying belief in the order and pattern of the universe. It is a concept which would be attractive to a religious state such as that of the Il-Khans.

It is interesting to compare this painting with the Royal Asiatic Society Jami' al-Tawârikh, #184 from the Sotheby sale Catalogue, 1980. Here the twisting of the trees, tsun wrinkles, blues and greens, and "chopped" land masses are very similar. Additionally the horses are similar to those done by Yüan painters in the thinness and elongation of the neck, small upward pointed ears, stereotyped horse poses and the raised right foreleg.

The transference and acceptance of this style in Tabriz (of which the Rashidiyya where the Jami' al-Tawârikh was made a suburb) can be explained in the following way. In the late thirteenth century, probably due to the "Pax Mongolica," a new trade route for Indian and for eastern goods was developed. Whereas, since the late tenth century, Far Eastern goods had been brought past South Arabia by sea to Egypt's Fatimid empire, the new route came north to the head of the Persian Gulf and overland to Trebizond and thence by sea to Constantinople. (See G. Mathew, 1963, 133 and 138-9.) By 1274, Tabriz was well established as a main trade center on the East Asia to Mediterranean overland route and on the north-south route from Hormuz on the Persian Gulf. It provided a market for silk from

Gilan and China, coral, jewels, amber, tin, gold and silverware. (B. Gray, 1972, 12). This provides a route for the transference of Yüan stylistic influences.

On the other end of the route, the Byzantine art traditions had remained unbroken by the Crusader's conquest of Constantinople. With the retaking of Constantinople in 1261, the workshops in the capital had renewed support. The prosperity, brought by the opening of the Mongol routes, allowed for the development, for the first time in Byzantium, of the private patronage of leading civil servants as well as royalty. (See G. Mathew, 1963, 135-61). In 1331, for example, Theodore Metochites commissioned the mosaic cycle at St. Savior in Chora. The episodes or history of Christ's life proceed in a narrative style set against a flattened landscape in the decoration of this church. The Byzantine style was undoubtedly known to the Il-Khans of Tabriz who had Christian wives. Abaqa's Nestorian wife, for example, wanted a painter from Constantinople to decorate a Christian church. In addition, a large Armenian community existed near Tabriz. (B. Gray, 1972, 12).

It seems probable that the Rashidiyya and other Islamic manuscript painters would have become aware of the surge of interest in the new Yüan landscape style based on distinct principles of order on the one hand as well as the renewed and broadened patronage in Constantinople, a patronage which may have also been influenced stylistically by the east but which used this style to paint historical and religious narrative subjects. The appearance of this blend of style and subject matter in the media of painting coming as it did from two powerful and highly respected civilizations was most attractive to the fourteenth century Il-Khan patrons and painters.

Tangentially, this may explain why landscape styles reappear for the first time since the Romans in Italy at the time. B. Gray, 1972, 12 records large numbers of Venetians and Genoese trading in Tabriz in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. They were the ones who transferred the imported goods to Europe via Constantinople.. It seems quite plausible that they could have transferred the new style of landscape painting.

<sup>16</sup>Arab Mss. 161.

<sup>17</sup>S.G. Inal, 1965, 58 and Footnote 1.

<sup>18</sup>Freer 57.16; 47.19.

<sup>19</sup>H. 2154, fols. 62a, 42b, 61a, 107a.

<sup>20</sup>Although B. Gray suggests the name of Shah Muzaffar in connection with the mi<sup>c</sup>raj miniature (fol. 42b) and places it "from Tabriz, c. 1360," E. Grube, 1975, suggests a source of Baghdad and dates of 1370-90. See also R. Ettinghausen, 1957, 360-83.

<sup>21</sup>Mrs. Julie Badiée has dealt with this in great depth in her unpublished doctoral dissertation (1978) and has been extremely kind about sharing information in private correspondence. See also L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, 1971, 26-7, nos. 10, 11, 15 and Plate VII, a and b.

<sup>22</sup>Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Persan 332.

<sup>23</sup>Freer 54.33.

<sup>24</sup>J. Badiée, 1978.

<sup>25</sup>H. 408 and R. 1088.

<sup>26</sup>L. Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, 1971, Plate VIIb.

<sup>27</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum, Bagdat 282, especially fol. 16a and 27b.

<sup>28</sup>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. turc. 190.

<sup>29</sup>E. Grube and E. Sims, 1979, 158.

<sup>30</sup>J. W. Rogers, 1970, 125.

<sup>31</sup>E.G. Browne, 1096-24, points out the important events of the Year of the Elephant noting that for contemporary people probably the event of least importance was the possible connection of this year with the birth of Muhammad. It would only later take on importance. He speaks of the conquests of the Ethiopian King Ebrehe and his son and how Yeman and the KaCba were saved by the Persian king who made the Yemen a province of Persia. This series of events is dealt with at such length in the beginning of Darir's Siyer-i Nebi. It seems here that it could do two things. First it sets the scene historically for Muhammad's birth perhaps giving it more historical veracity--something which later Ottomans found appealing; and secondly, it showed a preference for the "culture of the Persians". Although the Ottomans fought the Persians in many periods, they always respected their culture. This work can support Roger's

theory as it related to the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>32</sup>As a footnote, a series of three pictures from one manuscript were listed but not illustrated in the December 17, 1969 Sotheby Catalogue. They are intriguing for while listed as Provincial Qazwin style, they are dated to the second half of the sixteenth century and are listed as:

1. #218: A Prophet riding on a Black Horse, a man on foot walks in front and speaks with a woman. 180 mm x 120 mm.

2. #219: A Prophet performing miracles before a king. A dragon devours a demon at the foot of the throne (margins trimmed). Mounted 198 x 118 mm.

3. #220. A girl talking to three men who stand by a rock. 181 mm x 118 mm. All of these would fit Siyer-i Nebi episodes.

<sup>33</sup>W.E.D. Allen, 1963, 11 and E. Atil, ed., 1980, 137-238.

<sup>34</sup>Christie's sale catalogue. I have unfortunately lost the reference to this and have been unable to locate it.

<sup>35</sup>British Museum, London, Or. 7238 and Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, 1958.

<sup>36</sup>Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul Fatih 4321; Brooklyn Museum 70.143; Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul, 1967; British Museum, London Or. 12009 and Or. 7301; Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. ture 1088 and Konya Museum, Konya, Hemden çelebi 101.

<sup>37</sup>H. 1230.

<sup>38</sup>Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul 1973; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin Turkish Mss. 414 and Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1321.

<sup>39</sup>H. 1324 and H. 1521.

<sup>40</sup>Chester Beatty Library, Dublin Turkish Mss. 423.

<sup>41</sup>E. Binney 3rd, 1979, 33-5, no. 17.

<sup>42</sup>It could be suggested that these are forerunners for the representations of the Mosque of Mecca and Medina which are integral parts of books such as the DalaCil al-Khayrat of al-Jazuli, the Futuh al-Haramyn and other prayer books and guides to the holy places which became popular in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries in Turkey, North Africa and India. E. Binney, 3rd, 1979, #70, 76, 90 illustrates several good examples. Interestingly, one sees that Murad III owned at least one book which dealt specifically with Mecca. Muhammad b. ʿAla ed-Din Ali b. Muhammad b. Qadi Chan Mahmud Qutb ed-Din al-Mekki, son of Murad III's hoca, Saʿd ed-Din Efendi (b. 1511), studied in Cairo and Istanbul in 1536 and 1557. He was a Kadi in Mecca and became Mufti in 1580 or 82. He is known to have produced a detailed book dedicated to Murad III on the Kaʿba entitled al-islam bi-alam bail allah al-haram. See F. Wüstenfeld, II, 1858 and I.H. Uzunçarşili, III/1, 1951, 44.

<sup>43</sup>Appendix A, 29, #673ff.

<sup>44</sup>A. Coomaraswamy, 1929, Plate LXI. Another example is the single page miniature of Muhammad and Ali dated c. 16th century Turkey in the Metropolitan Museum, N.Y.C. Rogers Fund 55.121.40. It is different in style from the Siyer-i Nebi.

<sup>45</sup>C. Renda, 1971, 183-200, R.M. Meriç, 1953 and N. Sevin, 1965, 242.

<sup>46</sup>No. 1974.

<sup>47</sup>These illustrations appear in the Khawarnama and Kisas al-Enbiya volumes as well as in the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi.

<sup>48</sup>F. Çağman and Z. Akalay Tanindi, 1979. While these points provide strong proofs that the manuscript is not complete, I feel at the date of this writing, unable to revise the dating of No. 1974 to include it as a possible portion of the Murad III manuscript.

<sup>49</sup>N.M. Titley, 1977.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE SIYER STORY AND THE PROBLEM OF THE MISSING VOLUME

As the manuscript description indicated, one major problem with Murad III's manuscript has been the disappearance of Volume V, the so-called "Dresden volume." Minorsky<sup>1</sup> suggests that it may at one time have been in the Dresden Library as indicated by an entry in Fleisher's nineteenth century catalogue. Grube concurs. However, a letter to the Dresden Library in the spring of 1977 suggests the opposite. While they have several Siyer-i Nebi manuscripts, none contain miniatures and the "min." which has been suggested "might signify miniatures" in Fleisher's catalogue was intended rather to signify "minor" or "small in format."

This missing volume requires further examination. Without one of the six volumes this major cycle of pictures is still far from complete. It seemed worthwhile to examine the problem from another angle. This approach is based on a consideration of the history of Siyer literature and the fact that there is a fairly standardized order in which events in Muhammad's life are traditionally presented.

In order to examine Murad III's manuscript from this angle, it is first necessary to reconstruct the episodes in

the Siyer-i Nebi cycle as it may have existed at the time of the production of this manuscript. In order to accomplish this, the Modern Turkish critical edition of the Siyer-i Nebi has been used.<sup>2</sup> As has been stated, this list of episodes appears in Appendix A. On the right hand side of these lists appear the volume and page numbers of stories which correspond to miniatures in this cycle. In Appendix B identification of miniatures made by modern scholars has been collated in the order in which they appear today. The middle column matches the volume and page number of the story in the modern critical edition of the text with the miniature. The right hand column indicates specific story groupings. This was done to determine a) if a pattern emerged in the arrangement of illustrated material, and b) if there are gaps, possible missing portions, in illustrations in the cycle as it now exists. Appendix B indicates where the current arrangement of illustrated story episodes is or is not synchronized with the established story order.

An analysis of these tables yields several points. The first point is that, with exceptions about to be discussed, the paintings are interspersed quite regularly throughout the text. There is an average of a painting every 3-5 pages. Point two deals with the exceptions. If one examines Appendix A closely, there are missing portions of miniatures throughout the text. For example, there are about sixty unillustrated pages indicated on page 2 of Appendix A; page B is very spotty with gaps at various places of up to fifteen pages between



miniatures; pages 288-91 show eighty pages of text without miniatures; pages 324-5 show fifty pages of text which are without illustration and pages 317-20 of the Appendix contain nearly 150 type set pages of the modern edition that cannot be related to a single miniature in the manuscript volumes. Another point must be injected. This is that, based on the extant five volumes, approximately five hundred type set pages in the modern critical edition are about equivalent to one manuscript volume containing an average 400-450 folios. No such gap appears in the relationship of miniatures to story episodes to suggest an entire missing volume in one place. However, within the entire oeuvre, if all of the gaps are put together, there are approximately nine hundred pages of text lacking miniatures. But again they are interspersed throughout the entire work and are not clustered in one spot.

An examination of the right hand column of Appendix B indicates that paintings tend to cluster around story divisions. These stories include the most important events known to a Muslim state. One sees a clustering around the forefathers Adam and Seth, figures traditional to the universal histories which have been popular Islamic countries. Another clustering indicates specific interest in the immediate ancestors of Muhammad. Following clusters deal with Muhammad's birth, an occasion of great importance for court ceremonials of several Islamic states, the revelation of the Qur'an, the Battles of Badr and Uhud, Muhammad's marriages to Hatice and Aysha, the marriage of Ali and Fatima and the death of Muhammad.

There are two very intriguing omissions. First, there is no miniature that illustrates with the story of Abraham although he is dealt with in the geneology section of the text. He is a figure who is important to Islam in that he functions as the "purest" forebear as Moses does for Judaism and Jesus for Christianity. He has often been painted in Islamic illustrated religious manuscripts. Most puzzling is the lack of mi<sup>c</sup>raj miniatures although the text of the mi<sup>c</sup>raj story appears in Volume III (Spencer Cerlechon) of the manuscript. Of all the episodes connected with the life of the Prophet, this has been the one which has been the most consistently illustrated, yet in this section of over sixty pages only five miniatures appear and only one of those, if taken out of context, would be understood as a mi<sup>c</sup>raj miniature. The others deal with Muhammad leading various groups in discussion or prayer. If miniatures in the "normal" sections of the manuscript have been averaging one every 3-5 pages, it seems quite odd that this special story is so sparsely and vaguely illustrated.

The two appendices yield several more facts. The miniatures do not always move with the established story line and with the historical progression of the life of Muhammad. This is particularly evident in Volumes II, IV and VI. Additionally, there are only 596 miniatures in Appendix B whereas the original commission was for somewhere in the vicinity of eight hundred and fourteen. Thus, two hundred and eighteen

miniatures are unaccounted for. Assuming that in the "normal" sections of the manuscript one found a miniature every three to five pages, there is again no single gap which could account for them. On the other hand, if spaced over the approximately nine hundred pages lacking miniatures, the 218 missing miniatures would fit the consistent pattern of distribution of every 3-5 pages throughout the text.

The problem of the missing volume could be facilitated if internal divisions in the existing manuscripts were evident; however, with the exceptions of the colophons in Volumes IV and VI, no original internal divisions exist which clearly indicate where one volume should end and another begin.

Finally, whereas the existence of the late 16th century bindings might encourage the theory that the present grouping represents the original manuscript division, the extant bindings are dated between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus they do not firmly connect the present division of volumes with the original one.

Based on these facts, it is my belief that the sixth volume has not existed for at least the last one hundred, perhaps even two hundred years. The missing pages and miniatures are not located in a single specific area of the text, thus forming one volume but rather interspersed throughout the text. Since all volumes have covers dated as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as stated above, I propose that at sometime after the completion of the manuscript and

its original division (as indicated in Meriç and the Ottoman pay records) into six volumes, the manuscript fell upon hard times. The political unrest of the seventeenth century within the palace and numerous rebellions and counter-rebellions could account for parts of the manuscript being either damaged or disbursed.

In 1648, a fire swept through the palace. It badly damaged the second and third courts where much of the library and many of the ateliers were located. It is conceivable that at this time parts of the manuscript may have suffered severe fire, smoke or water damage and been separated from the manuscript. Alternatively sections of the text--particularly the group of pictures which may have surrounded the Abraham or the mi<sup>c</sup>raj story--may have been sold or traded out of Topkapi Saray or taken as a kind of personal booty to pay necessary bills or fulfill duties in difficult times.

The loss or damage of these sections may have necessitated a rebinding and, due to the reduced size of the manuscript, a redivision into five rather than six parts. At this time miniatures remaining may have been intentionally or unintentionally reshuffled. Appendices A and B confirm this reshuffling especially in Volumes II, IV and VI. A specific indication of possible reshuffling in Volumes II and III is the appearance in Volume II of the miniature on fol. 383a. Çağman and Atasoy identify it, and rightly so, as "Angels Received by the Prophet Muhammad after his Ascension".<sup>3</sup> This

is a topic, which as can be seen by Appendix A, No. 513 or 525, appears chronologically in Volume III. It may help to fill the hiatus in the mi<sup>c</sup>raj pictures representing either the scene where Gabriel and Muhammad arrive at the fourth heaven and meet the angels whose function it is to sing the praises of God or the scene in the seventh heaven in which Gabriel, feeling he can go no further with Muhammad in the awe inspiring presence of God is told by the angels who hold the throne that he must hold Muhammad's shirt and move further.<sup>4</sup>

Interestingly, as noted in Appendix B and Chapter One, the two volumes with similar hazine stamps bearing late eighteenth century dates are the same two which bear nineteenth century covers and are the two which are currently in collections outside of Turkey. These facts might indicate the source from which these manuscripts were obtained and when they were moved to the west.

In summary, there is probably no missing volume. Although six volumes were originally commissioned, the stresses of time and subsequent rebindings reduced the number of volumes to five. However, individual miniatures taken out of the present bound volumes still do exist and are located in private collections. They are identifiable from the material included in Appendices A and B and stylistically from the material to be presented in the following chapter. They will be dealt with in a later chapter and they will allow for a reconstruction of several present gaps in the miniatures from the Siyer-i Nebi cycle.

FOOTNOTES TO PROBLEM OF MISSING VOLUME

<sup>1</sup>V. Minorsky, 1958, 30-40.

<sup>2</sup>1977. See Appendix C for a list of the manuscripts used in the compilation of the critical editions. It should be noted that the translator often notes when sections are at variance with Topkapi Palace Museums H. 1221, 1222 and 1223. It is further important that the texts seem to be quite standardized in their presentation. This is probably partially due to the fact that the chronology of events in Muhammad's life was set very early in Islamic history.

<sup>3</sup>N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, 1974, Plate 32.

## CHAPTER SIX

### PAINTING STYLES IN THE SIYER-I NEBI

Since the miniatures in the Siyer-i Nebi have no signatures, specific miniatures cannot be attributed to individual artists with certainty. Stylistically, however, it is possible to divide the miniatures into groups and to suggest how these groups fit the traditional schools of Ottoman painting. Several of these groups begin a new trend. This new style needs to be placed within the history of late sixteenth century Ottoman painting.

The miniatures in the Siyer-i Nebi can be placed in roughly ten groups based on stylistic similarities and differences. It has been noted that several scholars have associated specific painters with this manuscript. These painters will be associated with the groupings of miniatures as they are made. It has been suggested that the miniatures in Volume I are more or less by the same painter, or possibly a painter and an assistant.<sup>1</sup> This is a good point of departure. An examination of Volume I reveals two distinct hands as well as a possible assistant. They will be discussed first as Painter One, Painter Two and Painter Three.

Painter One has been nicknamed the "Big Head Painter" because of the size and shape of the heads of some of the

major figures in his miniatures. Heads of figures such as Adam and Seth (Plate 1) are particularly large in size. The garments of these figures contain what Grube calls the "broken color scheme", using darker and lighter shades of reds, blues, greens and a heavy use of gold leaf in the decoration of garments and crowns. The halos--which are quite distinctive for each artist--are rendered here with two outlines intertwined, one inside the other, in black curly lines that are similar in shape to wavelets.

In his outdoor scenes, this painter's hills are heavily outlined in a darker color. The hills are painted in light shades of lavender, coral and blue. Within the contours they are marked with darker shades of the above colors in two to four short, choppy lines or shaded in the color of the mountain's contours. The mountains may "lean" or curve to emphasize the direction of action. Clouds and sky are often shaded in the same manner as the mountains and hills (Plate 2).

In the interior scenes by this painter, tiles are often marked as squares inscribed with lines which connect the corners. A black on gold arabesque pattern appears within the lines of the archways. This type of patterning and division of space as described below is used throughout the manuscript by several painters, each making his own adjustments in the design.

The architectural settings are parallel to the picture plane and are, for the most part, divided into three and four sections consisting of one or two flat areas, one niche (often



a mihrab) and, on the left, an archway sometimes opening onto vistas.

A tentative identification of the Big Head Painter is suggested by Dr. Zeren Akalay. She identifies Nakkaş Hasan Paşa as one of the artists of the Siyer-i Nebi. Akalay notes that in the Eğri Fatihnamasi, also known as the Shahnama-i Mehmed Han, dated 1590-1600, Nakkaş Hasan Paşa is identified as the artist.<sup>2</sup> He has drawn a portrait of himself and the writer in the manuscript under the identification (Plate 3). Dr. Akalay identifies him as a possible assistant of Osman and Ali Nakkaş, and an administrator who eventually held the post of vezir. He died in 1622.

If one takes the author and painter's portraits in the Eğri Fatihnamesi to be by the hand of Nakkaş Hasan Paşa, then by comparison of this miniature to the Siyer-i Nebi it is possible to postulate his hand in such pictures as "Muhammad Speaking with His Wife Ayşe" (Plate 4). The method of drawing the eyes' outlines in two thick black crescent shapes appears in both. The shape of men's beards and the soft shading around these areas of the face are similar. One can barely discern what appear to be mountains in the Eğri Fatihnamesi miniature. They are drawn in the painting held by Nakkaş Hasan Paşa. Not only does the general shape seem similar to Plate 4 (and the shapes of mountains vary widely in the Siyer-i Nebi) but the method of using darker tones or browns in short rounded lines to create an outline is the same.

Finally, a sharp indentation of the upper nose of the main figure is consistent in both miniatures. Other examples of miniatures by the hand of this same artist may be the "Dream of the Byzantine Emperor" and "Gabriel, Mikail and Israil Come to the Aid of Muhammad" (Plates 5 and 6). They show the same stylistic traits.

Attributions of other miniatures may be accepted with reservations. One example is "Kaydar Hunting" (Plate 7). Kaydar is similar to the figure of the king drawn in "The Dream of the Byzantine Emperor". The background, however, is radically different from the exterior scenes cited above in the lushness of the foliage under the horse's feet, in the thin shape and the more diagonal lean of the mountains.

Another problem attribution concerns the figures of Adam and Seth in the Adam series of miniatures (Plate 1). The monumentality of the figures, the large proportions of their heads and the treatment of eyes with an extra line which "hoods" them, as well as the naturalistic, three dimensional rendering of the dead tree, seems out of place. Interestingly, the foliage and mountains are similar to that of the Kaydar miniature, the first "problem attribution." However, the angels in Plate 6 which was found an acceptable attribution to Painter One and the "Hasan hook" in the nose also seen in Painter One are evident in the Adam series.

These two miniatures lead the onlooker to wonder if, in fact, all of one miniature can be assigned to a specific

artist. In an extensive work that was completed in a short time by a large and established workshop, one suspects some degree of assembly line production. For example, it is possible that stencils were used in some pictures or in secondary spaces as they seem to have been in some miniatures in Volume III (Plates 8 and 9). (These are not attributed to Hasan Pasa). It can also be suggested that an artist such as Nakkaş Hasan Paşa drew the figure of Kaydar leaving another "landscape painter" to render the lush and complex surrounding in which Hasan Paşa might have been relatively uninterested. In the Seth and Adam miniature it is possible that Nakkaş Hasan Paşa painted the angels and left the main figures to another.

There is another possibility. If this period is one of stylistic transition and ferment as it seems to have been, a single artist may have tried variations in his style, adding to and modifying it as new modes of representation were introduced. If one accepts this possibility and assumes that through stylistic analysis Nakkaş Hasan Paşa can be accepted as the artist of the above miniatures, then some interesting possibilities appear which will be discussed later. For the present, two facts are important. The Adam series presents figures that are close stylistically to the Adam and Eve miniature of the Falnama (Plate 10).<sup>3</sup> The representation of Gabriel, the monumentality of the figures with their outsized heads, the black on gold arabesques in the crowns, similar wing patterns with flames for outlines and the wasp waisted,

hooked nose figures, the lushness of the ground, matching wall tile patterns and the range of colors which emphasize warm oranges and reds are all comparable. This manuscript is dated by its colophon to 1602. If one accepts Nakkaş Hasan Paşa as the painter of this style, his death in 1622 chronologically places the Falnâme's production well within his lifetime.

Finally, it can be suggested that this painter also painted "The Angel of Death" (Plate 11) and "The Angel Israfil" (Plate 12) in the Keir collection. The monumentality of the size, large scale of the heads and wing designs are similar to Plates 1 and 2 as are the short, darker strokes that define the hills behind the figures.

Painter Two is called "The Leaner". This painter uses the same divisions of interior space as does the "Big Head" painter, but he varies it sometimes by placing the right panel diagonally to give a sense of enclosure. His figures, however, are smaller in proportion conforming to the earlier "traditionally Turkish", "classical school". While the heads are more in proportion to the bodies, they look "pointed". The figures list or lean strongly toward the area of dramatic interest (Plates 13-15). This painter's style reappears in Volume VI in some of the death scenes of Muhammad.

Painter Three is nicknamed "The Assistant". Dr. Akalay has mentioned the possibility of an assistant painter in Volume I (Plates 16-17). If such is the case, I would

assign him as the assistant to my Painter Two. His work appears in Volume I and in several of the death scenes in Volume VI. His existence is suggested by divisions of space in architectural backgrounds in which the tri- or quadripartite arched sections exist with the same red tile flooring and slanting of the right wall (not evident in the illustrated examples) as in Painter Two's miniatures. Space moves back through the archway often at the left, but whereas Painter Two manipulates the area under the arch, the Assistant simplifies his composition by continuing the red tiles in the area beneath the arch. The Assistant also looks to the "Persian Painter" who will be discussed next, for he tries to achieve a feeling of the spatial complexity demonstrated in the work of this painter at the right of the page by vertically extending the rectangular panel space. He, however, seems to miss the point of the subrhythms set up by these subdivisions of space. These smaller geometric units which are set in and repeat the larger units encourage one to pause over the patternization and to follow the linear and coloristic complexity set up by this pattern. Rather than establish this density of pattern, this painter simply extends the space and places Muhammad in it. As with "The Leaner," this painter's figures may lean towards the area of action. They also have pointed turbans, but on the whole, both his figures and compositions are less lively and sophisticated.

Although not seen in Volume I, several other styles are found in the remaining volumes of the manuscript. The first of these is identified as Painter Four, "The Persian Painter." This painter's work seems most reminiscent of the courtly style of Timurid painting. He also uses the horizontal divisions of the interior space, but in the most complex manner yet seen. It is he whom I believe to be the most accomplished painter in his handling of space (Plates 18-19). The picture surface is generally divided into the aforementioned three or four sections, but then subdivided into further rectangles. These alternate with curves in the rug patterns, niches and are sometimes embellished with a repeated motif of a creek, tree and lush hill reappearing as a unit through a window or doorway. This same device may appear in an illustration from a Romance of Alexander.<sup>4</sup> This shows an enthronement scene with a slightly rougher version of the design unit of archway, creek, flowering tree and hill. Although the spatial divisions are not as complex, the dark, square bearded faces and proportioning of the figures are similar to that of the Persian Painter's. The history of Alexander is dated 1561 and the name of the painter is given as Hasan Muhammad ibn Hasan of Shiraz. One must at least question whether this is a very early painting by the so-called "Persian Painter."

In looking again at the work of the "Persian Painter", we observe that the right hand side of the picture is often extended in added vertical subdivision which lend complexity

and interest to the composition. This painter's halos are also distinctive, containing one within another, the inner outlined in red, the outer in green. Neither outline bears the curling tips of the "Big Head" painter.

The "Persian Painter" 's work is mostly found in Volume II. However, he may also have had an assistant working in his style, but with less skill (Plates 8-9). It has been mentioned that this painter might have used stencil types for faces (note especially the repeated use of square black bearded faces). His paintings are characterized by sixteenth-century Iznik ceramic carnation patterns and a great variety of intricate rug patterns.

The work of Painter Five, called the "Lütfü Abdullah? Painter" appears in Volumes III and IV. His work is very close in style to that in the Nusratnâma<sup>5</sup> (Plates 20-22 should be compared). Çagman and Atasoy have noted of the Nusratnâma that it is quite different from the earlier classical style of Osman in the "bright, strong colors" which "blend in with one another." Further, "tents and clothes are decorated with rich and elegant motifs which do not detract from the unity of the composition." There is an elaborate patternization in small floral all-over design in the carpets, textiles, and geometric wall and floor tiles.

Most interesting in both the Siyer-i Nebi and Nusratnâma miniatures are the distinctive heads of the figures. The major figures in the miniatures under consideration have

dark eyes, large white turbans wrapped on a colored tac, and white beards which have been shaded in a European fashion and appear quite startling in Islamic miniature painting. While some heads of other figures may appear stereotyped in the context of this manuscript appearing in normal proportion to their bodies with stiff, dark beards, other heads are intriguing in their relative largeness and the strong character of large noses seen in profile or three-quarter view. Compared to the coral reds and golds, pale green or pastel lavenders, pinks and tans of other Siyer-i Nebi artists, a soft and quite appealing blue is seen in the clothes or textiles represented in the pictures of both the Nusratnâma and this Siyer-i Nebi painter. This is often combined with an equally soft forest green.

In the work of this master, architectural settings may contain strong diagonal lines and are full of geometric patternization. Mountains slant to one side and are strongly outlined.

This style is also almost identical to one found in the Zubdat al-Tavârîkh (Plate 23).<sup>6</sup> Gunsel Renda has proposed the connection of this style with Lûtfû, one of the painters listed as working on the Zubdet al-Tavârîkh in a 1583 document in the Başbakanlık Arşivi. This is the same painter who, in 1575, prepared an Ajâib al-Makhlûqât for Murad III, and Renda suggests that this may be the same person as Lûtfû Abdullah who is listed as nakkaşbaşı on several lists after 1586. Yetkin



and Grube say he was the chief court artist during the years of production of the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>7</sup>

It is of interest that this artist, whoever he may have been, painted several of the scenes of religious history in the Zubdat al-Tavârikh among them "Muhammad and his Companions on the Night of the Mi<sup>c</sup>raj." <sup>8</sup> It is only possible at this time without more definite information to suggest that these two painters are the same. Thus, we can only attribute, rather than assign, this style to specific miniatures in the Siyer-i Nebi.

The sixth painter of the Siyer-i Nebi has been christened "The History Painter". He was responsible for many of the gazi scenes which record battles. His pointed hills appear in pastel pinks, lavenders and a pale green in the foreground. The hills are all outlined in dark lines and act mainly as a single backdrop for the action appearing rather stiffly in the foreground. A favorite motif of this painter is a palm tree which has a slim upright trunk and symmetrically divided foliage. The foliage, which resembles a feather duster, springs from the top of the tree. It is exactly this penchant for symmetry which distinguishes the work of the "History Painter" (Plate 24).

The figures of the "History Painter" are rounded and bear small, round faces. The men have dark, heavy beards and drooping mustaches, and the women's bodies have begun to take on rounded, rather bodiless, lines which will become disembodied

in the Dublin painter's work discussed below.

The "History Painter" may be the same painter who did some work in Volume III (Plates 25-26). The same stylistic characteristics appear, and one notices in addition a tendency for some faces to slide into long, narrow boneless shapes. There is a strong, dark outline of turban folds. In some cases this painter seems to imitate the "Lütfü Abdullah?Painter" in the use of diagonal lines and in the shading of beards. At times his style comes so close that it is almost the same although his painting never seems as strong, and the majority of the bodies of the figures remain smaller and stiffer.

On the other hand, in interior scenes this painter imitates the "Persian Painter" in his halos and wall compositions. However the wall composition does not include the arch to the left and the painter uses larger areas of wall tiles. These walls contain a great deal of bold, overall patternization.

In sum, this painter contains elements used by other painters in his style including also that of the so-called "Osman? Painter" who will be discussed below. Although the style of the "History Painter" may need to be reclassified as an early or late stage of one of the painters described, his work is distinctive enough in his combination of elements to warrant a separate classification at this time.

The seventh painter is the classical "Osman? Painter". This painter may be connected with several episodes illustrating stories of Ali and stories connected with the miracles of Muhammad in Volume VI. In his scenes, the figures are conservative in their smallness and squareness, and the mountains show Shirazi influence in their phallic shapes. The halos are distinctive, containing three knobs of fire at the top, the central one closely resembling the Buddha jewel which Emel Esin likes to identify with them (Plates 27-28). The classical "Osman? Painter" displays a certain rhythm which is brisk and pleasing in his small but active figure compositions. His figures are close to those which Gunsel Renda connects with Osman's traditional court style in the Zubdat al-Tavârifkh in the proportion, rendering of the halo and the appearance of the mountains (compare Plates 27-29).<sup>9</sup>

An eighth painter is labelled the "Ka<sup>C</sup>ba Painter". He may have been a minor painter. He is nicknamed the "Ka<sup>C</sup>ba Painter" because he produces almost exclusively scenes of the Ka<sup>C</sup>ba in most of the volumes excepting Volume I. The paintings are in a small scale set against a pale coral background peopled by small doll-like figures and scattered with summary treatments of rock-like oval shapes (Plate 30).<sup>10</sup>

The ninth painter has been called the "Dublin Painter". In many ways the most distinctive and peculiar style, when looked at in the context of Turkish and Persian painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries belongs to this painter, so named because his painting appears primarily in the Chester

Beatty Volume IV (although examples close to his work are seen in some folios of Volume III). The figures in these paintings are about the most memorable of any painted in the Siyer-i Nebi. They are monumental and almost bodiless (Plates 31-32). One has the sense of ghost figures puffed with hot air. The figures are lightly outlined and simplified. Many fewer figures appear in the miniatures. Women are drawn with small, almost "pin" heads and surrounding areas are densely patterned.

The tenth and final painter in the Siyer-i Nebi is the "Baghdad Painter." He may represent an early or late phase of the "Dublin Painter's" style (Plates 33-35). His work is the most representative of a specific style that begins to develop in several painters in this manuscript and becomes common in paintings of religious subjects in the early seventeenth century. The "Baghdad Painter's" work appears at the end of Volume III and is potentially the most representative of the stylistic puzzles connected with the Siyer-i Nebi. His style is one in which men's heads are disproportionately large, and figures vary in size. Secondary figures appear smaller and stiffer. Shoulder lines are large and rounded. Drapery is summarily treated. Further, there is a tendency in the miniatures to fill the picture plane in interior scenes with complex patterns which take geometric forms. In the painting of this artist, and possibly in that of "Lütfü Abdullah?" and "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa?", the miniatures push towards a new style which I feel can be connected stylistically with Baghdad



and Konya tekke painting. However, before examining what is new in this painting style, it is helpful to briefly review what is traditional in the styles of the Siyer-i Nebi.

Although the Siyer-i Nebi breaks with the former Turkish tradition in which large numbers of figures were represented on a small scale, the earlier style does not altogether die. First, traditional compositions appear as design units. Units such as a servant or person standing in an open doorway, a boat in full sail on an open sea, combats with dragons and lions, mi<sup>c</sup>raj scenes and the emphasis on the extreme size of the baby Muhammad are retained.<sup>11</sup> This use of design units is understandable in a traditional atelier which is required to produce such an extensive pictorial cycle in a relatively short time span.

Although the style of the Siyer-i Nebi is traditionally Turkish as seen in the "Osman? Painter", the Turks show continuing interest in Persian painting. It can be suggested that some of the "Dublin Painter's" full blown figures are similar to those of Aqa Riza, a contemporaneous Persian painter. In fact a miniature in a Kisasi-Enbiya illustrated by Aqa Riza (c. 1590-1600) has an affinity to the style of the Siyer-i Nebi. In the final decade of the sixteenth century, it seems probable that the artistic ferment in the courts of the Ottoman Empire and in the Safavid empire would have interacted. Grey notes that Aqa Riza was greatly preferred in Shah Abbas' courts in Qazvin and Tabriz in these years.<sup>12</sup>

The major Persian influence, however, seems to focus particularly on a fifteenth century Shiraz style. The landscape is conceptualized and occasionally simplified to focus attention on large scale figures and their dramatic actions. The use of strong colors in accenting figures and action is also reminiscent of Shirazi painting, especially in the Timurid and Turcoman schools.<sup>13</sup>

Further, one wonders if there might have been an influence on the style of the Siyer-i Nebi from specific earlier manuscripts available in the palace. One such manuscript is the Bibliothèque Nationale Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâme.<sup>14</sup> (Plates 36-37). This dates from 1436, the reign of Shah Rukh (1404-47) in Herat. Stylistically, if one had to find an historic prototype, this manuscript would be a strong possibility. Figures are short, square and stumpy. The wings of angels are close in color to those in the Siyer-i Nebi. The middle part and "pulled-back-hair" style is also similar. Mandorlas or halos resemble each other in design. The architecture contains linear divisions into three and four areas used as background. The motifs of persons standing in doorways keep reappearing. The diagonal arrangement of figures combined with the centralized position of Muhammad and the architectural background running the width of the page is the same in both. Since this manuscript was purchased by Antoine Galland in January, 1673 from Istanbul, the chances seem good that it was in the palace at the end of the sixteenth century possibly as a result of the conquest of Tabriz and was known to the court painters.<sup>15</sup>

From the fifteenth century two Khawar-names, bibliographic works concerning the life of 'Ali, are extant.

Akalay mentions a Khawar-name of Ibn Husayn in Teheran and a second, perhaps Anatolian, copy.<sup>16</sup> They show a similarity to the Siyer-i Nebi style in the horizontal divisions in the architecture, similarly shaped arches, an open doorway and hexagonal floor tiles. The combat and enthronement themes of religious figures also appear in both (Plate 38).

This possible influence from past manuscripts may be explained by the fact that the early sixteenth century was a time of relative inactivity in Persian painting. By the 1570s Shah Tahmasp (d. 1576) had long since ceased patronage. Patronage had moved to Meshhed with Ibrahim Mirza (1561-77). Gray asserts that even then Persian painting was stylistically weak.<sup>17</sup> It isn't until the 1590's that painting again gains strong impetus under Shah Abbas. Thus the Siyer-i Nebi was done in Istanbul at a time when Persian painting was just beginning a renaissance under the Safavids. Court artists in Istanbul were forced, for the most part, to use their own initiative or to depend on earlier models rather than contemporary Persian ones. Since most painters at this time turned to former models, it is likely that they turned to what was immediately available and at hand.

A new style appears beside this older one. For the present, it will be called the "Baghdad Style". This style uses fewer figures drawn on a larger scale. Proportions of



the figures vary and are combined with dense patternization of background areas, while at the same time simplifying garment patterns. To fully develop a discussion of this style, it is first necessary to look at several manuscripts. It has been stated that the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were times when religious texts were popular and illustrated in both Turkey and Persia. Binney, for example, illustrated three religious miniatures from texts other than the Siyer-i Nebi.<sup>18</sup> The first is "Muhammad, His Face Veiled, Exhorts His Army in Rocky Defile." (Plate 39). Binney identifies this as an illustration of the Hadîqat al-su'ada by Fazuli (ca. 1600). This is a history of the martyrs of Muhammad's family. Although the calligraphy of the Binney miniature is distinctly different from that of the Siyer-i Nebi, the picture's measurements are not and the style of the miniatures is startlingly close to some in Volume III in the small square figures and their arrangement on the page. The composition of the subject illustrated is also a familiar one in the Siyer-i Nebi.

The second miniature, "The Catapulting of Abraham into the Fire While King Nimrod Watches from a Window," dated ca. 1600, is also similar in style (Plate 40a). Binney writes that the "miniature probably illustrated a manuscript of the Siyer-i Nebi by Zarîr."<sup>19</sup> If it did, the manuscript involved would have been a different one from that under discussion since the style of calligraphy and the measurements of the miniature are at variance. It is probable that it belonged to

a Kisas al-Enbiya. Binney writes that "the episode depicted here is not found in the Bible but rather in the lives of the Muslim saints."<sup>20</sup> It is a stereotypical scene which appears regularly in the Persian versions of these lives which were popular in Persia and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century.<sup>21</sup> This scene does not appear in the Siyer-i Nebi literature seen to date. However, it is important that this is a religious subject and that the style is close to the "Baghdad Style" defined above.

Further, Binney lists a page of the Maktal-i Ali Resul of Lâmfî<sup>c</sup>î celebi. This biography of Ali is dated to the late sixteenth century (Plate 40b). Additionally, Meredith Owens mentions an illustrated copy of the Maktal-i Ali Resul in the British Museum which was copied in the early seventeenth century and a copy in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul dated 1602. He states in relation to this copy that "the heads are rather large in relation to the bodies."<sup>22</sup> Binney suggests a possible source for this miniature as Baghdad. He compares it stylistically to an end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century illustration of the Jami al-Siyar, a lives of the prophets and caliphs of Mohammad Tahir Suhravardi (Plate 41).<sup>23</sup> The miniatures are similar in the short stubby figures and the enlarged heads of the figures. Central characters are larger, and secondary characters are clustered and smaller in scale. Men in these groupings may wear the Mevlevi tac, the characteristic hat of the Mevlevi

dervishes. This may be an indication that these groupings are connected with Sufism and their specific orders in some way.

Finally, Çağman and Atasoy note a Hadikat al-Su'ada of Fazuli in this same style in the Brooklyn Museum whose colophon dates it Jumada II, 1011/1602.<sup>24</sup> They say it was prepared in Baghdad and note that other copies also exist which were made in Baghdad.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, figures in the Siyer-i Nebi (Plates 35 and 43) reflect this style of large heads and smaller body proportions of major figures as well as rounded shoulder areas. Secondary figures are rendered in smaller proportions, and a comparison of facial types is similar to the facial types described in the above manuscripts.

Although none of the religious manuscripts mentioned can be identified as missing illustrations from the Siyer-i Nebi, they are important for our purposes. Several points can be made in relation to them. One is Binney's point that "the religious texts of the latter part of the century (sixteenth) are as lavish as the historical and just as typically Turkish;"<sup>26</sup> further, that the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries--an extremely important time from the viewpoint of Turkish miniature painting--was a time of great activity in the painting of religious, as well as the previously emphasized, historical subjects. As will be suggested below, the production of these manuscripts may reflect the influence of Sufi ideas and even workshops on miniature painting.

Furthermore, one style in particular seems connected to these manuscripts, of which Volume III of the Siyer-i Nebi (Plates 35 and 42) the Maktal-i Alf Resul page of Binney attributed to a Baghdad atelier (Plate 40b), and the Jami'al-Siyar of Suhravardi, done in Konya may serve as examples (Plate 41). The argument by Çağman and Atasoy proposing a tekke or convent style in Baghdad and Konya reinforces this point.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the manuscripts already mentioned, Çağman's and Atasoy's argument is based on the style of two Silsilanâmas or geneologies of the prophets. Their colophons give their provenances and dates. One in Topkapi Palace Museum was done in 1006/1597 in Baghdad. Another in the same collection was done at the same date and in the same place.<sup>28</sup> A Silsilanama in the Chester Beatty Library has a colophon which places it in Baghdad and dates it 1006/1598.<sup>29</sup> These manuscripts, as was explained in Chapter 4, contain a section of a geneology of the prophets and another section dealing with prophets, caliphs, Muslim tribes and Ottoman sultans up to the reign of Murad III.

Çağman and Atasoy describe the style of these miniatures as one in which figures have "outsized heads which vary according to their importance." Figures, they note, are different sizes. They write that "although compositions showing meetings and councils follow the traditional arrangement, in other miniatures the figures are scattered over the picture." They add that "although these figures are grouped, they do

not form a simple unified composition." The landscapes, they say, reflect strong Safavid influence and bunches of bright-toned flowers appear.

Çağman and Atasoy bear out the point that the majority of manuscripts in this group deal with religious subjects. There are numerous copies of the Hadîkat al-su'ada of Fazuli and the Maktal-i Alî Resul of Lâmfî'î celebi. They suggest that, as has been mentioned, the style of the illustrations is focused in the tekkes, the dervish convents, in Baghdad and Konya. Two copies of the Manaqib-i thavaqib by Mahmud Dede are given as support.<sup>30</sup> Mahmud Dede was a Mevlevi from the Konya convent who translated this text. Important to our argument, he was brought to Istanbul by Murad III around 1590 to receive this assignment and returned to Konya to execute the task.

To date, because of the Sufi overtones of these texts, this style has not been extended to the court of Murad III. However, scholars note that the majority of these manuscripts were made as a part of the cultural activity of the time of Murad III. However, it is important to note again the strong Sufi leanings of Murad III. Thus, the inclusion of this Sufi-connected style in his workshops does not seem as out of place as might otherwise be expected from a more traditionally Sunni sultan.

To return again to the 1594-5 Siyer-i Nebi, specifically connected with the court ateliers of Murad III, at least one artist, "The Baghdad Painter", seen most prominently in

Volume III and IV and possibly the "big head" styles of "Lütfü Abdullah?" and "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa?" were involved in some way with the "Baghdad Style." Although the Siyer-i Nebi miniatures contain elements of this style, the style does not seem as exaggerated or developed as that of the later Jami al-Siyar from Konya, for example. Perhaps the style actually originated in the palace in the 1580s and during its development passed to Anatolia. Thus, by the end of the century, the style was a common one to various parts of the Ottoman Empire.

This transferral of style may have occurred in several ways. Artists may have come from a Konya or Baghdad tekke group along with someone such as Mahmud Dede and witnessed what was being done in the palace ateliers. Alternatively, palace painters may have taken the style to outlying areas. A prime example is Nakkaş Hasan Paşa. Çağman and Atasoy tell us that he was

"...trained in the palace and died in 1032/1622, and held such important posts as Aga of the Janissaries (a group with strong Sufi and dervish ties), governor general of a province (which one is never stated), and vezirate. Hasan was active towards the end of the reign of Murad III and probably continued painting until 1603 when he became the head of the Janissaries."<sup>31</sup>

If it could be shown that Nakkaş Hasan Paşa held posts in or near Konya or Baghdad, this and his strong Janissary (thus Sufi) ties provide an agent of transmission.

An administrative link is suggested in the person of Hasan Paşa, son of Grand Vezir Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, the great

art patron. Hasan Paşa was governor of Baghdad from 1598-1602. This covers the period from which many of the "Baghdad Style" manuscripts with colophons placing their production in Baghdad come.<sup>32</sup>

Another avenue for transmission of style is possible. The heavy use of pilgrimage routes during the later sixteenth century, especially the Syrian one, linked Istanbul, Konya, Mecca and Medina. It was joined at Hama by the route which came from Diyarbakr and connected the routes from the Caucasus and Azerbaidjan. From Süleyman's reign in the middle sixteenth century until the nineteenth century, an intricate system of caravan sarays was built and maintained along this road. It was along this route that the Ottoman mahmal was brought during pilgrimage. Sauvaget also notes the importance of this route for trade.<sup>33</sup> This Syrian pilgrimage route eventually linked with the ancient one coming from Baghdad which was repaired and improved by Cigalizade, a governor of Baghdad during the reign of Murad III.<sup>34</sup> The pilgrimage routes functioned as a major artery for an intermingling of people with the common religious goal of pilgrimage and mercenary goal of trade. It is possible that artists or their works travelled along these routes.

In conclusion, I believe this "Baghdad (Tekke) Style", a style in ways reminiscent of the Shiraz Big Head Shahnamas of the fifteenth century, appears in a modest form in the 1594-5 Siyer-i Nebi. It appears in one to three artists working on the manuscript. While there is variation in their painting

which suggests different hands, one still receives the impression of a common style in which the heads of major male figures are outsized and the shoulder lines are large and rounded. Clothing is undelineated as opposed to the background which is filled with complex patternization. Secondary figures are smaller in proportion and may have a distinct stiff outward curl at the hem of their robes.

The appearance of the "Baghdad Style" in the Siyer-i Nebi is important because this style reappears in miniatures published as a part of the Keir Collection (Plates 43-45). The figures in these miniatures have the same characteristics of outsized heads and varying proportions. The measurements of the pictures, ranging from 20-18 cm. x 11-10 cm., are close in size to the Siyer-i Nebi manuscript miniatures, and the naskh script, both in style and placement, is the same. These miniatures are identified as "The Prophet and His Companions" and "The Prophet in Paradise." Both of these topics fit in the pictorial hiatus in Volume III's mi<sup>c</sup>raj series. Robinson has tentatively dated these miniatures to the early seventeenth century, but on the basis of this discussion, it seems possible to propose an earlier, late sixteenth to early seventeenth century date. These miniatures may indeed fit into the cycle of the Siyer-i Nebi. They will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

This "Baghdad Style" became widespread in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is possible that



it was transmitted from Istanbul to outlying areas by Murad III's interest in Sufism and patronage of tekke members such as Konya's Mahmud Dede, by Nakkaş Hasan Paşa's travels in his role as government official as well as painter, the patronage of such administrators coming from Istanbul as Hasan Paşa or by the pilgrimage. None of these possibilities are mutually exclusive, and the answer probably rests in the combination of several of these facets.

In summary, the Siyer-i Nebi reflects, through a grouping of style and hands, a time in which there was tremendous artistic ferment. Old styles are never forgotten, indeed archaizing influences are present, but a certain breath of newness and experimentation is evident throughout the manuscript. The manuscript is a part of its time since it reflects Turkish mid-sixteenth century traditions in such miniatures as those of the classical "Osman?" painter, and it bears intimations of styles to come. It provides suggestions of a common style used throughout the Ottoman Empire which may be connected specifically with religious subjects. Despite these thoughts, the chapter must still end on the frustrating notes of the opening statement that no signature allows us to link any specific artist to a miniature. Thus, the grouping of miniatures according to individual styles must stand at this time only as attributions.

## CHAPTER SIX FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Z. Tanindi (Akalay), 1977, 114-125 and unpublished manuscript. See also E. Grube, 1965, 149-76.

<sup>2</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1609.

<sup>3</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1703 (1604-17). E. Esin in W. Lillys, ed., 78 and Plate 1 attributes these miniatures to Kalendar, but N. Atasoy and F. Çagman, 1974, 64 write that Kalendar Paşa, in his introduction to the manuscript, says that the miniatures for the manuscript were collected from "various places" and utilized in album form. N. Sevin, 1976, 207-16 asserts that these are the work of a "soothsaying artist" called Mehmet Çelebi who "drew large pictures for the purposes of hanging them on the walls in his shop or displaying them on his float when he joined the festival parades."

<sup>4</sup>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supp. Turc. 635. See L'Islam dans les collections nationales, 1977, 258, No. 614.

<sup>5</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1365. (992/1584). See N. Atasoy and F. Çagman, 1974, 49.

<sup>6</sup>Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art No. 1973. This manuscript has been discussed by G. Renda, 1976, 190 and Fig. 12. Also G. Renda, 1977, 58-67; Başbakanlık Arşivi Rûs defter 242, 10-11, R.M. Meriç, 1953, 7-14, 50, 70-1.

<sup>7</sup>S. K. Yetkin, 1978, 17-21 and E. Grube, 1965, 168. See also N. Sevin, 1965, 242.

<sup>8</sup>Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art No. 1973, fol. 46a. (c. 1583).

<sup>9</sup>G. Renda, 1976, 193-4.

<sup>10</sup>See Chapter 4, Note 42. It is interesting to see that both of these renderings of the Ka'ba are close in the bird's eye view and sense of the third dimension intimated in the arcaded porticoes. It seems possible that either certain painters in the atelier of Murad III were consistently in

charge of specific subjects such as the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba or the mi<sup>c</sup>raj or that certain traditions of representation were strong to the point of being binding. Either might make sense when considering the fact that these were popular and holy subjects which could be compared, for example, with the Deesis scenes in Byzantine art.

<sup>11</sup>E. Atil, 1970, 189 notes an episode in the Gulistan (1564)

"in which a youth appears from the antechamber of a house to offer a goblet of ice water to the poet who is very thirsty and hot."

in the Freer Gallery Ottoman copy. S.C. Welch, 1972, 17 describes a boat scene in the Houghton Shah-nama. Done in the mid-1530's by Mirza Ali, a contemporary of Shah Tahmasp, it depicts the Ships of Shi'ism. Doomed passengers of seventy different religions are on seventy ships but the most beautiful ship bears the holy family of the Shi'ah. Firdawsi is on this. Welch notes an influence of Shaykh Zadeh and suggests that the book may have come to Murad III in 1576 as a coronation present. Loqman's Zubdet al-Tavarikh, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul, No. 1973, fol. 23b also has such a scene. Additionally some of the basic seating arrangements for the companions in the Siyer-i Nebi are close to the Zubdet al-Tavarikh. (Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1653, IV, fol. 258b for example). An Anatolian Khawar-name, Topkapi Palace Museum H. 677 (14th century) bears a stylistic resemblance to the Siyer-i Nebi in architectural settings which are divided horizontally. The arches bear the same shape, an exterior doorway or archway is present as are the same hexagonal tiles on the floor. Micraj scenes may be compared to M. Seguy, 1977. Finally, the size of Muhammad at birth reminds one of Rustem's great size at birth. See W. Lillys, ed. 1965, 13. Even more traditional design elements are seen. The division of space into three vertical groupings occurs in earlier manuscripts. A Turcoman Shah-nama Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1506, fol. 43a serves as an example. The same three-fold division occurs in a Hariri manuscript discussed by H. Buchthal, 1940, 129 and Note 50. He suggests that the division existed in years prior to 1350 in Byzantine. O. Grabar, 1976, Chap. 12 suggests that the composition of an open door on the left and a larger proportional area on the right is a "type". Another "type" is suggested by A. Grabar, 1968, 583-88. He discusses the gestures of prayer which include the index

finger set to the lips. He suggests it denotes not complete silence but invokes prayer and was used as a Middle Eastern gesture as early as Egypt, Greece and Rome. It was "later employed as an accompaniment to prayer by heretics in Asia Minor." N. Darir, 1977, I, 622 notes a raised finger when one is about to recite the creed or be converted to Islam. Both seem related to the gesture of prayer discussed by Grabar.

<sup>12</sup>B. Gray, 1977, 162. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, Supp. Pers. 1313, fol. 79b.

<sup>13</sup>B. Gray, 1977, 151ff.

<sup>14</sup>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Supp. Turc 190 and M. Seguy, 1977. Also personal notes made in Paris in the spring of 1973.

<sup>15</sup>One more feature demonstrates this resemblance. Large scale angels in this manuscript are important. They may play a part in the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi. They certainly play a part in the sixteenth century Ajaib al-Makhlugat, Topkapi Palace Museum H. 408, fol. 41b (c. 1545). Additionally they appear in miniature which Meredith-Owens connects with the seventeenth century Siyer-i Nebi in the Keir Collection. (See B.W. Robinson, ed., 1976, Plates 101-103). In a private communication from M.R. Seguy, Oct. 1, 1980, she states that this Micraj-nama has currently been sent for repairs. She is therefore unable to check for a specific hazine stamp of either Selim I, Süleyman, Selim II or Murad III. The existence of one of these would of course have made the point more solid.

<sup>16</sup>Museum of Decorative Arts, Teheran and Topkapi Palace Museum H. 677.

<sup>17</sup>B. Gray, 1977, 141-2.

<sup>18</sup>E. Binney, 1979, 58-9 and No. 32a. Also G. Meredith-Owens, 1963, 27 lists a Turkish illustrated in Brit. Mus. Or. 12009 dated between 1590 and 1605.

<sup>19</sup>E. Binney, 1979, 58.

<sup>20</sup>E. Binney, 1979, 58.

<sup>21</sup>J. W. Rogers, 1970, 125-39.

<sup>22</sup>G. Meredith-Owens, 1963, 28. British Museum Or. 7238.

<sup>23</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1230, fol. 121a.

<sup>24</sup>N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, 1974, 59-62 and Brooklyn Museum 70.143.

<sup>25</sup>N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, 1974, 58-60.

<sup>26</sup>E. Binney, 1979, xx.

<sup>27</sup>N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, 1974, 60. Also F. Çağman, 1979, 651-79.

<sup>28</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1324 and H. 1521.

<sup>29</sup>Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Turkish 423.

<sup>30</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum Revan 1479 and New York Morgan Library Mss. 66.

<sup>31</sup>N. Atasoy and Çağman, 1974, 57.

<sup>32</sup>It seems doubtful that this would have been the same Hasan Paşa as Nakkaş Hasan Paşa. I.H. Uzunçarşili, 1951 and 1954 lists at least 9 Hasan Paşas from approximately this time. He says only of Hasan Paşa Nakkaş that he was brought up in the enderun, was Aga of the Janissaries, beylerbey (where it is not clear) and a vezir. He died in 1622. (See I.H. Uzunçarşili, 1951, 239). It is not clear whether he is distinct from several others. Another Hasan Paşa was Kaptan-i Derya. A Venetian, he was close to Safiye Sultan between 1590 and 1597. He served in the Crimea (Uzunçarşili, 1954, 11, 126 and 139). Hasan Paşa, the son of Sokollu Mehmet Paşa was beylerbey of Rumeli in 1596 and Baghdad vali in 1600. Hasan Paşa, Hadim (eunuch) also known as Hasan Aga served as Grand Vezir for several years around 1597, due to the influence of Safiye Sultan. He began as a white eunuch, served as hazinedar in the palace and in 1597 replaced Ibrahim Paşa (the sultan's son-in-law) as Grand Vezir. (Uzunçarşili, 1951, 122 and 1954, 346, 353-7). Naima, Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591-1659, trans. Charles Fraser, Vol. I, London, 1932, 43 records a vezir, Hasan Paşa, who was joint governor of Rumeli with Mehmet Paşa (son of Grand Vezir Sinan Paşa) during Murad's reign. He says great jealousy existed between the two.

M. D'Ohsson, Tableau Generale de l'Empire Ottoman, II, Paris, 1788, 399-403, writes of a Saatçi Hasan Paşa, a companion of Murad III, governor of Diyarbakir and later Silihdar Aga of the palace. He was also an astrologer and may have been the one mentioned by Minorsky as "trustee" in connection with Volume IV (see Appendix B, 13). A final Hasan Muhammad ibn Hasan of Shiraz is listed as the painter of a Romance of Alexander in 1561 (Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Turc. 635). See L'Islam dans les collections nationales, op. cit., 258, No. 614.

<sup>33</sup>See J. Sauvaget, "Les Caravanserais Syriens du Hadjdj de Constantinople," Ars Islamica IV (1937). Reprint 1968, 68-121 and the article and map by S. Ilgurel, "Menasik-i Mesalik," Tarih Dergisi, No. 31 (March, 1977), 147-162.

<sup>34</sup>See discussion in Chapter 8.

## CHAPTER 7

### A DISCUSSION OF MISSING MINIATURES

To begin this chapter, it is important to restate two points made earlier. First is the suggestion that an entire volume of this manuscript is not in fact missing but rather that certain segments of the manuscript may at one time have been too badly damaged to preserve, or that due to personal necessities, certain miniatures were sold as smaller parcels from the manuscript. Just what these portions consisted of can be guessed at by consulting Appendix A. When Appendix A is considered, one can see certain puzzling omissions in the illustrations. Among these are the story of Abraham, the death of Amiae and Hatice, nearly the entire mi<sup>c</sup>raj story and several battles with Jewish tribes from Medina.

Second, in the chapter on style, several miniatures now in scattered individual collections have been connected stylistically to the manuscript. These included several in the Keir Collection which may have been sold out of this manuscript's original group. It is possible to move beyond this. A miniature in Berlin (Plate 45) can be firmly fitted in the mi<sup>c</sup>raj section (Refer to Appendix A, p. ). It measures 31 x 20.5 cm. and contains three lines of script

above and one below the miniature, a common placement in Murad III's manuscript. The script appears the same. Stylistically, the miniature is similar to some in Volume I (Compare Plate 46 and Plate 47).

A second miniature is illustrated in a catalogue of the Binney Collection<sup>1</sup> (Plate 48). It illustrates "Ali, with his sons Hasan and Husayn, visited by Gabriel and a delegation of holy men." Here the tri-partite division of the background, the rendering of the angels, the figures of Ali and his sons, are close to those in the Topkapi manuscripts. The dimensions of the picture are given as  $6 \frac{5}{6} \times 8 \frac{5}{8}$ " or 14 x 19 cm. which is comparable to the dimensions of the Murad III volumes. It is listed as "Mounted on an album leaf" and may have originally been one of the pages divided between painting and text. Many details such as the definition of the angel wings, the proportions and shapes of the figures and the design of the tiles suggest a close connection (Compare with Plate 20).

Suggestions of additional miniatures from the Murad III manuscript are in a footnote of Grube's article.<sup>2</sup> He indicates that seven pages are in the collection of Dr. John I. Slocum of Newport, Rhode Island. These originally came from the Sharif Sabry Pasha collection in Cairo. Their page measurements are somewhat smaller than the above, but Grube feels they may have been trimmed at a later date.

As has been intimated in Chapter 6, I now believe that thirteen of the Keir Collection miniatures, previously dated



in the seventeenth century and also formerly in the Sabry Pasha Collection in Cairo are mistakenly dated (Plates 11, 12, 43-45).<sup>3</sup> Based on the discussion of their style, they can be placed in the late sixteenth century. These miniatures have been identified as:<sup>4</sup>

1. #9 "The Mi<sup>c</sup>raj or miraculous night journey of the Prophet."

2. #10. "Angels weeping in sorrow for the sins of mankind."

3. #11. "The angels who support the Throne of God are shown at prayer."

4. #12. "The repulse of Gog and Magog."

5. #13. "The weighing of the souls who are shown naked."

6. #14. "Angels in two stages of ritual prayer."

7. #15. "The Prophet with his Companions and associates bearing standards."

8. #16. "The Prophet in Paradise seated on a throne within a flaming halo. On the left are Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman. The other figures are presumably companions."

9. #17. "'Izra'il, the Angel of Death, being made to feel the death-agony of a mortal."

10. #18. "Israfil, the Angel of Resurrection, blows the seven-fold trumpet."

11. #19. "The Angel of Death holding two flaming lights, black to represent damned souls and light for the blessed souls."

12. #20. "Franks in a fortress besieged by the Prophet. . . This represents either the expedition against the Banu Quraizh. . . or perhaps the defense of the fort of Qamus."

13. #21. "The Prophet confronts Antichrist and his followers."

By both subject matter, as well as stylistic evidence, these miniatures from the Kier Collection could be related to this manuscript.<sup>5</sup>

In looking at the above miniatures, one is struck by the fact that the subjects (with the possible exception of number 21) of the Keir Collection miniatures are all ones which match story episodes in the Siyer-i Nebi, and as with #20, could fit in a noticeable gap in the miniature cycle (see Appendix A, p. 264). Further, the fact that the Keir group contains a mi<sup>c</sup>raj miniature as does Volume III of the Siyer-i Nebi is no problem. Séguy<sup>6</sup> points out that a presentation similar to this appears several times in the Paris Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma. It is a set stereotype of a depiction of Gabriel and Muhammad as they move first from earth to heaven and the same composition reappears as they move from heaven to heaven.

Another interesting fact appears. Many of these "missing" miniatures are thematically related to the mi<sup>c</sup>raj story. Thus they could fill one of the most puzzling gaps in the manuscript. As pointed out earlier the mi<sup>c</sup>raj was one of the most commonly illustrated religious subjects in Islamic art and yet it is sparsely illustrated in the extant manuscript

having only five miniatures representing episodes between II, p. 165 and II, p. 227 in the critical edition. Other, less important, incidents have more illustrations averaging miniatures every three to five pages. It has also been noted that fragments of at least two Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâmas existed in Topkapi at close to the time of the Siyer-i Nebi's production. One was a fourteenth century Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma from Herat which is sometimes attributed to Ahmad Musa<sup>7</sup>. The other was the Uighur text now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of which a fascimile has been published.<sup>8</sup> A mi<sup>C</sup>raj miniature also was a common element in many other texts.<sup>9</sup> Its presentation is quite standardized.

Looking to one of the most famous Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâmas, the Bibliothèque Nationale Supp. turc. 190 just mentioned, it is possible to outline the basic story followed by its set of miniatures. This is what appears in the left hand column of Table 2 in the following pages. It is interesting to see how the mi<sup>C</sup>raj episodes as related in the critical edition of Darir's Siyer-i Nebi (seen in the right hand column of Table 2) do or do not match this outline. It must be stressed that this Table was not done to prove a direct linkage to the Bibliothèque Nationale Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma but rather to see if this portion of the Siyer-i Nebi might reflect the incorporation of a separate traditional story entity which was popular in the Middle East.<sup>10</sup>

Additionally in Table 2, miniatures in the mi<sup>c</sup>raj section of the Siyer-i Nebi or other miniatures which have been suggested as connected with this manuscript and which reflected the mi<sup>c</sup>raj theme have been placed on the right hand side in brackets.

Table 2 makes several important points. First, with minor exceptions, the story episodes of this marvelous event closely parallel each other in both manuscripts. Second, one dislocated miniature and the bulk of the other identified miniatures currently located outside the bound volumes are connectable with this mi<sup>c</sup>raj segment. In replacing them theoretically within the manuscript, it is possible to reconstruct this most important section with more precision than before and to suggest in the parallelism in topics what the subjects and modes of presentation of miniatures still missing from this section might be.

Further, it can be suggested with a degree of certainty that here one sees proof of a source for and approach of the producers of this manuscript. It is the use of prior models for pictorial rendering of well known episodes. This was suggested earlier in dealing with the precursors such as the Jami' al-Tavârîkh and stylistic influences of such manuscripts as this Bibliothèque Nationale Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma. When faced with an order for a new and enormous cycle, the artists and craftsmen looked to earlier visual traditions for subject matter and modes of presentation. The famed Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma of

the Bibliothèque Nationale has been used here as an example of one of these earlier models. These models may have been used as starting points in creating the illustrated version of the story cycle. Although no single prototype for the entire cycle exists for present knowledge, individual prototypes could have existed in separate portions. The comparison with the style, content and order of presentation of these prototypes helps to suggest identification of missing portions in the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi.

TABLE 2. Comparison of mi<sup>c</sup>raj episodes in the Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma (Bibliothèque Nationale supp. turc. 190) and the Siyer-i Nebi, II, pp. 165-227.<sup>11</sup>

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
Gabriel appears before Muhammad to announce the forthcoming <u>mi<sup>c</sup>raj</u> . They are seated inside a house. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 3v)	Recount of descent of Isra Surah. Muhammad is a guest at the house of Ummehane, the sister of Ali. Gabriel appears dressed in a "Yeşil Cennet" gown. <sup>12</sup> He tells Muhammad this is the night called <u>Kurb-i Visal</u> . (II, p.168. Spencer Coll. Volume III, fol. 3a Ummehand is present. It is interesting to note that 2 angels, rather than just Gabriel approach.) By Gabriel's side, Muhammad is transported to the Well of Zemzem at Mecca and from there to the Ka'ba where he performs the <u>namaz</u> at "Ibrahim's makam". It is here the archangel Michael appears with 70,000 angels. One angel holds Buraq who has the body of a horse, face of a man, and a necklace of pearls and emeralds. He is described as grey with feet of red gold.
Muhammad is transported to Jerusalem. He rides	Gabriel helps him mount and Michael holds the reins as

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
Buraq and the Archangel Michael bears a standard. They are surrounded by hosts of angels ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 5r).	Gabriel directs them through the angel-filled skies. (II, p. 172. Spencer Coll. III, fol. 5a).
Muhammad Enters the Al-Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem. The Archangels Micheal and Gabriel greet him as do the prophets Ibrahim (Abraham), Musa (Moses) and Isa (Jesus). ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 5v.)	As Muhammad flies through the air, he hears a voice which tells him to slow down. He stops at Mt. Sinai where he performs two <u>ra<sup>c</sup>kas</u> . Gabriel tells him there is one Christian voice and one Jewish voice. Accompanied by Gabriel and Michael, Muhammad is taken to the Al-Aqsa Mosque where he meets the archangel Israfil. All of the prophets are present.
Acting as <u>imam</u> , Muhammad leads the prayers in the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Three unidentified prophets stand on either side. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 7r.)	Acting as <u>imam</u> , Muhammad leads the prayers at the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Angels and prophets are present. (II, p. 173; Spencer Collection, Vol. III, fol. 7r).

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

He is taken to the side of a large rock where he is faced with a beautiful hero whom Gabriel tells him is the symbol of Islam. Three glasses are placed in front of him. One is of wine, one water and one of milk. He chooses milk. A voice tells him this will get him to heaven. If he had chosen water, there would have been a flood similar to Noah's: if he had chosen wine, there would have been a rebellion.<sup>14</sup>

Guided by Gabriel, riding on Buraq, Muhammad leaves Jerusalem and mounts toward the first heaven. He is pictured on the shores of the Sea of Kawthor.

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 7v.)

Muhammad approaches the first heaven. He is guided by Gabriel and rides on Buraq.

He ascends to heaven by means of steps which are silver and multi-colored. Gabriel leads him. They pass through a green sea.



TABLE 2(Continued. . .)

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 9r)	
An angel guards the door of the first heaven as Gabriel leads Muhammad toward a large figure of Adam.	Arrival at first heaven. Ismail is the <u>kapaci</u> . Here he meets Adam who wishes him a happy <u>mi<sup>c</sup>raj</u> .
( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 9v)	
Gabriel leads Muhammad through the first heaven where he meets the White Cock whose feet are on the earth and whose head touches the foot of God's Throne. His crow is the <u>shahada</u> .	Muhammad meets an angel in the shape of a large white bird. He is in charge of counting the hours as do all of the roosters on earth.
( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 11r)	
Gabriel and Muhammad meet an angel who is half fire and half snow. This angel recites the <u>tesbih</u> . He holds prayer beads and as he moves them, thunder sounds.	Muhammad meets a gigantic angel who is half fire and half snow. It has 70,000 wings which stretch from east to west.
( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 11v)	
	Muhammad passes through a white sea called <u>Hayat</u> <sup>15</sup>

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

Second heavenMi<sup>C</sup>raj-Nâma

Muhammad arrives in the second heaven made of pearls and finds himself in the presence of twenty divisions of angels willing to serve him.

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 13r)

Muhammad meets Azrael, the angel of death who is gigantic in size. He has a chair of light on which he puts a foot. His feet are "on the confines of the earth and his head is in the highest heaven."<sup>16</sup>

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 13v)

Muhammad meets the angel of prayer. It has 70 heads. Each head has 70 tongues and each tongue has 70 types of praise for Allah.

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-Nâma, fol. 15, upper part).

Siyer-i Nebi

Muhammad arrives at the second whose gatekeeper is Mencayil. This heaven is made of coral. Mencayil says they read the Qur'an in this heaven.

(#11, Keir Collection?) II, pp. 1778.

Muhammad sees the Tufan Sea.<sup>17</sup>

Muhammad sees an angel at the side of the Tufan Sea which has 700 wings, each wing has 100 heads and each head 700 faces cries praise to Allah.

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
Muhammad meets the prophets John and Zacharias. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u> , fol. 15r, lower part)	Muhammad meets Jesus and John.
<u>Third heaven</u> Transition to third heaven. <sup>18</sup> Muhammad, guided by Gabriel rides on Buraq. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u> , fol. 15v)	
Arrival on the threshold of the third heaven made of red hyacinth. Muhammad and Gabriel are met by a group of angels representing 30 divisions of more than 30,000 angels. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u> , fol. 17r)	Arrival at the third heaven made of red copper. Avniyail is the <u>kapici</u> .
Muhammad meets Jacob and Joseph. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u> , fol. 17v)	Seeing a host of angels he asks who they are. He is told one is Joseph.
Muhammad meets David and Solomon ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u> , fol. 19r)	Muhammad meets David and Solomon.

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-Nâma

Muhammad meets the angel with the 70 heads. Each head has 70 tongues to recite 70 forms of praise. Three angels stand beside it holding golden footstools.

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-Nâma, fol. 19r)

Fourth heaven

Arrival at the fourth heaven. Muhammad meets a group of angels whose function it is to sing the praises of Allah.

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 22r)

(At this point a gap appears<sup>19</sup> so that one does not know what figures Muhammad meets in the fourth heaven.)

Siyer-i Nebi

Muhammad meets the great angel called Sarhiyail.

The fourth heaven is made of white silver. Here angels sing the praises of God as their only function. They approach and greet Muhammad. (Plate 49)

(Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1222, fol 383a? II, pp. 189. Compare this stylistically with the Berlin miniatures (Plate 46). They are quite similar.)

Muhammad meets Moses here.

(II, pp. 185-6. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, J. 26/76? (Plate 46) Note rewriting on halos.)

Muhammad meets the Angel of Death.

He sits on a kürsü with a

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

signboard and a large tree.

(II, p. 186, #19, Keir Collection? (Plate 11)).

Two angels sit on either side and hold spears: one from the good light and one from hell. The popular Islamic story appears there that describes the tree which has leaves upon which each person's life is written. When this leaf falls, it marks the time of death of that person. Further, the story recounts that the person's "score" is written on the signboard.<sup>20</sup> As they are taken by the angel of Death, they are given to the angel on the right or left of the klûrsû according to their desserts.

Muhammad then sees a dome in which is written the sahada and afterwards proceeds to the border of Cehennem.<sup>21</sup> He is told that what is beyond is Tamu, or hell.

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

Muhammad meets the Angel of Hell. He tells Muhammad that he is a fallen angel and when he takes the key to faith the color flies from Muhammad's face. He says he has grown pale because he now sees who must pass to hell.

(II, pp. 189-190 #17. Keir Collection?)

An angel then opens the gateway to heaven through which only believers can pass.

Muhammad sees the seven layers of hell. The first is called Cehennem 70,000 mountains surround it with 70,000 fires. There is, however, a special place for those who repent. Gog and Msgog appear.

(II, p. 190 #2 Keir Collection?)

Muhammad sees a woman by a fire who cries out as flames reach out and torment her. She fights black snakes.

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

Muhammad's understanding of hell grows. He sees trees made of fire: they are thorns, and resemble bayonets. The things they bear resemble snakes. At this point Abu Hasan Bekri is quoted as saying that on the Blessed Day those who saw and understood Muhammad here will be saved from the fire.

Fifth heaven

This heaven is made of red gold. A "road of 500 years" surrounds it. The guardian for this gate is named Kelkail. He greets Muhammad.

Muhammad meets a huge angel whose feet reach through several heavens. He tells Muhammad that he is the reis of the angels.

Muhammad sees Abraham seated on a kursu, and is greeted by him.

Muhammad meets Ishmael, Aaron and Lot.

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma, fol. 22v, upper part)

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
<p>Muhammad comes to the shores of the Sea of Fire. It is said that on the Judgement Day this fire will be poured over the damned in Hell.</p> <p>(<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>, fol. 22r. lower part)</p>	<p>Now Muhammad comes to a huge sea and by its side stands a gigantic angel in front of a balance scale. Beside this angel stands a rank of one hundred angels. The angel is Mikail, one of the holders of the throne. Muhammad also meets the angel Ruh.</p> <p>(II, p. 194; #13 Keir Collection?)</p> <p>Noah comes forward and greets Muhammad.</p>
<p><u>Sixth heaven</u></p> <p>Muhammad and Gabriel, set in a gold cloud sky, are met by a group of three standing angels.</p> <p>(<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>, fol. 24r.)</p> <p>Gabriel, Muhammad and Buraq move through the gold cloud heavens.</p> <p>(<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>, fol. 24v.)</p>	<p>This heaven is made of white pearl. Archangels are here. There is a green sea and by its side is a large angel.</p> <p>Muhammad sees an angel with 70,000 faces which cries in 70,000 tongues the name of Allah.</p> <p>Muhammad sees three angels: one in the shape of a lion, one in the shape of an ox, and one named Raad.<sup>22</sup></p>



TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

Muhammad meets the angel Raad (Thunder). Another angel is named Yildirim (Lightning).

Muhammad meets Moses and three other unidentified men.

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma, fol. 26r)

Muhammad meets Noah and Idris.

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma, fol. 26v.)

Seventh heaven

Transition to seventh heaven. Muhammad and Gabriel are shown in a picture plane of gold swirling clouds.<sup>23</sup>

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma, fol. 28r)

There is a guardian named Efzail and a huge sea made of light. An angel stands beside this sea. His wings touch the east and west, and he brings light from the east to west taking it from this sea. Gabriel tells Muhammad that every day this angel takes some of the light from the sea and as it drops from his wings, new angels are created. It is his duty to create these angels.

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

Muhammad and Gabriel come to a large palace in front of which is an emerald throne. Abraham sits on this throne. Abraham tells Muhammad that this palace is Muhammad's home which 70,000 angels visit each day.

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 28v.)

Muhammad enters the palace with the good Muslims who are dressed in white. The bad Muslims, dressed in variations of black, blue and white must remain outside.

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 30r.)

Gabriel and Muhammad approach the Black Sea of which only God knows the nature. Angels heads and wings appear from it. To the left stands a gigantic angel whose mouth is

This heaven is filled with angels and a Ka<sup>c</sup>ba like house which is the Beytilmampur 70,000 angels enter it each day.<sup>24</sup>

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-NâmaSiyer-i Nebi

large enough to swallow all  
of the levels of earth.

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 30v)

Muhammad meets two gigantic  
angels. The first has seventy  
heads which have seventy tongues  
to sing Allah's names. The  
second has eyes which pour  
forth the waters of the sea.

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 32r)

Muhammad sees a gigantic angel  
standing in the Black Sea. To  
the left is an angel with four  
heads. The angel with 10,000  
wings creates an angel with  
each drop of water which shakes  
from his wings. (Note similar-  
ity to p.123, Siyer-i Nebi  
column.)

(Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 32v)

Muhammad arrives at the Sidrat  
el-munteha which is painted in  
gold and jewel-like colors.

Arrival at the Sidretul Munteha  
tree, the Lotus tree of this  
heaven. Muhammad is told it

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma

From its base flow four rivers,  
 "one is the Nile which flows  
 through Egypt, the other the  
 Euphrates whose course passes  
 through the city of Kufa. Of  
 the two subterranean rivers,  
 one is the Selsebil that flows  
 in Paradise, the other empties  
 into the Kawthar.<sup>25</sup>

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 34r)

Muhammad is presented with  
 three cups of light. One con-  
 tains milk, one wine and one  
 honey. Muhammad drinks only  
 from the one containing milk.

(Note similarity to p.114

Siyer-i Nebi column and  
 footnote 11 ).

(Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma, fol. 34v.)

Muhammad is about to enter  
 the "Maqam Zaribet," the  
 place for only the closest

Siyer-i Nebi

is a tree made from light  
 and its leaves are made from  
 silk of many colors. Ranks  
 of angels surround it and a  
 river flows from its base.  
 It is Gabriel who names the  
 tree and tells Muhammad that  
 the river is the Kevser<sup>26</sup>.  
 He tells him that he will  
 find all knowledge here and  
 that the tree was made for  
 Muslims.

Gabriel tells Muhammad that  
 he has arrived at the place  
 beyond which Gabriel cannot  
 take him. Muhammad is con-  
 fused but the angels who hold  
 the throne tell Gabriel to  
 hold Muhammad's gown and this  
 will allow him to move forward.  
 A description of the Great

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
<p>friends of God. He must abandon Buraq and Gabriel. Gabriel returns to his normal shape, i.e. spreading 600 wings to east and west. (<u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u>, fol. 36r.)</p> <p>Muhammad bows down and worships the eternal in the midst of golden clouds. (<u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u>, fol. 34r)</p> <p>Story of the five daily prayers. It is said that Allah orders 50, then in speaking with Moses, the Prophet realizes how impossible this is for humans and so the number is eventually reduced to five. (See p.129 <u>Siyer-i Nebi</u> column for the same story). (<u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u>, fol. 38v.)</p>	<p>Gabriel with his 500 wings on either side follows. The skies open and Muhammad sees a green kürsü. A voice is heard identifying "Refref", a coverlet, quilt or rug which is the last of the four vehicles on which Muhammad is transported on the <u>mi<sup>C</sup>raj</u>. (The other three listed are Gabriel, Buraq and the silver stairs in Jerusalem.)</p>

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
Muhammad passes through the 70,000 veils in order to see the heavenly throne. It is said that these screen the infinite space beyond the seven heavens. They are made of light, fire ruby, hyacinth, pearl and gold. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 42r)	Muhammad sees a veil and 100,000 ranks of angels. Israfil appears and holds his Sur (trumpet) in his hand. (II, pp. 202, #18, Keir Collection).
Muhammad is pictured in front of a series of tents of which it is said they are "each as large as the earthly world. The space of a road fifty thousand years long separates them one from another." 50 divisions of angels are in each tent and recite a litany of divine names. These tents surround the heavenly throne. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 42v.)	The Levh-i Mahfuz or tablet of God's decree is here. Israfil says he will be Muhammad's guide.
Having reached the throne, Muhammad worships God. ( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 44r.)	Muhammad now starts through a series of veils each guarded by an angel. These angels speak 70,000 tongues.  Muhammad comes to a <u>kürsî</u> made of white pearl.

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
Muhammad now visits the gates of paradise. There are three gates: one has a dome of red hyacinth and one of emeralds. The river Kawthar flows beside. ( <u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 45v.)	God's voice reveals the Bakara Sura, Ayet 286 of the <u>Qur'an</u> . Story of 5 daily prayers, Moses, Muhammad and God appears here. (See p.127 of <u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u> column.)
Muhammad arrives in Paradise. ( <u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 47v.)	Redvan, the gatekeeper, opens the gate to the eight heavens or paradise. The eighth heaven is Eden and is made of white pearl. All of the heavens are made of precious jewels and have kôşks of white pearl and pergolas of rubies. The river Kawthar runs through it. There are four rivers. One is of water, one milk, one honey and one wine.
Muhammad and Gabriel see a garden filled with <u>houris</u> . (Many have birds perched on their heads.) ( <u>Mi<sup>C</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 49r.)	Muhammad meets the houris and learns that there are 70,000 rooms in each kôşk. Each houri has a <u>kasir</u> with 70,000 gardens and inside the

TABLE 2 (Continued . . .)

<u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-Nâma</u>	<u>Siyer-i Nebi</u>
Muhammad and Gabriel see the amusements of the houris. Various houris are mounted on camels. This is "because each Friday, at the invitation of the Most-High, the chosen, followed by their wives, go across the skies to meet the Eternal beyond the heavenly (Ka <sup>c</sup> ba) Kaava surrounded by praying angels."	rooms are 70 thrones of gold, silver and pearl. 70 mattresses are on the floor of each room. Silken mattresses are spread for each believer and they are provided with a houri.
( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 49v.)	Now they gather by the Tuba tree which is made of pearl, coral and red gold. Muhammad mounts Buraq. He descends to earth and goes to Ebtaha where the Quraysh await him. They question him about his trip.
Muhammad meets the wife of Talha, a companion of the Prophet, who converted Talha to Islam.	(II, p. 221, Spencer Collection. III, fol. 57a).
( <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> , fol. 51r.)	(II, p. 222, Spencer Collection. III, fol. 58b).
At this point, the <u>Siyer-i Nebi</u> returns Muhammad to earth and proceeds with the episodes of his life there. The <u>Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma</u> turns to a viewing of the tortures of hell. <sup>28</sup>	



## CHAPTER 7 FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>E. Binney, 3rd, 1979, #22. This probably appears after Vol. II, p.274 where Hasan is first mentioned.

<sup>2</sup>E. Grube, 1965, 153, note 13. In a letter from Dr. John Slocum in Nov., 1980, I have ascertained that these miniatures are still in his collection. However, at the time of this writing I have not received photographs of them.

<sup>3</sup>See Chapter 6.

<sup>4</sup>B.W. Robinson, 1976, 227-8. Keir Collection 9, 10, 14, 15, 16 are candidates for any number of places in the Siyer-i Nebi.

<sup>5</sup>There is one discrepancy between the Siyer-i Nebi miniatures and those in the Keir Collection. The Keir Collection miniatures measure 20-18 x 11-10 cm. Nevertheless it seems possible, that as with the Slocum miniatures, these could have been trimmed since they are smaller rather than larger than those in the Siyer-i Nebi.

<sup>6</sup>M.R. Séguy, 1977, Plate 14 and description. See also Note 18 in this chapter.

<sup>7</sup>E. Grube, 1975, Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20. Topkapi Palace Museum H. 2154.

<sup>8</sup>M. Séguy, 1977.

<sup>9</sup>E. Binney, 1979, 41. An example can be cited in the Khamsa of Nizami (900/1494) from Herat. London, Brit. Lib. Or. 6810, fol. 5b. (See B. Gray, 1979, 199).

<sup>10</sup>This manuscript was suggested in Chapter 6 as one which is stylistically comparable to the Siyer-i Nebi. E. Sims, 1978, 747-61 also noticed the compositional similarities. She especially notes that in the "Prophet in

Conversation with the Angel Gabriel" (her figs. 17-18), the sixteenth century Siyer-i Nebi reverses the composition of the fifteenth century manuscript but is otherwise similar.

<sup>11</sup>It is interesting to see that the Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma was originally bound with another work in Uighur known as the Memorial of the Saints. A colophon dates it 840/1436 and places it in Herat during the reign of Shah Rukh. (See M.R. Séguy, 1977, 8). Also see M. Darir, 1977.

<sup>12</sup>A. Schimmel, 1975, 102ff. describes the khirqa or "patched frock" given to a Sufi initiate as a "badge of aspiration." In the early beginnings of the mystical movement this consisted of only one type but in later times two types of khirqa may be distinguished: the khirqa-yi irada which an aspirant receives from the sheikh when he swears his allegiance and the khirqa-yi tabarruk or the "frock of blessing" which is given by different masters with whom one has lived. Although these garments were dark blue (and often compared to violets) in the early years, as mysticism developed different colors of khirqas were assigned to different stations. Those wearing green were of the highest stations and consisted of angels, prophets and the khidr or guide of the mystics.

<sup>13</sup>Although the script is not similar to that of the Siyer-i Nebi naskh, thus not allowing a suggested placement of the page in this manuscript, miniature 43 in the Binney Collection catalogue, 1979, 74 is very intriguing. Stylistically the women's pointed heads, rendering of angel wings and clouds and patterns of the archway are reminiscent of some styles within the Siyer-i Nebi (see Chapter 6). Binney has noted the rarity of this representation. It can be pointed out that it was depicted earlier in the 1410-11 Iskandar Anthology (British Library, Add. 27261, fol. 362b and 363a) and the 1494-5/900 Herat Khamsa of Nizami, (British Library Or. 6810, fol. 5b). (Lukens-Swietochowski, 1979, 208 likens those two renditions to "Majnun at the Ka'ba," in the Khamsa of Nizami (Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 781, fol. 111b) a. dated 849/1445-6 in composition and says that I. Stchoukine, 1954, 80 noted their dependence on the 1436 Mi<sup>c</sup>raj-nâma (Bibliothèque Nationale supp. turc. 190). It is extremely interesting to see that it depicts the footnoted episode so precisely that while it may have been a part of a later Khamsa of Nizami, it seems conceivable it could have functioned as a model for the Siyer-i Nebi episode. Binney has given it an early seventeenth century date and attributed it to "the less-than-sufficient talent of the journeyman provincial painter." Yet it seems possible that this miniature could be redefined on stylistic grounds

as late sixteenth-early seventeenth century and fit with the "Baghdad Style" which has been shown to exist in Istanbul as well as Anatolia.

<sup>14</sup>E. Grube, 1975, No. 17 indicates that one of the Topkapi Palace H. 2154 miniatures is "Muhammad Seated in the Dome of the Rock Is Offered Three Cups by Gabriel."

<sup>15</sup>Redhouse dictionary defines this as "vestibule" and "life".

<sup>16</sup>M.R. Séguy, 1977, Plate 12 and description.

<sup>17</sup>Redhouse dictionary states that the Tufan Sea also refers to the Flood.

<sup>18</sup>M.R. Séguy, 1977, Plate 14 and description. Séguy notes at this point just how similar the "transition pictures" between heavens are.

<sup>19</sup>M.R. Séguy, 1977, Plate 19 and description. A gap appears here in manuscript so one does not know what figures Muhammad meets in the fourth heaven. The catch words written at the bottom of fol. 22b don't correspond with the following page. Further, the European numbers are not in order throughout the manuscript.

<sup>20</sup>M. Aksel, 1960 and 1967.

<sup>21</sup>Note double meaning of sahada.

<sup>22</sup>While the four, the ox, lion, human and eagle, symbols act as symbols of the apostles for Christians, in Islam they act as the angels who in this shape support God's throne. Séguy, 1977, Plate 30 and discussion points out that they are also symbolic of the four cardinal constellations of the zodiac.

<sup>23</sup>M.R. Séguy, 1977, Plate 25 description. She writes that different versions of the Micraj-nâma present variants in the make-up of the seven heavens. Usually, "the first is said to be made of iron, the second of copper or bronze, the third of silver, the fourth of gold, the fifth of precious white pearl, the sixth of emerald and the seventh of ruby or topaz."

<sup>24</sup>J.K. Birge, 1937, 115; M.R. Séguy, 1977, 7. Birge says there is one particular piece of allegorical lore which is an important part of Sufi doctrine. This is that of the Frequented House called the Beyti Mamur". this:

"... was originally in heaven, later removed to earth for the comfort of Adam and finally raised again to where Muhammad on the night of the journey, Miraç, saw it in the Seventh Heaven."

One should be reminded that a recurrent Sufi theme is that of the miCraj. Generally speaking the journey is a two-fold one: a literal ascent into heaven and a symbolic ascent into self to Oneness. A. Schimmel, 1975, 48 suggests that Abu Yazid Bistami (d. 874) (Beyazid) is "the first to describe the mystical experience in terms of the miCraj." A translation of Ibn al-Farid and the accompanying note of Nicholson says:

"And my inmost self's night-journey to myself from the special privilege of Truth is like my voyage in the general obligation of the Law..." (R.A. Nicholson, 1921 (Reprint 1967), p. 239).

This reinforces the Sufi linkage being suggested with the thinking of Murad III.

<sup>25</sup>M.R. Séguy, 1977, Plate 31 description.

<sup>26</sup>Redhouse dictionary states "Kevser" also means "nectar".

<sup>27</sup>J.M. Rogers, 1979, 154 states this reads "al-qurba/qurbet" in the manuscript. A check of the facsimile proves him correct.

<sup>28</sup>An intriguing footnote to this is the listing (without illustration) of the following two miniatures in Sotheby sale catalogues.

1) 17 December 1969 Sotheby sale catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures, #240: "A Prophet with a flaming gold halo sits on a throne and is visited by an angel." Rubbed on an album leaf with gilt decorated borders. 59mm x 44mm. Turkish, 16th century. Bought by Moshiri.

2) 18 June, 1962 Sotheby sale catalogue of Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures (Property of Sri Ram Gopal), #81: "The Miraj or ascent of Muhammad mounted on Buraq and attended by angels within a blue border with foliate design." 188mm x 130mm. Turkish, c. 1600. Bought by J.B. Holderbaum.

Both of these deal with subject matter or eligible topics known to be a part of the Siyer-i Nebi cycle. The second is particularly attractive due to the similarity in measurements. Needless to say, without viewing them it is impossible to know if they fit the manuscript stylistically.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSIONS: THE SIYER-I NEBI AND THE TIMES FOR WHICH IT WAS MADE

In a consideration of the Siyer-i Nebi, one must still ask how the manuscript fits the pattern of late sixteenth century Ottoman society. In his latest book, John Canady writes that "every interpretation or analysis of a work of art in this book will be made within the all-embracing conviction that painting, sculpture and architecture are the truest and most complete witnesses to the nature of the times and places which produced them."<sup>1</sup> To clarify his point, he demonstrates how a variety of approaches in several portraits reflect not only the different personalities of their painters but also the differing outlooks and philosophies of the societies which produced these painters. Canady's argument will act as the underlying assumption of this chapter.

The artists who produced the Siyer-i Nebi were a part of the Topkapi palace household and as such would have witnessed political and religious events of the last decade of the sixteenth century in Istanbul. Murad III, the manuscript's patron was involved in the shaping of the decade's history.

Therefore, I shall attempt to examine the Siyer-i Nebi as it reflects the concerns and events of the late sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. The problem will be approached from both the point of view of the artists and the point of view of the patron.

While the miniatures of the Murad III Siyer-i Nebi generally cover the entire scope of the Prophet's life, a clustering of paintings around specific events is evident. One such cluster of paintings occurs around the subject of Muhammad's birth. (Plates 49-51). It is a grouping which may be explicable in the framework of sixteenth century Ottoman society.

Murad III and his contemporaries evinced a real concern with Islam, its history and monuments. The Turks also wanted Islam to appear attractive to other peoples. Vryonis discusses the history of this appeal stating fourteenth century reports show Anatolian Christians converted as a way of avoiding the cizye (head tax).<sup>2</sup> Further, not only was religious toleration preached but, common ground between religions was stressed. For example, translations of the Mevlid, a poem in celebration of the birth of Muhammad were done in Serbian, Albanian and Greek. This approach produced in the fourteenth century what Vryonis calls a "religious syncretism in Anatolian volksreligion."<sup>3</sup> The movement was particularly strong in Bursa in the fourteenth century when Süleyman Çelebi wrote his version of the Mevlid-i Sherif in Turkish.<sup>4</sup>

In many parts of the Islamic world, this movement of religious syncretism had already made its appearance. One specific instance is of importance in the dissertation. This is the Fatimid celebration of Muhammad's birth. It was said to have taken place on a Monday as did the hegira and his death. Makrizi in his al-Khitat says the celebration took place in broad daylight and was limited to circles of court officials and priests. These ceremonies also attached themselves to the mevlids or birth dates of Ali, Fatima and even reigning caliphs and contained strong Shi<sup>c</sup>a elements.<sup>5</sup>

The practice reappeared in 604/1207-8 under the brother-in-law of Saladin. Ibn Khallikan (d. 681/1282-3) reports this celebration. He notes that foreign visitors were housed in specially built wooden kubbas. Entertainment for these people consisted of shadow plays and music, elements which had existed in local Christian celebrations particularly at Christmas time. A torch light procession led by the prince took place on the eve of the ceremony. This procession proceeded from the citadel to the khankah which was a wooden tower built for the ruler and a pulpit for the wa'iz.

On the day of the celebration the prince sat in the tower, received guests and dispensed robes of honor. Troops were reviewed and the day ended with the night spent like the Sufis in sama' (meditation).<sup>6</sup>

It is important to note that Murad III reinstituted the mevlid as an official Ottoman court ceremony in 996/1588-89,



five years before the production of the Siyer-i Nebi in his atelier.<sup>7</sup> The ceremony was religious, civil and political. It contained a sermon, panegyrics on the life of Muhammad, his miracles and death, official gift giving and closed with public celebrations for the people similar to the two Bayrams. These included the distribution of silver coins to the crowds by the Çuhadar-Ağa. The Kizlar Ağa, chief Black Eunuch of the palace, was in charge. He acted in his capacity as Nazir or inspector general of Mecca and Medina.<sup>8</sup> Evidence suggests that the ceremony became popular.

It is not surprising that the Siyer-i Nebi's artists reflected this in their rendering of Muhammad's birth. Murad III was known for his love of public celebrations. The Surname (c. 1584) which he commissioned contained detailed illustrations of ceremonies surrounding the 1582 circumcision of his son Mehmed.<sup>9</sup> His artists thus had experience in carefully recording cultural activities of their own time. Therefore, it seems possible that when the reinstituted mevlid ceremony became popular, there was interest in a visual portrayal of the events of the life of Muhammad, specifically those which had gained popularity in the late sixteenth century Ottoman court.<sup>10</sup>

It seems likely that the clusters of miniatures in this Siyer-i Nebi dealing with not only Muhammad's birth but of Adam and Seth, the mi<sup>c</sup>raj or miraculous journey, and Muhammad's death reflect an attempt at a visual portrayal of

popular Turkish customs reflected in contemporary literature, shadow plays and traditions such as those surrounding this mevlid celebration.<sup>11</sup> This visual elaboration would have incorporated the traditional Siyer-i Nebi text.

An important part of the Ottoman mevlid ceremonies was the recitation of the Mevlid-i Şerif. This poem of celebration of the Prophet's birth was probably written between 1403 and 1421 by Süleyman Çelebi, an early Ottoman poet. This poem exists, interspersed with text, in Darir's Siyer-i Nebi. It is interesting that the Sultan's Hoca Sa<sup>c</sup>d ed-Din Efendi died in 1599 while reciting the Mevlid-i Şerif in Aya Sofya.<sup>12</sup> All extant versions of the poem contain some basic elements of the celebration including:<sup>13</sup>

1. a song of invocation and praise to God
2. a brief request for prayers for the author
3. a discourse on the prophetic succession from Adam
4. a description of the birth of Muhammad
5. the "Merhaba" or triumphant chorus of welcome
6. a recital of the marvels attending Muhammad's birth
7. the mi<sup>c</sup>raj or miraculous journey of the Prophet
8. a concluding confession and prayer.

A few versions add the story of the death of Muhammad and of his daughter Fatima.

Thus, there are three and sometimes four narrative sections: 1) the prophetic succession, 2) events dealing with the birth and marvels surrounding it, 3) the mi<sup>c</sup>raj and 4) in

some versions the death of the prophet. The first narrative section begins with the story of Adam and Seth as does the first cluster of miniatures in the Siyer-i Nebi (see Appendix B, p. ).

Clusters of paintings in the Siyer-i Nebi focus on the subject of the birth of the prophet, his miraculous journey and his death.<sup>14</sup> The events which are visually portrayed in this cycle follow the outline of the story as related by Darir. But this clustering of miniatures and certain details in them suggest that they represent Turkish reenactments of the story, popular beliefs or ceremonial literature. This clustering reflects events stressed in the newly popular mevlid celebrations commemorating the Prophet's birth.

For example, details of the miniature depicting the birth of Muhammad (Plate 50) reflect descriptions of Muhammad's birth given in Süleyman Çelebi's poem. In this poem, Amine, pregnant with Muhammad, witnesses certain marvels, the most important of which was the arrival of three angels bearing banners. One raises the banner on the east brink of the world, one raises a banner on the west brink and one places a banner directly over the roof of the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba. Then: "Rank on rank the holy host descended/ and round my dwelling marched while in the air a silken mattress wafted/ By angel hands adoringly attended."<sup>15</sup>

In Plate 50 there are posted banners, holy hosts marching and the angel bands who "adoringly attended" as well as

the silken mattress floating in the sky. This is a significant point, for in Darir's Siyer-i Nebi several important details are different. The banners are brought by only one archangel arriving beneath a silken mattress which covers the sky, suspended without mention of any help from angels.

Because the miniatures in this cluster contain important details absent in Darir's text, which they presumably illustrate, the possibility is reinforced of the visual depiction of customs or literature beyond Darir's Siyer-i Nebi such as Süleyman Çelebi's poem recited yearly for the court in extremely dramatic circumstances.

While these details may be reflections of contemporary ceremonies and popular poetry, a side issue should be noted. Both Darir and Süleyman Çelebi describe three angels appearing before Amine just prior to Muhammad's birth. Darir says they appear as ordinary women: Süleyman Çelebi doesn't mention this but gives them names saying "Some say that one was Asiye, fair consort/ of Egypt's king, whom noble Moses nurtured/ One was without a doubt, the Lady Mary; the third, a graceful houri, their attendant."<sup>16</sup> As can be seen in Plate 51, the artist follows the Siyer-i Nebi text in making these angels appear as women but for reasons of his own adds a fourth figure to the group.

However, the essential point remains. The cluster surrounding the birth of Muhammad suggests the thesis that artists were aware of and influenced by ideas popular at the

time they lived and that they revised some of Darir's details to correspond to these ideas. It is probably true that such sixteenth century traditions as the Ottoman celebrations of Muhammad's birth, reinstituted in 1589, and including the recitation of the Mevlid-i Şerif may be mirrored in this manuscript.

While one can argue with good reason that the painters of the Siyer-i Nebi reflect customs of the last decade of the sixteenth century as well as a traditional view of Muhammad, one question reasserts itself. Why did Murad III commission the manuscript? Its illustrations as has been demonstrated earlier, may be a part of an overall tradition of illustrated religious manuscripts dealing with the Prophet and his companions, but it has no distinct predecessor. The manuscript was a gargantuan undertaking in view of the fact that the commission was for eight hundred miniatures--between six to seven hundred more than any religious illustrated text known from the time and about four hundred more than Murad's celebrated Surname-- a manuscript done in the honor of a crown prince. Murad's motivations were several--and perhaps even more complicated than can now be understood when one considers this complex ruler.

One solution is indicated in the palace household. Close Italian connections were caused by both Murad's relationship to his wife and Hasan Paşa, the Venetian, who was both Kapudan-i derya and confidant of Safiye.<sup>17</sup> This and the European connections of Murad's associates such as Gazanfer, a

Hungarian, might suggest a renewed interest in the historical tendency of sharing customs between Islam and Christianity. A search for such common traditions often appears in a household where people of diverse backgrounds seek to coexist. Further, Venice in the last decade of the sixteenth century was teeming with artistic activity in the paintings of such artists as Tintoretto, Veronese and the Greek El Greco. These, the work of Italian writers and the exotic celebrations of Venice were full of color and life. Often the content of the work or celebration focused on Christian subjects.<sup>18</sup> The Siyer-i Nebi may provide an Islamic parallel.

Another possible answer suggests itself in Murad's religious attitudes. The clear importance of Sufism during the reign of Murad III has been repeatedly noted. It is documented within the corps of Janissaries. It is suggested in connection with a painting style of Ottoman ateliers in the late sixteenth century. Murad III's hoca was a Sufi and we know that Murad himself wrote Sufi treatises. Thus, the Sufi history of the mevlid ceremonies and by extension, the literature which accompanied it or mirrored it, are entirely in keeping with the temper of the time and the manuscript's patron.

These religious attitudes of Murad form a framework of which the mevlid ceremonies and the Siyer-i Nebi are a part. There are several other components of this framework. First, is Murad's concern with Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, the three holy cities of Islam. His decision to complete the repairs on the Dome of the Rock and to undertake repairs on the harem in

Mecca and the holy spots of Medina after his accession to the throne have been noted. Caravansaray stations on the Syrian Hajj route from Istanbul to Mecca were built or repaired during his reign. Further, literature describing these holy shrines was quite specifically produced for Murad as seen in the al-ilam bi-alam bait allah al-haram given to him by the Kadi of Mecca.<sup>19</sup>

Added to this was the aforementioned interest in religious biographies and their illustration in the Ottoman workshops as well as the popularity of poems dealing with such topics as the Burda, mevlid celebrations and the mi<sup>c</sup>raj. The Ottoman intellectual circles of which Murad III was a part were aware of these pieces of literature which concerned themselves with aspects of Muhammad's and other holy men's lives.<sup>20</sup>

A third component is Murad III's interest in gathering the relics of the Prophet in one spot and depositing them in the newly redone Pavilion of the Mantle in Topkapi Saray.

Fourth, in 996/1588 Murad III realized that the world of Islam was about to reach its first millenium. A parallel to the Islamic millenium in medieval Europe is the year 1000 when there was a great increase in religious activity both just before and just after this time.

The equinox of the year 1592 marked the beginning of the eleventh century after the hegira.<sup>21</sup> According to Muslim ideas, every century saw the appearance of a great man and the turn of the millenium intensified expectations. Von Hammer notes that the two most esteemed Ottoman historians, Hadji

Khalfa and Naima, begin their histories with the first year of the new millenium. Already, in 1589, in Istanbul, a Maghrebi calling himself Mahdi had announced himself as the twelfth or hidden imam of the Shi<sup>C</sup>ia sect and had promptly been impaled in the square at Beyazid mosque.<sup>22</sup> In Persia the rise to power of Shah <sup>C</sup>Abbas who had come to the throne in 1587 had not gone without notice. These religious incidents, however, must be considered in conjunction with the political and social climate of the last decade of the sixteenth century.

Politically, it was a time of unrest for the Ottomans. The Janissary dissatisfaction, first seen in 1582 in connection with Mehmet's circumcision ceremonies continually reasserted itself and major upheavals occurred in 1591 and 1592. The war with Persia was reopened. This time a part of the conflict centered on Sunni and Shi<sup>C</sup>ia doctrinal differences. In the wake of this war there were enormous changes in the personnel of governors, defterdars, judges, secretaries and even muftis and vezirs.

From this period of political unrest several very interesting facts emerge. First, d'Ohsson<sup>23</sup> records that in the wake of the internal civil strife, war "ravages without precedence" and finally drought and the appearance of plague in Istanbul, Murad III, alarmed by the state of the empire, ordered public prayers. This took place on 3 zilhicce 1000/11 Sept. 1592 in the Ok Meydan. Vezirs, ministers, ulemas, seyhs, officers of all of the orders, grandees and "the people" all assembled in the meydan and prayed, it is said, with great zeal. Following the



prayers a discourse on current circumstances was delivered by the imam of Aya Sofya who implored divine mercy and the intervention of Muhammad. His assistants prostrated themselves and bathed the ground with their tears.

On his part, Murad III had sacrificed that day "a great number of victims" and paid out great sums to the poor, opened the public prisons and "cut the chains of many unfortunates," even of criminals of state who had been held in Yedikule. Ten days later the prayers were repeated on Mt. Alem Dagi.

In 1003/1595, still aware of civil problems, the Grand Vizir Koca Sinan Paşa advised that the Sancak-i Şerif, the holy flag of the Prophet, be brought from Mecca to calm the disorders. In that year it was brought via Gallipoli under the escort of 1,000 Janissaries. It was first taken directly to the campaign in Hungary and then deposited with great ceremony in Constantinople at the Palace.<sup>24</sup> There it rested with the exception of only one other campaign when it was taken out under the escort of a "multitude of muezzins, dervishes and emirs" who all chanted hymns in honor of the Prophet.

On the more positive side politically, in 1587/995 the Persians attacked and were successfully beaten back in the plains near Baghdad. Upon his return to Baghdad, the serasker (governor) Cigalizade made an interesting request of the Porte. It shows a great degree of religious toleration and of political diplomacy. He cites the dangers of the desert pilgrimage routes and petitions to have the routes from Persia and Baghdad improved. He also sets out to repair the places of pilgrimage

of Nedjef, the Mescid Ali, and the tomb of Huseyn in Kerbela. The latter, of extreme importance to Persian Shi<sup>C</sup>ia Muslims, had been abandoned because of flooding. Cigalizade proposed the construction of a canal to empty the water from here into the Euphrates. Thus the way was opened for Shi<sup>C</sup>ia pilgrims from Persia to make their pilgrimages.

From the Persian's side, the strength of the Uzbeks on their north eastern frontier encouraged them to make a peace with the Ottomans. An embassy was sent to Istanbul and on March 21, 1590/998 a treaty with Persia was sent to Shah Abbas. It was fascinating that the treaty contained statements on points of religious controversy in which the Ottomans tried to reach an agreement with the Persians. Von Hammer summarizes these as agreements 1) not to blaspheme any companions of the Prophet, the honored ones, the fathers of Islam; 2) not to rail against the mother of the true believers, "the chaste Aysha" or against Abu Bakir, "the true, the faithful, the pure" and 3) to "cease maledictions" against the Sunnis.<sup>25</sup>

Suffice it to say that von Hammer was probably correct when he states that the attempt at reconciliation between these two sects of Sunni and Shi<sup>C</sup>ia was "plus impossible encore que la reunion des églises greque et latine."<sup>24</sup>

Aside from the elements of religious controversy in the treaty, there was a sense of conciliation, Gelibolulu Ali, secretary to Lala Mustafa Pasa during his tenure at Baghdad in the reign of Murad III, wrote that a prince should,

"show the right measure of honor to those who come from another country, or rather, from a country that is ruled by another monarch.

"Without letting them fall into a disgraceful, humiliating state they should be treated with kindness and granted offices which are commensurate with their status. For, the high gates of the sultans must always be open to comers and goers, and the hearts of followers and obeyers must at all times be elated by all sorts of favors and gifts--so that many more might be caused to come, too, to leave the side of the enemy, and in all sincerity to throw their face into the dust of the Sublime Threshold."<sup>27</sup>

This statement probably reflects more than sets the policy of the Ottomans. During the Persian peace embassy in Istanbul, circumcision ceremonies were conducted for Shah 'Abbas' nephew, Haydar Mirza ibn Hamzeh Mirza. Interestingly, it will be remembered that it was quite close to 1589, that Murad III re-established the mevlid ceremonies. At approximately the same time, in April of 1589, Bostanzade-Efendi, the great Ottoman poet, became Şeyhül Islam. Von Hammer relates that under his administration he expanded the celebration of the seven sacred nights: the nights of Muhammad's conception, his birth, his ascension, the sending of the Qur'an, the Big and Small Bayrams. He ordered illuminations on the minarets of the mosques for these occasions. Once again, religious activity and politics converge in the expansion of these celebrations.

The visitors to the Porte did not stop with the Persian peace embassy. Ebu-Nemi, the sherif of Mecca who had sent to Murad begging assistance in the needed repairs

on the Ka<sup>c</sup>ba, paid a visit to Istanbul "to kiss the hand of the protector of the sainted cities of Islam." While friendly relations continued with Italy, England rose in prestige at the Porte in the continuation of commercial treaties instituted by Edward Burton.<sup>28</sup> Russian ambassadors came on trade missions<sup>29</sup> and on 12 rebi<sup>u</sup>levvel 1002/Dec. 6, 1593 the great Uzbek ambassador arrived with an enormous train and in a celebration of "extraordinary magnificence" affianced the "renegat d'Ancone, Paggi" with the daughter of Murad III. Affairs of the divan were suspended and on the mevlid, the birth date of Muhammad, the marriage contract was signed in the old palace. (Sa<sup>c</sup>d ed-Din Efendi signed in the name of Murad III). The dowry for this daughter was said to be three hundred thousand ducats and for three days animals transported it from the ministry of finance under the inspection of forty eunuchs.

On Jan. 5, 1594 Murad III's daughter was escorted to her fiancé's palace. The ambassador of the Uzbeks then offered presents to Murad III. Among them were two Qur'ans, a copy of Nizami and a Shah-nameh.<sup>30</sup> It is interesting that the Siyer-i Nebi was produced in 1594-5 just as the Surname (c. 1584) had followed the 1582 circumcision ceremonies.<sup>31</sup>

Within a year Murad III was dead, but in the outline of his last years, I believe, lies the answer as to why the Siyer-i Nebi was made. The models of religious illustrated manuscripts were present as well as the interest in religious biography. Added to this was an interest in and patronage of

painting throughout the sixteenth century Ottoman empire. The precedent of commissioning manuscripts to commemorate important state events was established. The production of a manuscript of this type and scale merely awaited a sultan whose personality included the interest in artistic patronage, a blend of intellectual mysticism and a passion for ceremony and grandeur. The times were ripe for the manuscript when one considers the aura surrounding the millenium year;<sup>32</sup> the religious overtones of the Persian-Ottoman conflict, the conclusion of the peace treaty and attendant circumcision ceremony; the renewal in attention to the shrines of Islam; the visit of Ebu-Nemi from Mecca; as the arrival of the Sancak-i Şerif and finally, the arrival of the Uzbek embassy and the royal marriage. In the light of these events, Murad III felt a need to surpass even himself and the 1582 circumcision festivals. He first re-instituted the mevlid ceremonies and celebrations. This reinstitution coincided with a need to satisfy the discontent of the populace and the arrival of the Persian embassy and attendant circumcision ceremonies of the nephew of Shah<sup>c</sup> Abbas. The arrival of the Sancak-i Şerif from Mecca, the Uzbek embassy and royal marriage ceremonies coinciding with the mevlid may have been the occasion of further intensification of these popular ceremonies. The logical outcome was the commissioning of the gigantic Siyer-i Nebi.

The manuscript of the Siyer-i Nebi represents a part of Murad III's attempt to succeed in his goal of appearing

as the great ruler of the Islamic millenium. He was aware of the eyes of the Ottoman empire and the Islamic world. The manuscript gives a Sunni interpretation of Islam with a strong Sufi overlay. It befit this ruler and was done in a size and of a grandeur fit for a king--a sultan with an eye to the monumental scale necessitated by the millenium and a dream of greatness. In the end, Murad was not far from the mark. Rather than political feats, it was for Murad's patronage of such works as the Siyer-i Nebi which remained true to his interests and the concerns of his times that Murad can be considered great.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 8

<sup>1</sup>J. Canaday, 1980, 5. He chooses Whistler's Arrangement in Gray and Black, No. 1, Ingres' Madame Leblanc, Renoir's Portrait of Madame Renoir and daVinci's Mona Lisa. These paintings not only act as witnesses of the past but were results of the societies for which they were produced.

<sup>2</sup>S. Vryonis, 1971, 357-9.

<sup>3</sup>S. Vryonis, 1971, 358.

<sup>4</sup>See Süleyman Çelebi. 1954 and MacCallum, 1943, Reprint 1957.

<sup>5</sup>The following information has been drawn from such important sources as E. Fuchs, n.d., 419-422; G. von Grunebaum, 1958; M. Canard, 54-58; P. Shinar, 1977; Salmi, 1956, 345ff; F.W. Hasluck, 1929; I. Goldziher, 1888, 180-99; M. d'Ohsson, 1788, 358-70, and scattered references throughout J. Von Hammer, 1837.

<sup>6</sup>E. Fuchs, n.d., 419-422.

<sup>7</sup>M. D'Ohsson, 1788, II, 358.

<sup>8</sup>M. D'Ohsson, 1788, II, 526 states that Murad III established the Kizlar Ağasi (Chief Black Eunuch) as the director of all wakfs and especially put him in charge of the upkeep of the Ka'ba and the tomb of Muhammad. He was given the title of Haremein us Şerifein Naziri.

<sup>9</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1344.

<sup>10</sup>W. Lillys, ed., 1965, 85.

<sup>11</sup>Professor William Hickman, Berkeley, has been kind enough to try to trace folk literature and plays from this

celebration for me. He notes a real difficulty in dealing with this time is the lack of any written records of what one feels sure must have been done. To date neither of us have succeeded in locating descriptions of the celebrations which might be reflected in this manuscript. One can make an intelligent guess that such was present when one reads the description in von Hammer, 1837, 147ff. of the music, dance varieties, puppets, Jewish comedies and floats which accompanied the circumcision festivities of 1582. Further, von Hammer notes on p.157 that even the Greeks gave a dramatic rendition of St. George's struggle with the dragon and finally that conversions to Islam were encouraged and rewarded among the crowd. E. Lane, 1908 (Reprint 1966), 449-72 gives a very detailed description of the mevlid ceremony in 1824 in Egypt. He describes the dhikrs held by dervishes, the celebrations, poetry recited, lamps in the shape of flowers, lions and calligraphy, tents, reciters of romances, magicians, clowns, sellers of sweetmeats and banners of various dervish sects. M. And, 1978, 53-4 describes briefly "semi-theatrical" constructions, illuminations made of "thousands of lamps rigged on machinery," and three dimensional works which were part of Ottoman celebrations. He specifically mentions the circumcision ceremonies. All of this leads one to suspect there were Islamic depictions of religious stories particularly in connection with mevlid ceremonies.

<sup>12</sup>I.H. Uzunçarşılı, 1954, 457.

<sup>13</sup>I have also examined the possibility of the influence on the paintings of another poem dealing with the life of Muhammad. This is al-Busiri's Bürde (Prophet's Mantle). I felt it could be important since F. Davis, 1970, 146 states that verses from this decorate the Pavillion of the Sacred Mantle in Topkapi Palace redone during the reign of Murad III. An examination of this poem (al-Busiri, 1894) left me with the feeling that the details contained in its descriptions were not different enough from those describing the same events in Darir's manuscript to warrant being suggested as a separate influence.

<sup>14</sup>The concentration on these scenes could also reflect the growing intricacy of celebrations surrounding the seven sacred nights described in this chapter.

<sup>15</sup>Süleyman Çelebi, 1943 (Reprint 1957), 21-22.

<sup>16</sup>Süleyman Çelebi, 1943 (Reprint 1957), 22.



<sup>17</sup>A good synopsis of this is given by W.E.D. Allen, 1963, 55.

<sup>18</sup>Tintoretto, it is asserted, painted the portrait of Safiye, the Venetian wife of Murad. See Mufassal Osmanli Tarihi, 1959, 1382. (Von Hammer, 1837, 285 asserts Safiye's influence was waning in these years however).

<sup>19</sup>See Chapter 4, Note 42.

<sup>20</sup>During the late sixteenth century there was an interest in this type of religious literature. Bursali Mehmed Tahir Efendi, n.d. gives these examples:

- p.40: Abdülkadir Necip Efendi (Eşrefzade), d. 1616. Lived in Bursa. He is most well known for his Arabic work Zübdetü'l - Beyan and his Manzûme-i Mevlid-i Nebî.
- p.44: Abdükerim Efendi. d. 1584. Lived in Edirne. Follower of Ibrahim Gülşerir. Known for his Mevlid-i nebevi manzumesi.
- p.160: Nureddinzade Muslihiddin Mustafa Efendi. d. 1573. Accompanied Süleyman to Szigetvar. Famous for his Risale-i Mirac.
- p.182-3: Seyyid Seyfullah Kasım Efendi. d. 1601. Famous for his Miracu'l Mû'minin, Silsile-i Nebeviyye.
- p.205-6: Şemseddin Sivasî. d. 1597. A Halveti şeyh. Wrote a Mevlid-i Nebî and translated Zile's Kaside-i Bürde.
- p.246: Ahteri Mustafa. d. 1578. 1 volume history from Adam to Muhammad. Vol. III, Istanbul, 1976:
- p.12-19: Ali Efendi. (See Chapter 8). Wrote Künhül Ahbar: history from Adam to Mehmed III. Also Rûku-i evvel: from Adam to Muhammad. Rûku-u sani: from beginning of Islam to Abbasids.
- p.37-8: Celalzade Koca Nisanci Mustafa Beg. Terceme-i Meâricü'n-Nübüvve Fî Meâricü'l-Fütüvve (history of the prophets to Muhammad).
- 58-9: Gubarî "Abdurrahman ibn-i Abdurrahman". d. 1566. A mücavir in Mecca. Teacher of Orhon, Bayezid II's son. Served with Süleyman in Irak. Died in Mecca. Wrote a Misahatnâme concerning the dimensions of the Ka'ba and the Harem-i Şerif, a Kabe-name and a Yusuf ü Zelika.

<sup>21</sup>von Hammer, 1837, 244.

<sup>22</sup>von Hammer, 1837, 258-9.

<sup>23</sup>M. d'Ohsson, 1788, 245-6.

<sup>24</sup>M. d'Ohsson, 1788, 385.

<sup>25</sup>von Hammer, 1837, 224.

Germes of this reapprochement between the two religions can be suggested from the Persian side also. This happened as early as the death of Shah Tahmasp (May, 1576). Princess Pari-khan, his daughter is said to have enjoyed "unlimited influence" during the reign of Isma'il II until her murder on 3 Dhul-Hijja 985/11 February, 1578. V. Minorsky, 1959, 15 notes "a scheme of rapprochement with Sunnism is ascribed to her, jointly with Isma'il II."

<sup>26</sup>von Hammer, 1837, 223.

<sup>27</sup>Mustafa 'Ali, 1979, 62.

<sup>28</sup>von Hammer, 1832, 251.

<sup>29</sup>von Hammer, 1837, 255.

<sup>30</sup>von Hammer, 1837, 280. I. Stchoukine, 1966, 32 suggests that this Shah-nameh is actually Topkapi Palace, H. 1488 which was illustrated at Bukhara.

<sup>31</sup>Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1344.

<sup>32</sup>G. Kubler, 1962, 3, footnote 1 has quoted a review of G.E. Hutchinson, the Biologist. He quotes him as saying that "The great man, born to the period where  $dN/dt$  is maximal (where N is the degree of pattern saturation) can do much. His precursors have provided the initial technical inspiration; much still remains to be done. If he were born to the tradition later he would, with the same native ability, appear less remarkable, for there is less to do. Earlier the work would have been harder; he would perhaps be highly esteemed by a small body of highly educated critics, but would never attain the same popular following as if he had worked at the time of maximum growth of the tradition. The rising and falling that we see in retrospect is thus to be regarded as a movement to and from a maximum in a derived curve. The integral curve giving the total amount of material produced seems to depend little on individual achievement, being additive, and therefore is less easily appreciated. We are less likely to think of 1616 as the date by which most Elizabethan drama has been written than as the date of

Shakespeare's death." The quote is an interesting one to consider in the context of this manuscript and the particular point in the development of miniature painting and the chronological time in which it was done.



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FIGURE 1

ADAM AND HIS SON SETH'S OATH TO GOD WRITTEN ON  
PAPER AND SEALED BY GABRIEL BEFORE 70,000 ANGELS

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1221, fol. 27a  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
28½x22cm.

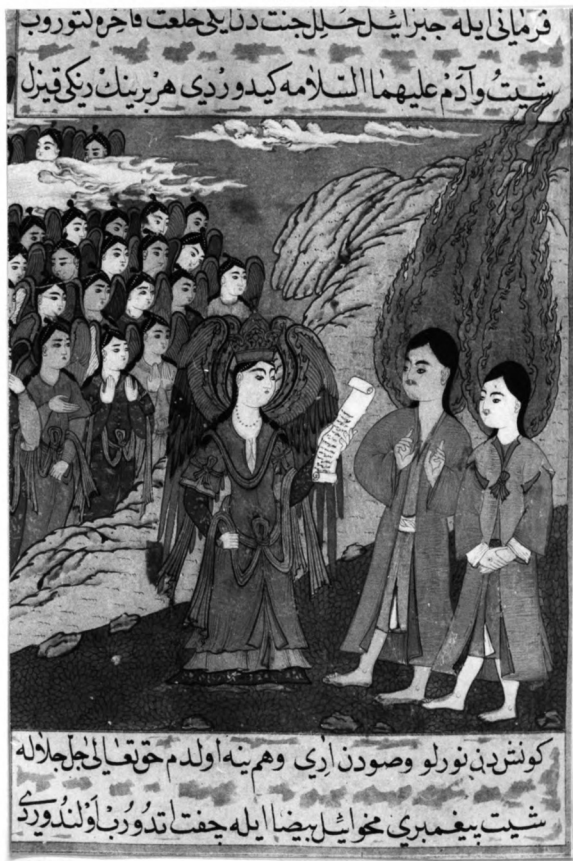




FIGURE 2

GABRIEL TELLS MUHAMMAD THAT <sup>c</sup>ALI IS  
COMING WITH BOOTY

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 22b  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21x18cm.



علي بن حنيفة واروب اول قلمي الي الدوعني وعزرا ايلد وكني ونه  
 قدر ماله الدوعني بزبر رسول عليه السلام حضرتنه شرح ايلي



اندر رسول عليه السلام حضرت بوني جبرائيلدن اشيد حاك

FIGURE 3  
PORTRAIT OF THE WRITER, PAINTER AND CALLIGRAPHER  
Eğri Fetihnamesi  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1609, fol. 74a.  
1590-1600 A.D.



FIGURE 4

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS WITH HIS WIFE AYŞE

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223 fol. 136b  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21x17cm.

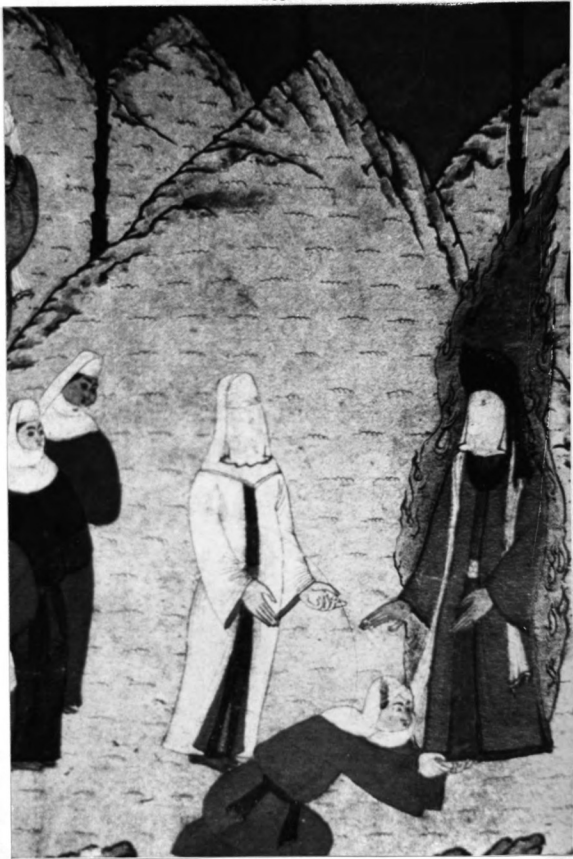


FIGURE 5

THE KAHIN UNDERSTANDS THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR'S DREAM

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1221, fol. 86b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21x18cm.

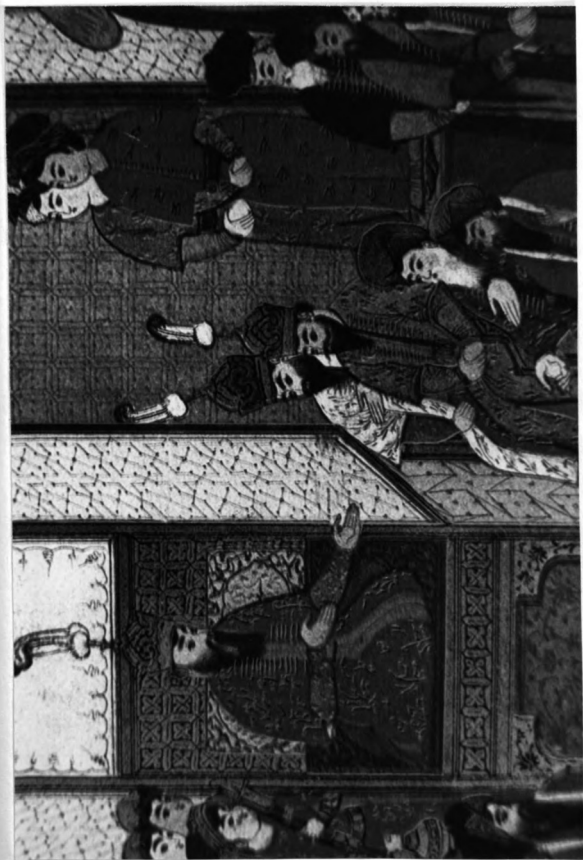


FIGURE 6

GABRIEL, MICHAEL AND AZRAIL HELP MUHAMMAD IN BATTLE

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 176a  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
29½x21cm.





FIGURE 7

KAYDAR HUNTING

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1221, fol. 36b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
18½cm.x15cm.



FIGURE 8

'ABBAS ASKS ABU LAHAM TO PAY HIS DEBTS  
TO THE PROPHET

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York Public Library Spencer Collection 157, fol. 98b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. written surface

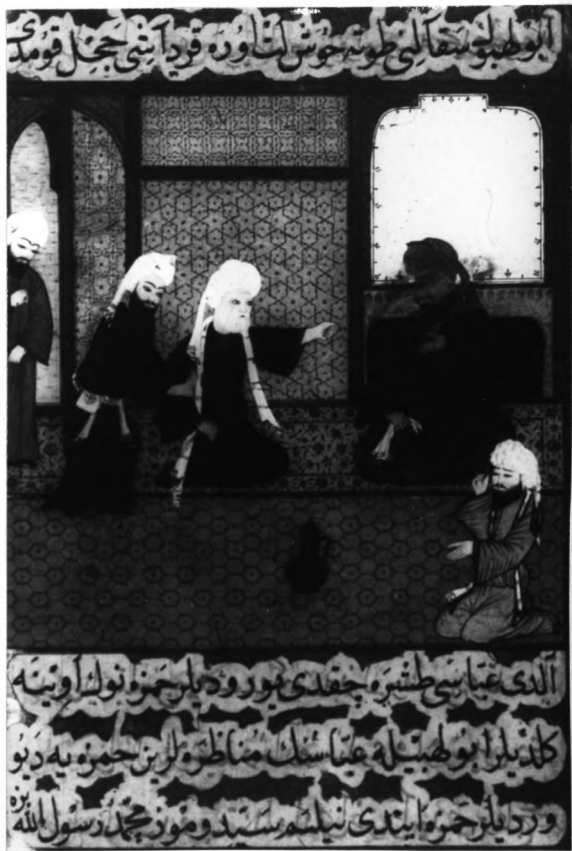


FIGURE 9

ABU BAKR DISCUSSES MUHAMMAD'S PLANS FOR  
MARRIAGE WITH THE PROPHET'S COUSINS

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York Public Library Spencer Collection 157, fol. 107a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)

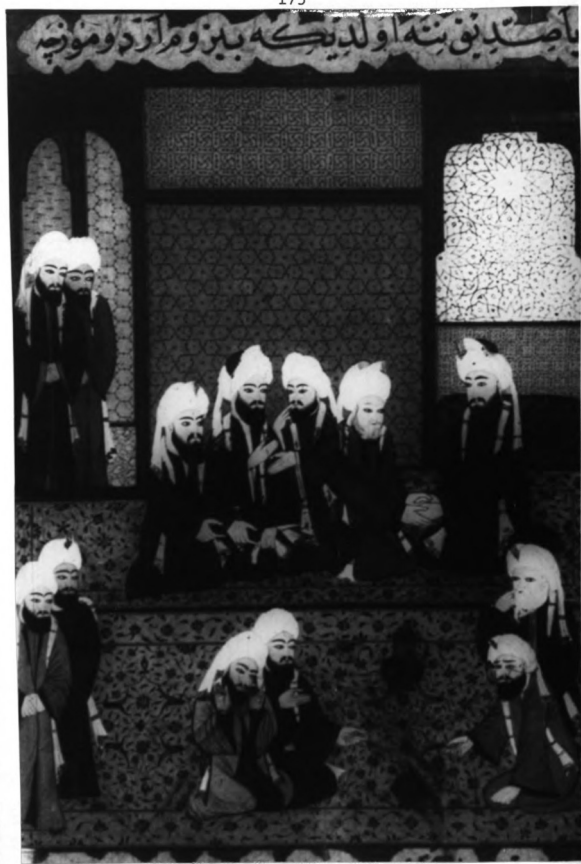


FIGURE 10

ADAM AND EVE

Fâlnâme  
Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1703, p.7 of codex  
1604-17 A.D.  
Approx. 50x40 cm.





FIGURE 11

THE ANGEL OF DEATH

Keir Collection No. 19  
Early 17th century?  
18.5x11cm.



FIGURE 12

THE ANGEL ISRAFIL

Keir Collection No. 18  
Early 17th century?  
18.5x11cm.

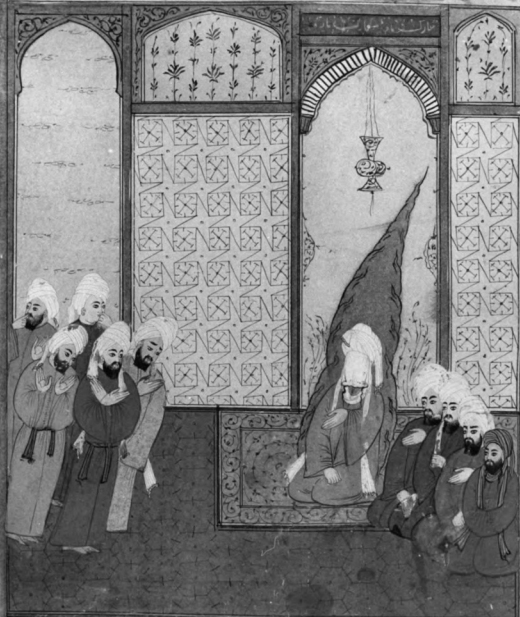


FIGURE 13

MUHAMMAD WARNS MECCANS OF ATTACK  
OF HAVAZIN-I SAKIF

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 317b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21x15cm.

ای مسلمانان را بگو زاید و کم دردی انشاء الله تعالی



یازنین کذا الومردی چون اول قوم رسول حضرت سول  
امری داشت بدینسه وارد را اول کون یا قلیزق بدین چون

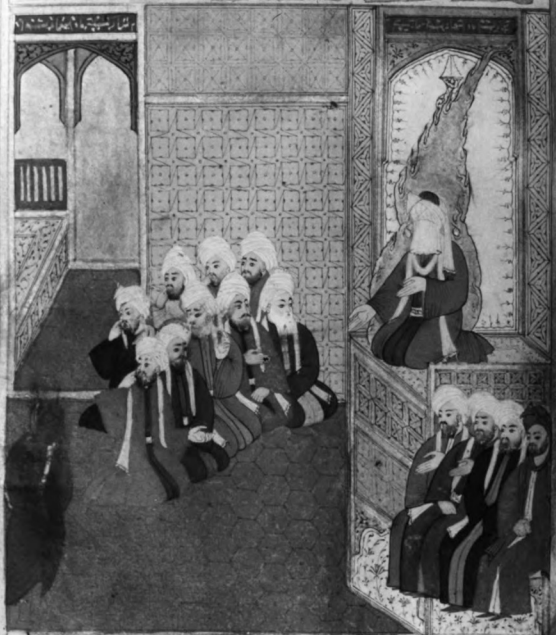
FIGURE 14

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS WITH SATAN

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 131b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20x17cm.



کور بچک یولق عجبہ سلدی اندن شیطان ایستدی  
یا محمدن علیه السلام اول عالم کد بی حضرتدن سر و ب



بنی ملعون اذین له یرہ برقد و قلری وقت خشم اید و بن بوضو  
کد کد ز نه دایم ددی و دخت طاز ایستدی یا محمد

FIGURE 15

MUHAMMAD AND HIS FOLLOWERS GO TO MECCA

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 297b  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21x17½cm.

اندن رسول حضرت بشلدي انا فحنا سور هيس و فودي  
چون بونلر شهر ايرشد لر نقد رستي لشكري و اريس



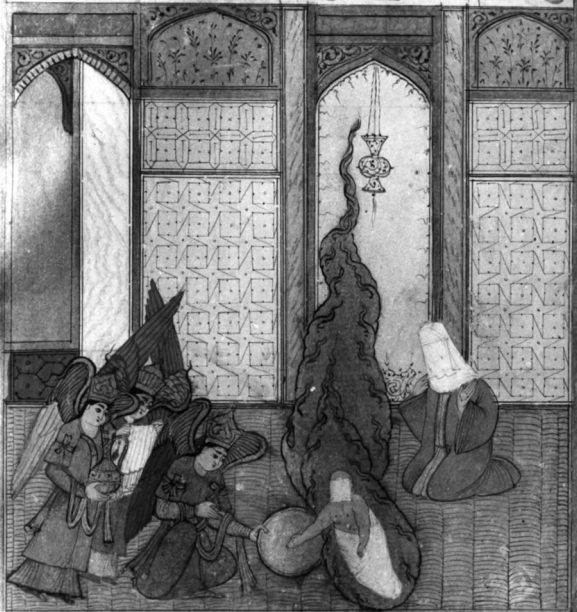
اتدن اشغاليند لر اما هممان رسول حضرت عليه السلام  
يلو كوزات اوز رندن قالدي اندن امير المؤمنين عا كرم

FIGURE 16

THREE ANGELS BRING A CHRYSOLITE BOWL,  
SILVER PITCHER AND TOWEL TO MUHAMMAD

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1221, fol. 223b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20x17cm.

دیم اول الصوند و غل یو مشرقیدر مغربیدر شایمیدر دم  
قیغی اقلیم درانی سکا بلدورم دردی امینه خاتون ایدر اوغلی



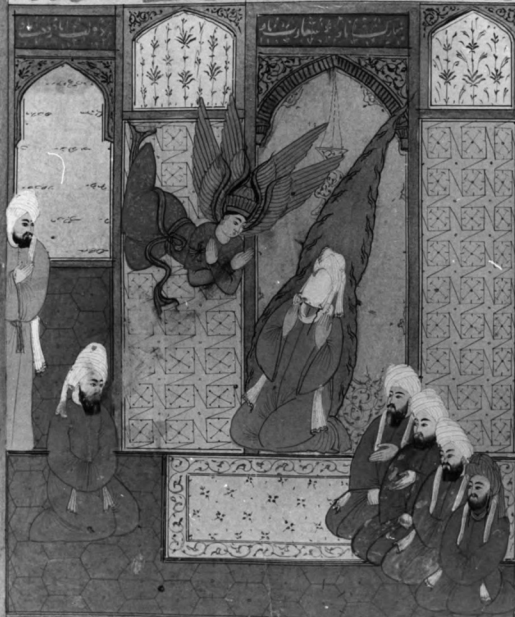
کوردم کیم اول لکنک اور تاسنه ال صونیدی بر حیران قلدم  
که به شمدی طوغان اوغلان سوزنجه فیه ایلادی اولو کیشی

FIGURE 17

GABRIEL APPEARS TO TELL MUHAMMAD  
THAT THE MECCANS ARE ARMING

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Saray Museum H. 1223, fol. 376a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21½x17½cm.

سَبْرًا يَسِيرِينَ يَوْمَ تَأْتِي السَّمَاءُ بِدُخَانٍ مُبِينٍ  
الْأَسَدُ حَقَّقَ سَكَاةً أَوْ أَيْدَرَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ أَوْ لَسَمَ الْأَنْفَ يُرَدُّ



أَيْلَدِي أَزِيدُكَ دُورِ دِي عَزَّتُومُ جَاوُو مُحَقِّقُونَ بِنْدَاخِي  
اگَا اوجماتو انچند بَر عَالِي مَقَام وِر دُورِ دِي اَنْدُ زَجَرِ اَنِل

FIGURE 18

GABRIEL VISITS MUHAMMAD  
(HATICE IS PRESENT)

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1222, fol. 167a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20x17½cm.



دوم ایتدم کم یا جیبی یا فخر ما الخبر نه حکایت دور دیدوم دیو  
 رسول علیه السلام ایتدی یا خدیجه هذا ای جبرائیل اوش قند  
 جبرائیل کلوب دور ددی اندن خدیجه خاتون تیز رندز دور

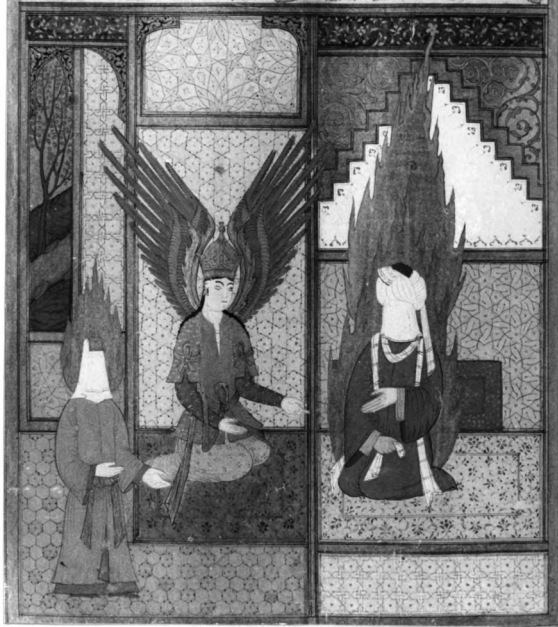


FIGURE 19

'ALI PERFORMS THE RITUAL PRAYER WITH  
MUHAMMAD AND HATICE

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1222, fol. 283b  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20x17½cm.

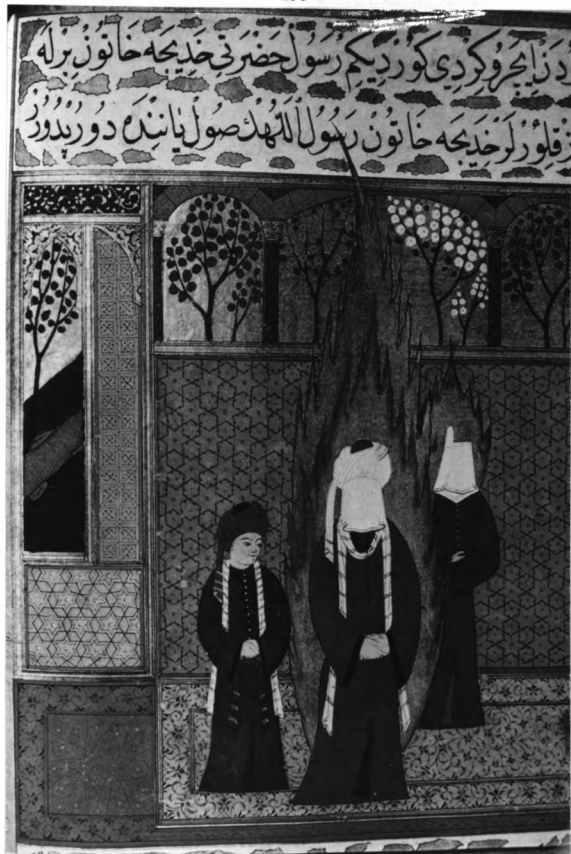


FIGURE 20

THE QURAYSH CHIEFS QUESTION MUHAMMAD ABOUT HIS  
NIGHT JOURNEY

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York Public Library Spencer Collection 157, fol. 57a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)

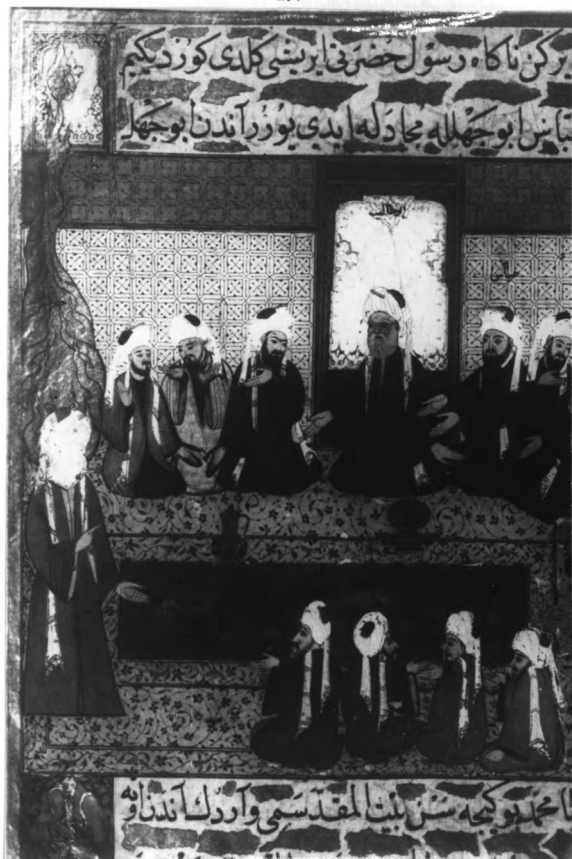


FIGURE 21

HAMZA THREATENS PUNISHMENT FOR ANY QURAYSH WHO HARMS  
MUHAMMAD AFTER ABU TABIB'S DEATH

New York Public Library Spencer Collection 157, fol. 75a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm.

اولدیر بریت سوزغور اولدنه کایک چنیم حمزه و لچ الینه  
 الوب خشملاه قاقوب فریشک قصدینه یوردیچک اهو طب  
 ایلر وکلری حمزه قرشود ووردی الندی نا اخی سنیم کچی



قوداشو اولو قوداش ایا یر قدام اولور بکاسرمت ایلده سو  
 دوت بن ودا بن فریشی فراغت ایدورین دخی یوقینه اید

FIGURE 22

BANQUET

Nusratnâma of Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî  
Topkapî Palace Museum, H. 1365, fol. 34b.  
A.H. 992/1584 A.D.  
34x21.5cm.





FIGURE 23

DETAIL OF IMAM-I AZAM, ONE OF THE  
FOUR FOUNDERS OF ISLAMIC SECTS

Zubdat-al Tawarikh by Loqman  
Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art 1973, fol. 51a.  
A.H. 991/1583 A.D.

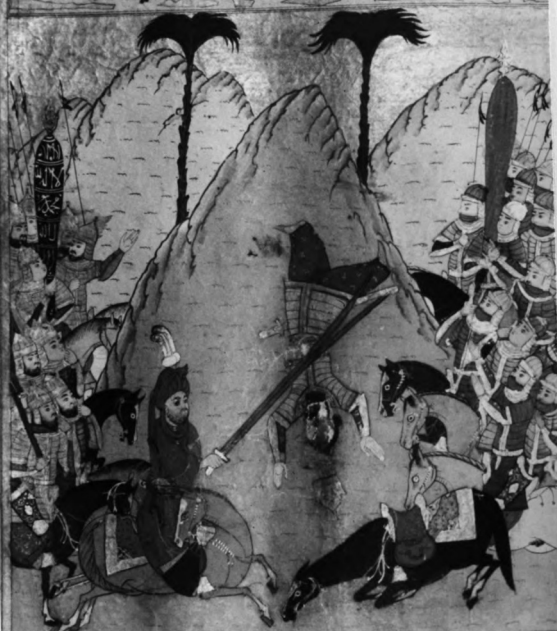


FIGURE 24

'ALI KILLS KING MISKAL

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 103a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20-3/4x18cm.

لمؤمنين علي رضي الله عنه افي المدن يوقاروه وهايه ان تدي  
انزكن افي ذوالفقاريله ازقوري برکز انوك كي چالديكم



شول تازە خياردكي ايكي پازە ايلدي جان جهنمه اصمردلي

FIGURE 25

JEWS TRY UNSUCCESSFULLY TO DESTROY THE VESSEL  
INSCRIBED "MUHAMMAD RESULALLAH"

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York Public Library, Spencer Collection,  
157, fol. 220a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)

کسانی اندیلر ووردیلر کهینه کناره کلمش بو کز بلدیله  
که اول برآیه سماوی و معجزه مصطفوی دور



دخی اولمکتوبک ایچنده بو یازیلمشیدیکه یا اهل  
بذر نوا اقا قاتین ازم دیا اءا کرم اءا کرم

FIGURE 26

THE JEWISH LEADER ORDERS A LETTER WRITTEN TO MUHAMMAD

Siyer-i Nebi of Darir  
New York Public Library, Spencer Collection,  
157, fol. 222a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)



طالع‌مور هم یاری قلم‌نیزو

اوشه رو زنتک قور و سوزنه او

الوموزدن نسنه کلمه هیچ ییزو

نه قدر کیم دوریشور دزدوشه



قصدا نوک مغربه مشرقه

ایلد

بن کیم جمع بنم تفریقہ دو

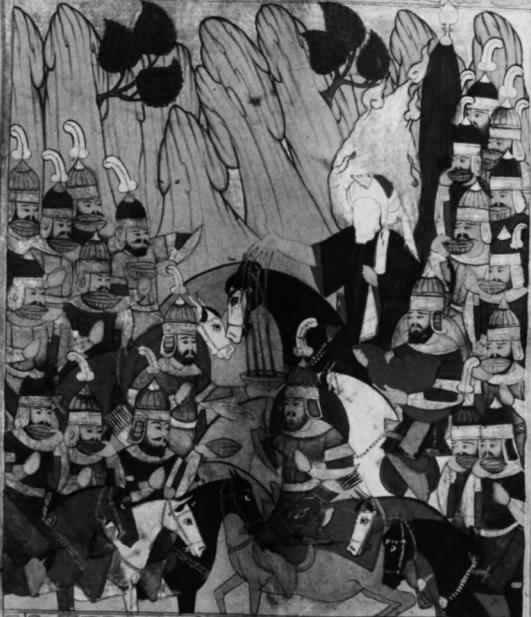
ایلد

FIGURE 27

MIRACLE OF WATER

Siyer-i Nebi of Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1223, fol. 336a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20½x17cm.

عليك اوستا صيحي به سيدنا محمد و ايريه حوس  
اولدي چونكه صحابله يوم مجزاي كورد لرسته تكبير



كورد لر دخی ایتدله الضامع والک لام علیک یا رسول الله  
دیو چاغرد لر دخی رسول حضرت علیه السلام اول انزلت

FIGURE 28

GABRIEL ENCOURAGES MUHAMMAD

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1223, fol. 330a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
21x17cm.

سنوگله دینلوم د دی اندن سول حضرت علی علیه السلام  
شاز اولدی سوندی هماندم موز زره کیدی اول چقال



فاضل اکنته الیدی و عمامه صارندی و اول غضب اولو  
قله الشیطان الیدی و عمامه صارندی و اول غضب اولو

FIGURE 29

SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM

Zubdet-al Tawarikh by Loqman  
Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul,  
1973, fol. 26b  
A.H. 991/1583 A.D.  
65x42 cm.

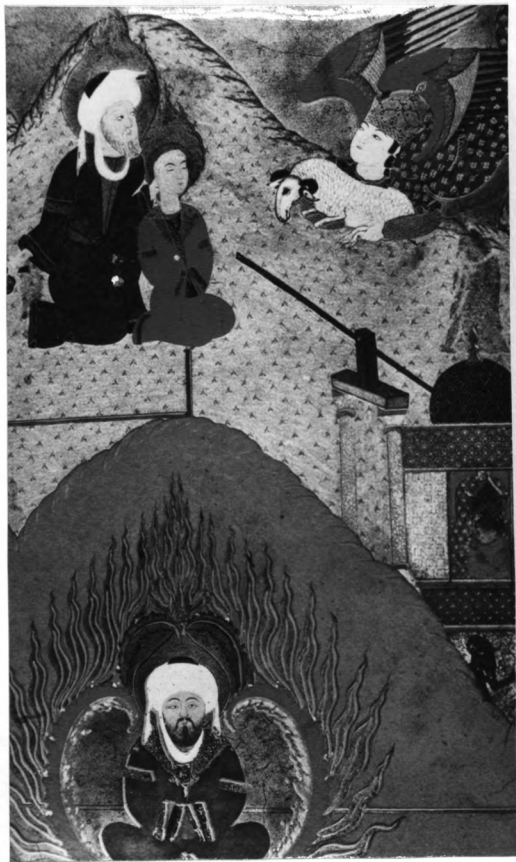


FIGURE 30

'ABBAS ATTACKS ABU JAHL AT THE KA'BA  
Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Turkish 419, fol. 199b.  
29x17cm. (written surface)



يَا بَارَقْنَا وَلَا بُونَا كِي خِيَسَن كِي شِي مَرِيَسَلَرِي  
 الْوَب سَوِيَلَك رَوَا سِيَدَر دِي بُولَان بُو غَلْبَه دَه



بَنِي هَاشِمَه خَبَرِ اَوْلَدِي دِي دَوَرَن يَكَا دَن بَنِي هَاشِمِ بَنِي

FIGURE 31

WOMEN CRY FOR HAMZEH

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Turkish 419, fol. 392  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
29x17cm. (written surface)

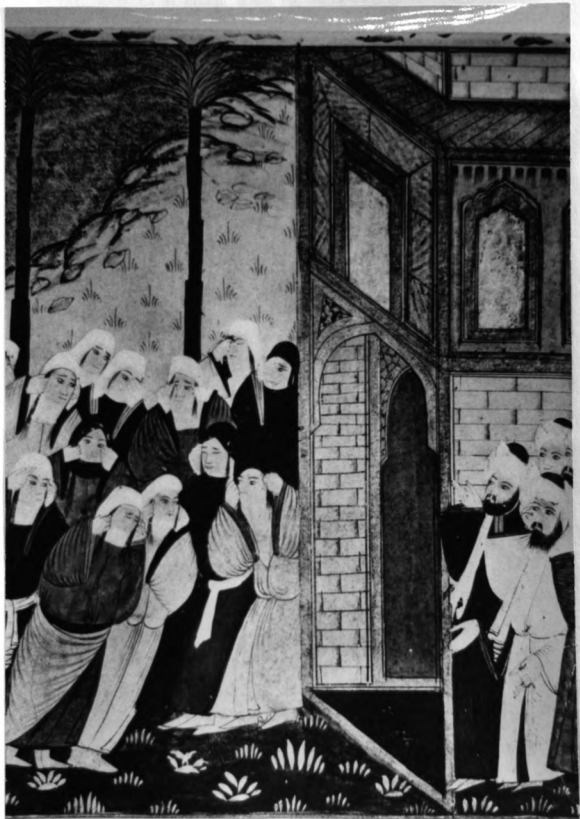


FIGURE 32

HIND INCITES THE QURAYSH WOMEN

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Turkish 419, fol. 384  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
29x17cm. (written surface)

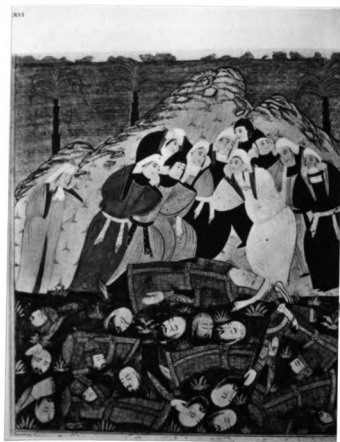


FIGURE 33

MUHAMMAD AND GABRIEL DISCUSS THE CONCEPTS OF THE  
TRINITY AND THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION WITH CHRISTIAN MONKS

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York City Public Library, Spencer Collection 157, fol. 457b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)



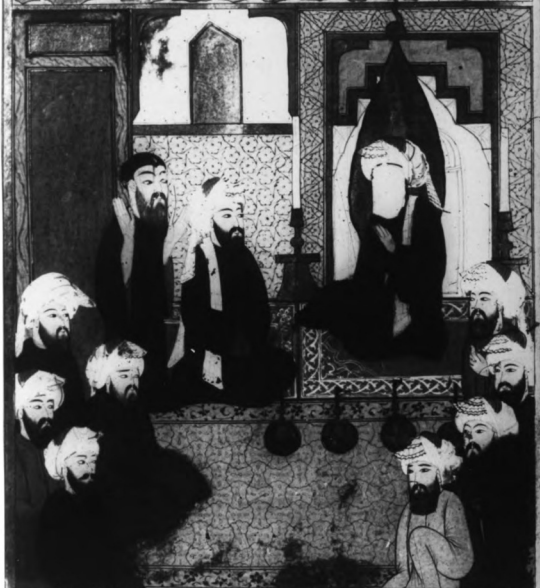
FIGURE 34

A CHRISTIAN MONK AND MUHAMMAD DISCUSS ISLAM

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York City Public Library, Spencer Collection 157,  
fol. 464a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)



حق دورد رسته غریب لقاه خور و ذلیل  
 اولوب چان ورسون چون ابو عامر آهت



گوردیکه رسول حضرتی نولک مبارک سوزی  
 قه قنات ایلمه یکه ایلمه کای

FIGURE 35

MUHAMMAD APPOINTS 'OMAR HIS SUCCESSOR

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York City Public Library, Spencer Collection 157,  
fol. 457b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm.

پس رسول حصری خود توره دو پا استند و  
 ابو عبیده و جراح ایمنش چون آنی کوردی ایلرو



وقدی فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و  
 وسلم يا ايها الناس اني قد جاهدتكم في

FIGURE 36

GABRIEL ESCORTS MUHAMMAD TO JERUSALEM

Mirâj Nameh by Mîr Haydar  
Bibliothèque Nationale Manuscrit Supplement Turc. 190, fol. 52  
A.H. 840/1436 A.D.  
34.3x25.4cm. (written surface)



FIGURE 37

MUHAMMED ENTERS THE SACRED MOSQUE OF JERUSALEM

Mirāj Nameh by Mîr Haydar  
Bibliothèque Nationale Manuscrit Supplement Turc 190, fol. 5b  
A.H. 840/1436 A.D.  
34.3x25.4cm. (written surface)

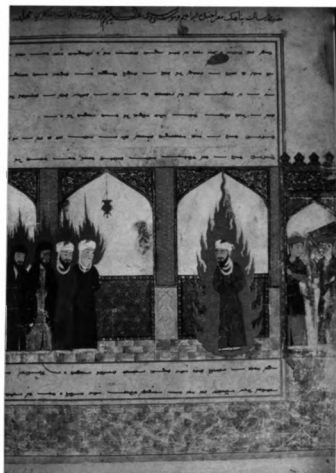


FIGURE 38

'ALI SLAYS THE DRAGON

Khawar-nameh

Topkapi Palace Museum H. 677, fol. 99a.  
Second half of 15th century



دور و دور باد و آن دان بر زبان سین عاصیه اوزت چو کله کام پیشی قله درون مشه نه دار در ملک قویون عیش و رقص چندی لشکر او رستند بر کس که در دیر برداشش ریش او را بپای چنگ ایچن چنگ لای ریشش بچنگ دیر دیر چنگ از آن آتش در آتش بر چنگ کله بر آتش چنگ تا کیم ایچن تیسر باران آید بر سر چو کله دشمن کوره او قتل گاه ایرانشه ایران او را تیسر بار ذوالفقار ایچن چاقو رب الزهراء چاد و لار کله بر پیشه و کلاه ایچن	آتشکده ایوب سوار تو کله مشه کو که تچه کوره کوره اول تیسر کام آفرین ایچن یاکش بر کله شجره کیم با شغدن ایچن شش لای جان برده زده ایر کوره ایچن کله کار درست یازین آتش در او چاقو با کله شش بر کله راه کله کیم آتشکده ایران شش بر سر قاصد یوق کله بر آتش دمسک کو کیم جن ایرانشه ان آید بر سر او کله از کوره قاهره او قتل گاه ایچن او را دره حلال ایچن کله نفسه او رب انکوره ملکه نام ضلع او بر دیر ایچن بر تو ایچن	تیسر کله کله کوره کله بر بره تیسر کله کله دله کله کله کله دله کله کله کله چو کله کله کله چاد و لار کله کله چغیش او را شش کله کله کله کله کله قاصد یوق کله کله دله کله کله کله چو کله کله کله قاصد یوق کله کله چو کله کله کله کله کله کله کله	آن و دور کله کله کله سین کله کله کله ایچن کله کله کله او کله کله کله کوره کله کله کله او کله کله کله ایچن کله کله او کله کله کله چاد و لار کله کله چغیش او را شش کله کله کله کله کله قاصد یوق کله کله دله کله کله کله چو کله کله کله قاصد یوق کله کله چو کله کله کله کله کله کله کله
--	---	---	--



آفرین آفرین که دونه کله کله ذوالفقار دایره شش کله کله	اول ساچن کله کله چو کله کله کله	تیسر کله کله کله دله کله کله	کله کله کله کله دله کله کله
--	------------------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------------

FIGURE 39

MUHAMMAD, HIS FACE VEILED, EXHORTS HIS ARMY  
IN ROCKY DEFILE

Hadikat al-Su'ada of Fazuli  
Binney Collection  
ca. 1600 A.D.  
16.5x12.4cm.



FIGURE 40a

THE CATAPULTING OF ABRAHAM INTO THE FIRE

Kisas al-Enbiya?  
Binney Collection  
ca. 1600 A.D.  
13.5x11.3cm.



FIGURE 40b

THE ARABS SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO CALIPH ALI AFTER  
THE DEATH OF OTHMAN

Maket-i Ali Resul by Lami'l Çelebi  
Binney Collection  
Late 16th Century  
19.7x15.2cm.



FIGURE 41

MEETING OF JALAL AL-DIN RUMI AND  
MOLLA SHAMS AL-DIN

Jâmi Al-Siyar by Mohammad Tahir Suhravardî  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1230, fol. 121a.  
End of 16th - beginning of 17th century  
22.8x17.5cm.





FIGURE 42

'ADDAS, SERVANT OF 'UTBAH AND SHAYBAH, RECOGNIZES THE  
PROPHET AND KISSES HIS FEET

Siyer-i Nebi of Darir  
New York City Public Library, Spencer Collection 157, fol. 90b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)

دوشدی دیر پس عداس وندی حواجر نه کلای اندیل



یاعداس شول بیلد و کور مد و کول کشینک باغنه یخن

دوشرد وک الدین او یزد وک ددیر عداس ایدی یامولای

اول کاش... اول کاش... اول کاش... اول کاش... اول کاش...

FIGURE 43

THE PROPHET IN PARADISE

Keir Collection No.16  
Early 17th Century  
20x10.5cm.

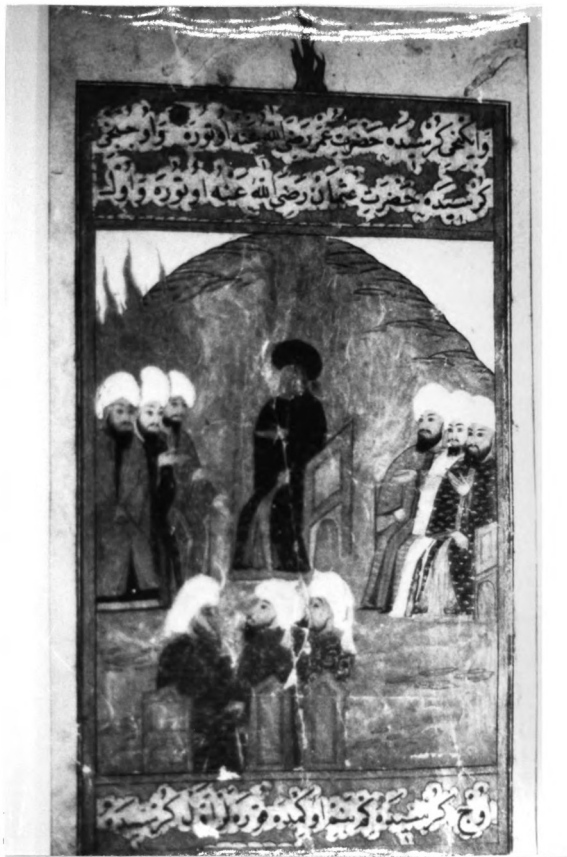


FIGURE 44  
THE PROPHET AND HIS COMPANIONS  
KEIR COLLECTION NO.15  
Early 17th Century  
20x11 cm.



FIGURE 45  
ANGELS AT PRAYER  
Keir Collection No.14  
20x11 cm.



شَفَاعَتِ اسْتَكِلْ يَا مُحَمَّدٍ لِرَبِّهِ وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِحَقِيقَةِ الْأَمْرِ



بِکَرَنِ دُورِ دِخِشِ بَابِ کَرَنِي صِفَتِن بِيَانِ يَدَر

FIGURE 46

MUHAMMAD, MOSES AND GABRIEL

Siyer-i Nebi of Darir?  
Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, J. 26/76  
31x20.5cm.

مملوءة في اليوم والليله وصيام ثلث شهر في كل سنة فقام  
 الى موسى ان امك ضعيف لا يطيقون ذلك فارجع الى بلدك  
 انت وجبريل واسئله التخفيف لأمك قال النبي عليه السلام



فجعت الى بني غز وجل فقلت يا سيدي ومولاي ان امي لا يطيق

FIGURE 47

MI<sup>C</sup>RAJ

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
New York Public Library Spencer Collection,  
No.157, fol. 5a  
Approx. 20x17cm. (written surface)



FIGURE 48

ALI, HASAN AND HUSAYN VISITED BY  
GABRIEL AND A DELEGATION OF HOLY MEN

Binney Collection  
ca. 1590  
16.8x22.5cm.

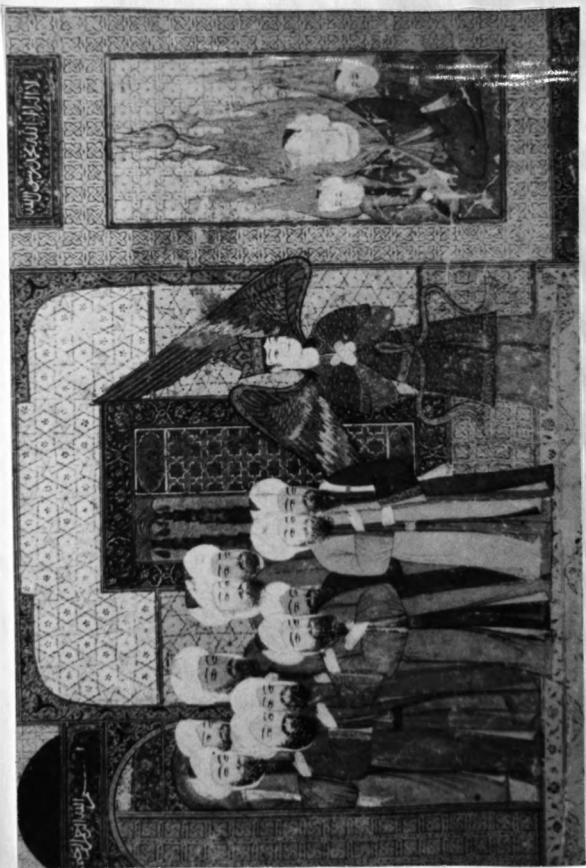


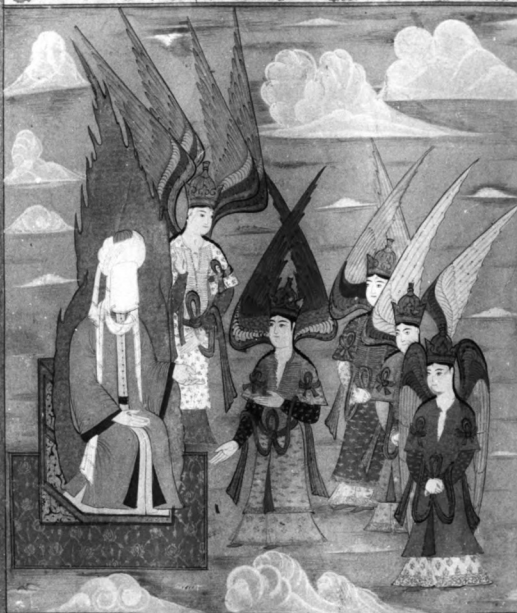
FIGURE 49

ANGELS RECEIVED BY MUHAMMAD AFTER HIS ASCENSION

Siyer-i Nebi of Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1222, fol. 383a  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20x17.3cm.



عاد قوم من هلاك قلدوم سنك دشمنارو کی دخی شویله هلاک  
 قلا یئم ددی اندن رسول علیه السلام اول برسنی دخی ایلمو



اوقدی ایتمدی سنیه مؤکل سن ددی اول فرشته دخی ایتمک

FIGURE 50

ANGELS SPREAD A SILKEN MATTRESS AND  
CIRCUMNAVIGATE THE KA'BA ON THE  
NIGHT OF MUHAMMAD'S BIRTH

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1221, fol. 214a.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
29x21cm.

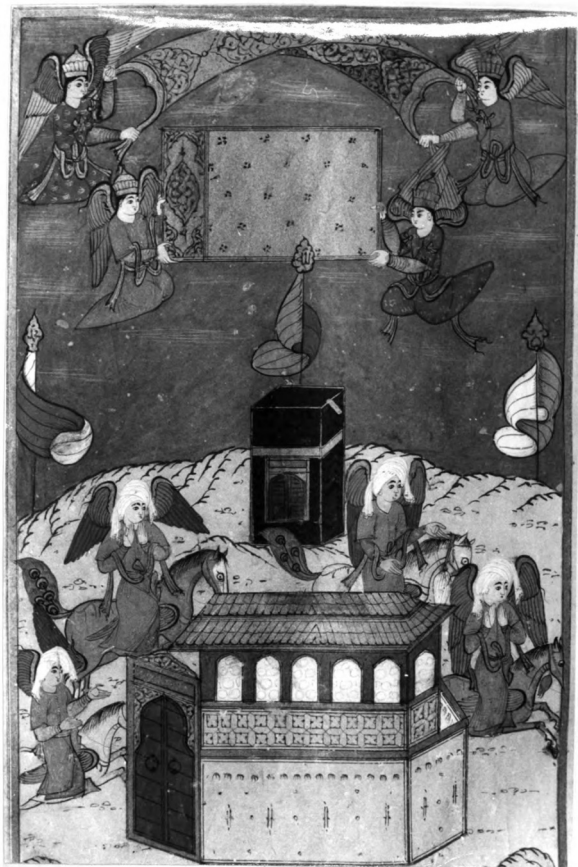
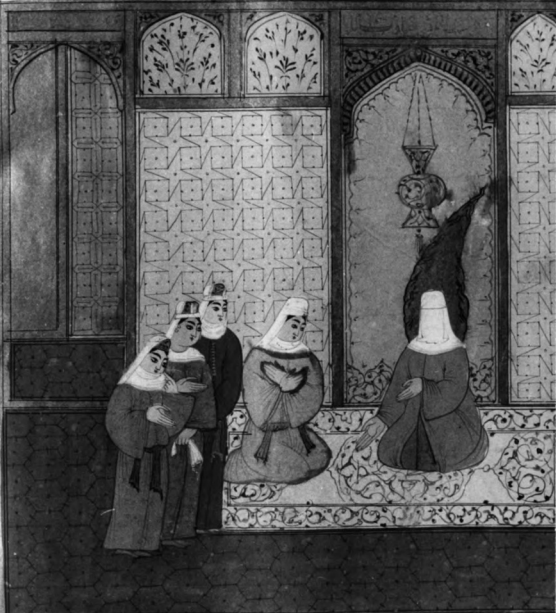


FIGURE 51

ANGELS DRESSED AS WOMEN APPEAR TO  
AMINE BEFORE MUHAMMAD'S BIRTH

Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1221, fol. 215b.  
A.H. 1003/1594-5 A.D.  
20x17½cm.

اند در حسین اشارت ایله و شیرین عبارت ایله ایتیخی  
 لك يا امينه يعنى نه بختلوسين اى امينه خاتون كه آخرت



خاتونلرنك اچند برىكانه اولدوك اول سبندن كه سرور  
 ...

FIGURE 52

ANGELS SPRINKLE HOLY WATER ON AMINE  
AT THE MOMENT OF MUHAMMAD'S BIRTH

Siyer-i Nebi by Darir  
Topkapi Palace Museum, H. 1221, fol. 216b.  
20½x17½cm.

زیدرا یله میرتن و لوب کلوب مینه خاتونک و زر نه جنت  
صاحب لرنند صاحب لر صاحب دیر و نور یله قرا کولق کجه یی



منور قلیدیلر اندن صکره کلوب مینه خاتونک یاننده جمع  
ایماندا ایماندا ایماندا ایماندا ایماندا ایماندا ایماندا ایماندا

## APPENDICES



#### KEY TO APPENDIX A

1. Number on far left: Chapter number from critical edition of Siyer-i Nebi of Darir, as printed in modern Turkish.
2. Underlining of titles indicates main section headings of which subsequent titles form a part.
3. Roman numerals indicate Vols. I, II, or III of the modern critical edition of Darir's Siyer-i Nebi.
4. Page numbers of stories which correspond with miniatures are listed following these Roman numerals (these may be correlated with Appendix B which indicates identification of miniatures, the 1594-5 Siyer-i Nebi folio numbers and correlated these numbers with page numbers in the modern edition.)

## APPENDIX A

1. Forward
2. The miracle book
3. Our prophet's life
4. Muhammad's first helper: Ebubekir
5. Ömer
6. Osman
7. Ali
8. Hamza and Abbas
9. Why translate the Siyer-i Nebi into Turkish?
10. Muhammad and the light of prophethood
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181. Conversation between Meysere and Hatice.
182. Ebu Cehil meets Muhammad at the Ka'ba and asks him where he got his work, his golden Yemeni shirt and turban. I, p. 482
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185. Muhammad goes to Mt. Hira.
186. Muhammad faces a dragon.

187. Muhammad tells the caravan that the dragon  
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189. "You, my beloved (Quraysh) will be a  
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192. Ebu Cehil flees.
193. A new miracle.
194. Muhammad flees.
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212. Muhammad reveals the seal of the prophets on his shoulder blade.
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214. The hero, Hamza, comes to Muhammad's aid. I, p. 533-4
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216. Hatice is surrounded by light and sees a ruby red tent descend over Muhammad. Held by angels he is transported from the menzil to Hatice.
217. Hatice meets Muhammad who is dressed in red celestial robes and surrounded by angels.
218. Hatice gives Muhammad refreshment and then he returns to the caravan.
219. The caravan returns to Mecca.
220. The caravan returns and Meysere brings news

of Muhammad to Hatice.

221. Meysere is sent to invite Muhammad to visit Hatice.
222. Muhammad performs a miracle on the way to Hatice's house.
223. Hatice tells Muhammad she wants to marry him.
224. Hatice tells her father and uncle Varaka that she wants to marry Muhammad: Varaka tells of his vision of prophethood.
225. Muhammad speaks with Ebu Talib.
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228. Varaka tells Hatice's father that whether he wants or not, Hatice and Muhammad will marry.
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232. Ebu Bekir's gifts.
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300. Muhammad speaks to a gathering.
301. Gabriel reveals Suras 94-99 to Muhammad:  
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302. Ebu Talib asks for peace among the Quraysh.
303. Muhammad tries to convert Hashim.
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307. Muhammad tells the Quraysh that all polytheists are condemned. I, p. 680
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309. Muhammad wants Safa and Merve to destroy the idols at the Ka'ba. I, p. 683

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311. Muhammad weeps.
312. Muhammad begs Ebu Talib to convert.
313. Ebu Cehil urges the Quraysh to kill  
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314. Ebu Talib gathers the tribe of Haşim.
315. Ebu Talib tells the tribe of Haşim  
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316. The sons of Abdülmuttalib vow to help  
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317. Ebu Lehab speaks against Muhammad.
318. The tribes of Haşim and Abdülmuttalib  
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319. Velid voices anxiety and urges peace:  
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320. Ebu Talib hears the news of the request  
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321. Hamza prepares his sword to fight.
322. Nevfel oğlu Adi'y Mut'im arrives as a  
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323. Muhammad begs the Quraysh to unite as  
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324. Utbe speaks with Muhammad.
325. Muhammad recites the Hâmim sura.
326. Ebu Cehil urges the Meccans to reject  
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327. More Meccans accept Islam.
328. Ebi Ihab oğlu Salt debates Muhammad.
329. The people want a miracle.
330. Muhammad says he is only a man and prophet.
331. He says God is too powerful: He will  
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332. Velid asks that Muhammad put up steps  
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333. Muhammad weeps for them.
334. Ebu Cehil creates more trouble.
335. Ebu Cehil gathers Quraysh to plot  
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336. The Quraysh prepares to stone Muhammad:  
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337. Ebu Cehil's arms fall to his sides as  
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338. Hâris Oğlu Nadr speaks. He has read many  
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339. The Quraysh increase their oppression.
340. The story of the oppression of Yasir Oğlu  
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341. Ebu Cehil prays for the idols at the Ka'ba  
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342. A Jini named Fehri oğlu Abdullah appears  
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343. The Quraysh attack Muhammad: Ukbe  
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immediately becomes leperous.
344. Ebu Bakir revenges himself on the  
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345. Ebu Talib speaks of the heroes of Mecca.
346. Muhammad gathers the Haşim tribe: he  
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347. Ebu Talib will not convert.
348. Ebu Bakir weeps.
349. Ebu Bakir will make a sacrifice for  
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350. Muhammad visits Ebu Bakir.
351. Muhammad goes to Mt. Hira.
352. Muhammad weeps: God sends Gabriel with  
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353. How Hamza became a Muslim.
354. Hamza returns from the hunt and talks with  
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355. Hamza argues with Ebu Cehil: he tells  
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356. Hamza goes to Mt. Ebu Kubeys to speak with  
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357. Hamza and Muhammad speak. I, p. 735
358. Ebu Cehil's tribe wants to attack the Haşim.
359. The story of the conversion of Hamza.
360. Abbas and Hamza speak to the Quraysh. I, p. 730
361. Sümeyye Hatun, an early convert, visits Muhammad at the Ka'ba.
362. News of the poet Amr oğlu Kesir who speaks against the Muslims.
363. Ebu Cehil gives Amr oğlu Kesir gold, silver and silk.
364. Amr oğlu Kesir writes poem and converts.
365. Amr oğlu Kesir begins to read poems .  
It is in praise of Muhammad. I, p. 745
366. The poem is read and Ebu Cehil is angry.
367. Bilal the Ethiopian becomes a Muslim. I, p. 747
368. Muhammad teaches Bilal and Bilal's master punishes him. I , p. 749
369. Ebu Bakir finds Bilal in distress and helps him escape.
370. Ebu Bekir goes to buy Bilal.
371. Ebu Bekir takes Bilal to his house and dresses his wounds: Muhammad is angry with Ebu Bekir. I, p. 754
372. Bilal is the first muezzin.
373. How Omer became a Muslim.
374. The elders try to find a place to gather.

375. The Muslims gather at a cave: Ebu Cehil plots Muhammad's death.
376. Omer flees. I, p. 751-8
377. Omer meets Abdullah Oğlu Nuaym on the road. I, p. 759
378. Omer hears the Qur'an being read.
379. Omer's sister refuses to eat the lamb he has cooked since it has not been blessed. I, p. 762
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381. Omer reads leaves of the Qur'an and converts. I, p. 764-5
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383. Omer performs the namaz. I, p. 773
384. Muhammad goes to the Ka'ba with the Companions protecting him to perform the namaz. I, p. 775
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390. Another story concerning Omer's conversion.

391. Several Companions share their wealth with Muslims.
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393. Ebu Bekir meets Seyf while trading kumaş.
394. Suheyl, Seyf's nephew, trades silk with Ebu Bekir and talks of Muhammad.
395. Suheyl wants to buy a roll of silk.
396. Ebu Bekir flees Suheyl's house as Seyf comes with two to three hundred men.
397. Ali and Muhammad prepare camels and silk to leave Mecca. I, p. 795
398. Stories of Ali's strength.
399. Muhammad visits Seyf's garden: miracle of the flowering trees and vision of a man sealed in a silver box.
400. Muhammad meets Seyf and is entertained by him.
401. Muhammad helps the servant to clear a clogged pool in Seyf's garden.
402. Muhammad opens the pool with his blessed finger. I, p. 801
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- 406 Mesud oğlu Abdullah reads poetry  
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408. Muhammad lists the people to go to  
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411. The Quraysh sent a letter to King  
Necaşi to banish the Companions  
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412. King Necaşi sends for the Muslims to  
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413. Necaşi welcomes Câfer: Câfer tells of  
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414. Necaşi weeps upon seeing the Qur'an  
recognizes Jesus: he bans the Quraysh.
415. Câfer reads verses 30-36 of the Mary sura.
416. Story of Necaşi
417. Necaşi fights the army from Iraq.
418. Bilal is captured and tortured.
419. Ebu Bekir rescues Bilal.
420. Persecution of Ammar and his family.

421. Muhammad finds Ammar's family and asks what happened.
422. The death of an honorable woman.
423. The Companions return to Mecca:  
Sura 53 is revealed.
424. Velid confronts Muhammad at the Ka'ba.
425. Gabriel tells Muhammad that Satan has placed words in the Surah so that the Quraysh will convert: Muhammad tells the Companions.
426. Muhammad begs the Quraysh to convert.
427. Ebu Sufyan and Şarik oğlu Ahmes goes to Ebu Cehil's house.
428. Ebu Sufyan, Ahmes and Ebu Cehil spy on Muhammad.
429. Ebu Cehil gives his opinion of Muhammad.
430. Maz'un Oğlu Osman is leader of those returning from Ethiopia. He is entertained by Mugiyre Oğlu Velid.
431. Osman finds Companions and Quraysh fighting.
432. Osman is struck in the eye.
433. Ebu Bekir travels to Ethiopia and then returns to Mecca.
434. Ebu Bekir builds a mescid.
435. Continued persecutions.
436. Continued troubles caused by Ebu Cehil and Iblis.

437. Ebu Cehil speaks to a crowd.
438. Ebu Talib pleads for peace and reason.
439. The Quraysh are angered by Muhammad performing a dua at the Ka'ba.
440. Omer and Hamza organize a caravan.
441. Ebu Cehil dispatches Quraysh to intercept it.
442. Hatice's nephew arrives with wheat for Hatice and is intercepted by Ebu Cehil.
443. Ebu Cehil and Ebul Bahteri fight.
444. Ebul Bahteri stays with Hatice and Muhammad and converts.
445. A description of the enemy Ebu Leheb.
446. God sends a sura concerning Ebu Leheb and his wife Ummü Cemil.
447. Ummu Cemil tries to kill Muhammad.
448. Ummu Cemil returns to her house.
449. Muhammad recites Surah 104 at the Ka'ba.
450. An account of El Hâris Oğlu Nadr.
451. Speaks of God and Muhammad's friends.
452. The poverty of Hatice and Ebu Bekir.
453. An account of the visit of Zuheyr.
454. How the treaty was broken.
455. The Haşim prepare for revenge.
456. Ebu Sufyan applies to Ebu Talib.
457. Muhammad says idols are the voice of Satan.
458. Persecutions continue.

459. How Amr Oğlu Tufeyl became Muslim.
460. Tufeyl says he will meet with Muhammad.
461. Tufeyl meets the Companions at Muhammad's house. II, p. 77
462. Tufeyl performs the namaz and then returns to his tribe. II, p. 82-3
463. Kays oğlu Ağsa becomes a Muslim.
464. A member of the tribe of Arâş lodges a complaint against Ebu Cehil.
465. Abd-i Zeyed Oğlu Rûkâne becomes Muslim.
466. Muhammad tries to convert Ebu Cehil.
467. Rûkâne chooses Muhammad to wrestle.
468. Ali offers to pay Rûkâne if he will choose another.
469. Rûkâne prepares himself.
470. Gabriel appears and tells Muhammad that Rûkâne will become a Muslim. II, p. 97-102
471. Rûkâne is pinned.
472. Rûkâne converts.
473. Ebu Cehil tells Muhammad that if he can make a tree bloom, he will convert.
474. Ethiopian priests become Muslim.
475. Poetry from the Ethiopian priests.
476. Summary of events according to al-Bekri.
477. Ashab Suffa.
478. The miracle of the splitting of the moon.
479. Gabriel tells Muhammad that Malik Oğlu Habib will see a miracle and convert:

Malik starts for Mecca.

480. Muhammad hears the news.

481. Habib goes to Ebu Talib's house. II, p. 121

482. Ebu Talib answers questions about Muhammad.

483. Muhammad and the Companion Kiram go out to meet him.

484. Muhammad asks him what miracle he would like to see.

485. Habib says he will go to Ebi Kubeys: the moon is in its fifth day and he wants it brought to earth. He asks for the miracle of the Inşikak-i Kamer.

486. When Habib returns to his harem he finds two houris.

487. 'Abbas and Ebu Talib speak with Muhammad.

488. Meccans gather to watch the miracle.

489. The sky darkens and the moon makes a tavaf around the Ka'ba.

490. The miracle occurs: Habib raises a finger and converts: Gabriel reveals the Kamer Sura. II, p. 134

491. The haç season approaches.

492. Münzir Oğlu Naci arrives from Yemen.

493. Ibni Münzir converts
494. Ebu Talib again works for peace. II, p. 145ff
495. Ebu Cehil prays to Hubal: Iblis appears from Hubal's statue: Zubeyr's mother warns the Muslims that the Quraysh are planning an attack.
496. Muhammad gathers his armies. The fighting begins. II, p. 151  
II, p. 152  
II, p. 154-5  
II, p. 155-6  
II, p. 158  
II, p. 159  
II, p. 160
497. A Münacaat or prayer used in religious music.
498. The Naat-i şerif: poem in praise of the prophet. II, p. 165  
(This poem is addressed to Sultan Selim Han.)
499. Mirac-i Nebi (This has a special print heading.)
500. Ümmehanê comes to sit with Ebu Talib on the 27th day of Rebiülevvel. Muhammad is there.
501. Night of the Kurb-i Visal. Gabriel arrives dressed in "Yeşil Cennet" in the company of seventy angels spread with jewels: A book descends and by its side

- are 70,000 angels. II, p. 168
502. Muhammad goes to the Well of Zemzem and performs a namaz at "Ibrahim's makam." Michael and 70,000 angels appear with Buraq.
503. Led by Michael, Muhammad flies over Mt. Sinai and proceeds to the al-Aqsa Mosque. II, p. 172
504. A silver stair appears by which Muhammad ascends to heaven. II, p. 173
505. Muhammad meets a new angel with 70,000 wings. He reaches the Sea of Life (Hayat Deniz) and proceeds to the Second heaven guarded by Mencayil and made of red coral. (Keir Collection #11?) II, pp. 177-8
506. Muhammad sees the Tufan Sea and meets an angel with 700 wings each of which has 100 heads. Jesus and John are here.
507. Muhammad arrives at the third heaven which is copper colored and guarded by Avniyail. Here he meets Joseph, Solomon and David. He moves to the fourth heaven.
508. The fourth heaven is made of white silver and contains the angel Kashu, Muhammad meets Moses. II, p. 185-6 (Berlin Miniature?)

509. Muhammad meets Azrael, the Angel of Death: he hears the story of the Tree of Life with the fate of each human being inscribed in its leaves. He goes to the border of Ghenna and is told it is Tamu (hell). (Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1222, fol. 383a?) II, pp. 184 (Keir Collection #19?) II, pp. 186
510. Muhammad speaks with the Angel of Hell.
511. Muhammad foresees who will be placed in hell. He sees the 7 layers of hell. (Keir Collection #17?) II, pp. 187-90 (Keir Collection #12?) II, pp. 190
512. Muhammad sees a black woman by the fire who cries with the torture. Muhammad enters the fifth heaven. This is guarded by Kelkail. He meets the prophet Abraham.
513. Muhammad comes to a large sea. He meets Mikâil, one of the holders of the Throne of God. He can see the 7 layers of heaven. He meets the angel Ruh and Noah. Muhammad moves to the sixth heaven where he meets Raad and Yildirim.



514. At the seventh heaven, Muhammad meets Efzail.
515. Muhammad comes to the Sea of Light and the Beytilmamur.
516. Muhammad arrives at the Sidretul Munteha, the Lotus Tree of the 7th heaven.
517. Gabriel names the tree and says that the river flowing from it is the Kevser.
518. Muhammad arrives before the throne. Israfil holds the Levh-i Mahfuz, the tablet containing God's decrees and a trumpet.
519. Israfil acts as Muhammad's guide.
520. Muhammad passes through a series of varicolored veils. The veils are named Heybet (majesty), Kudret (power) and Izzet (glory). He comes to a throne (kürsü) made of pearl.
521. A voice recites the Bakara Sura, verse 286.
522. The story of Moses and God's request of Muhammad for numbers of prayers.
523. Redvan, the gatekeeper, opens the door to the 8 heavens. Istifail acts as Muhammad's guide.

II, p. 202

(Keir Collection  
#18?) (Plate 12)

524. Muhammad visits the 8th heaven  
which is Eden.
525. A description of the Garden of Eden.
526. A description of Eden and the 5 kösks  
or kasirs belonging to Mary, Sara  
(wife of Ibrahim), Asiye (Firairi's  
wife), Hatice and Fatima.
527. Muhammad descends to earth.
528. The Quraysh questions Muhammad about  
the mi<sup>c</sup>raj. II, p. 221
529. Muhammad discusses the mi<sup>c</sup>raj. II, p. 222
530. The three versions of the story are  
explained: Haceri Ismail, Ebu Said  
and Abbasoğlu Abdullah.
531. An explanation of the mi<sup>c</sup>raj as seen  
in Surah 53.
532. The death of Ebu Talib. II, p. 227-230.
533. Muhammad talks to Ebu Talib.
534. Ebu Talib will not convert.
535. Ebu Talib's fate.
536. Hatice's death.
537. A time of troubles for Muhammad.
538. Hamza says he will protect Muhammad:  
he fights Ebu Leheb. II, p. 241
539. Ebu Leheb becomes ill.
540. Ebu Leheb and Hamza argue.



541. The Companions prepare a caravan:  
Quraysh attacks Ali.
542. Fatima, as a child, helps the defense.
543. Muhammad states belief that non-believers go to hell.
544. Muhammad's journey to Taif.
545. Muhammad speaks with the people.
546. The people of Taif order Muhammad to leave.
547. Muhammad is stoned.
548. Conversions of jinn and peris.
549. <sup>c</sup>Abbas speaks.
550. Utbe and Şeybe approach. II, p. 259
551. Fatima greets Muhammad.
552. Muslims raise funds for Muhammad to remarry. II, p. 266
553. The emir's daughter Berire.
554. Berire sends a letter for Muhammad.
555. Berire's dowry is discussed.
556. Ebu Bekir arrives: a letter is read to Berire, II, p. 274-5
557. Gabriel descends carrying a piece of silk with the portrait of a girl on it.
558. Muhammad discovers the portrait is of Ayşe II, p. 278
559. <sup>u</sup>Ummü Hakim goes to Ebu Bekir's house.
560. <sup>u</sup>Ummü Hakim tells Ebu Bekir that Ayşe has been chosen by Muhammad.

561. Marriage celebrations.
562. Michael and Gabriel raise flags at the  
Ka'ba to celebrate the wedding.
563. Continued celebrations.
564. The bazaar at the Ukaz fair.
565. The Şeyban tribe. II, p. 289
566. Makru speaks with Kubayza oğlu Hani.
567. Zeyban tribe. II, p. 294  
II, p. 295  
II, p. 295
568. Muhammad's patience is tried.
569. Talib offers help.
570. Talib argues with Ebu Leheb.
571. The Nezar tribe.
572. Muhammad speaks with 200 year old Ulâ  
oğlu Ulâ. II, p. 301
573. Sa'saa Oğlu Amir tribe.
574. Satan takes the form of Ferras  
oğlu Nâare. II, p. 303
575. Only Zelzal remains from the Sa'saa. II, p. 305
576. Other conversions.
577. Hacim oğlu Utand speaks.
578. Incident of Huveylid oğlu Tuileyha.
579. Henzile tribe. II, p. 308  
II, p. 317
580. Ebu Cehil's fraud is reversed. II, p. 319  
II, p. 321  
II, p. 321-2

581. Muhammad is asked for help.
582. Muhammad restores Ebu Cehil's speech. II, p. 323  
II, p. 324-5
583. Hūneyfe Oğlu tribe.
584. The false prophet Mūseylemetül.
585. Şeyban tribe. II, p. 333-4  
II, p. 335
586. Seleme Oğlu tribe. II, p. 336-7
587. Conversation with Muti'. II, p. 341-2  
II, p. 342  
II, p. 342-3
588. Humza tribe. II, p. 346-7
589. The conversion of the Cenda tribe. II, p. 349
590. Kindi tribe.
591. The tribes ask for miracles.
592. Desire for miracles continues. II, p. 354  
II, p. 355
593. Faith comes to the tribes. II, p. 362
594. The Jews from Medina gather.
595. Nūfeyl speaks and identifies Muhammad as prophet. II, p. 364
596. Story of the white robe which contains two verses which cannot be cut away. II, p. 365  
II, p. 366
597. A letter to the Jews is read to the assembly. II, p. 367ff.  
II, p. 369ff.  
II, p. 367-8

- II, p. 370
598. A caravan from the Ukaz fair  
arrives in Mecca. Abul Heysem questions  
Utbe concerning Muhammad.
599. Abul Heysem has an audience with  
Muhammad to question him about the  
sacred robe and pitcher. II, p. 375  
II, p. 375  
II, p. 377  
II, p. 377-8
600. Muhammad and Ebu Bekir are met by the  
Vail oğlu tribe in Ukaz. II, p. 379-80
601. Muhammad preaches.
602. Muhammad speaks in Akebe. The Eys and  
Hazreç tribes convert. II, pp. 381-82  
II, p. 383
603. A list of the converted.
604. Zurare oğlu Es'ad speaks to Muhammad  
during the spring hajj. II, p. 385  
II, p. 385ff  
II, p. 386
605. Muaz oğlu Sa'd sends for Hudayr oğlu  
Useyd. II, p. 388
606. Muaz oğlu Sa'd, dressed as a Muslim  
arrives with a dagger in his hand. II, pp. 390-2
607. When hajj seasons returns, Medinans come  
to speak with Muhammad.

608. The Medinans are greeted by Abbas. II, p. 394  
II, pp. 395-6
609. The Medinans say they will fight  
Muhammad's enemies.
610. The Quraysh gather at Mina. II, p. 397  
II, p. 399  
II, p. 399
611. Ebu Cehil speaks against Muhammad.
612. An elder from Medina is converted. II, p. 401
613. The story of the hegira.
614. Muhammad asks for assurances of safety  
and comfort from Medinans.
615. Muhammad's dream of Medina. II, p. 404  
II, p. 406
616. Why the hegira was necessary.
617. The date for the immigration of Ebu  
Bekir and Muhammad is discussed.
618. Ebu Cehil suspects a plan. II, p. 424
619. Satan disguised as an old man leads  
a plot to kill Muhammad. II, p. 425
620. Gabriel warns Muhammad of the murder  
plot. II, p. 426-7  
II, p. 428  
II, p. 429
621. Muhammad speaks with Ali about the hegira.
622. Gabriel tells Muhammad to sprinkle dirt  
on the unbelievers while reciting the  
Qur'an and they won't see them depart.



623. Poetry concerning the hegira.
624. Muhammad and Ali go to Mt. Hira.  
       Muhammad cures an injured dragon. II, p. 435  
       II, p. 438  
       II, p. 438
625. The Quraysh watch at Muhammad's door.
626. Satan leads the Quraysh to the cave  
       where Muhammad is hiding. II, p. 439-40  
       II, p. 440  
       II, p. 442
627. Suraka's horse refuses to approach the  
       cave.
628. Suraka's attempt fails. II, p. 445
629. Muhammad visits a place that has  
       existed from the time of Moses. II, p. 447  
       II, p. 448
630. Muhammad meets a man with a garden  
       and turns a tree to a date tree.
631. Story of ʿUmmū Mābed, the Bedouin. II, p. 450
632. Muhammad performs a miracle and her  
       sheep give milk again. II, p. 451
633. New miracles of Muhammad.
634. Muhammad cures ʿUmmū Mābed's deaf and  
       blind son. II, p. 454  
       II, p. 455
635. Food miraculously appears at a banquet. II, p. 457  
       II, p. 458
636. Muhammad visits the village of Kuba.
637. Muhammad meets a Jew in Kuba.

638. The faithful approach the date palm  
to see Muhammad.
639. The mescid made by the Ansar.
640. Quraysh questions Ali about Muhammad's  
whereabouts. II, p. 461-2
641. Ali leaves for Medina.
642. The iron chest and the story of Meliki  
Hârise oğlu Abdullah.
643. The story continues II, p. 465
644. Story continued.
645. The Medinans prepare to entertain  
Muhammad. II, p. 471
646. Eyûb Ansari invites Muhammad to stay  
with him as do many others. II, p. 472ff.
647. Muhammad chooses Eyûb Ansar.
648. Eyûb welcomes Muhammad. II, p. 477
649. Eyûb's mother tells Muhammad that she  
is blind. II, p. 480
650. Muhammad indicates the plan of a  
mescid to be built. II, p. 481
651. Building of the mescid.
652. Medinan Jews begin to fear Muhammad. II, p. 484
653. Muhammad is protected and the Jews are  
urged to convert. II, p. 485  
II, p. 487
654. Ali journeys to Medina.
655. The son of Ebu Sufyan tries to kill Ali.  
An angel warns Ali. II, p. 490

656. Umeyr claims a debt from Muhammad. II, p. 492
657. Ali refuses to pay Umeyr. II, p. 493ff.
658. Zeynab Hatun remains in Mecca. II, p. 497
659. Ali is surrounded by Meccans at Ebtah.  
Gabriel protects him. II, p. 499
660. Ali continues trip. II, p. 500
661. Ali is pursued.
662. Ali and Ebu Cehil fight. Ali wins.
663. The caravan is welcomed in Medina.
664. Thanksgiving.
665. The Story of Selman the Persian. II, p. 507
666. Selman reads the news of Muhammad on a  
silver leaf 300 years before his birth. II, p. 508
667. His father, the Zoroastrian priest  
throws Selman in a dry well. A man  
rescues him and takes him to a monastery. II, p. 511
668. On his death bed, Yuhana sends Selman  
to Syria and Antioch to find the pîr,  
Mucib Rahib. II, p. 513  
II, p. 515ff.
669. Selman meets the Byzantine Emperor and  
reads the gospels to him. Selman is  
sent to Gazze and Remle in Syria.
670. Selman meets the monk Şem'un. Şem'un  
has a brass plate which tells of  
Christ's second coming. He sends Selman  
to a 400 year old Christian in the Beytül  
Mukaddes. II, p. 517

671. At the Beytül Mukaddes he hears  
of Muhammad's birth.
672. A caravan tries to make Selman  
pray to an idol. II, p. 522
673. Selman meets Muhammad at Kuba,  
gives him a date and recognizes him  
as the prophet. II, p. 526  
II, p. 527
674. Selman is set free. II, p. 528
675. The enemies in Medina.
676. Selam oğlu Abdullah becomes a Muslim. II, p. 532  
II, p. 533  
II, p. 533
677. The Jew Muhayrikin becomes Muslim. II, p. 533
678. Ebu Cehil sends a letter to the king  
of Persia. II, p. 534
679. Bazan becomes Muslim when hearing of  
Husrev's son's death.
680. Two hutbas are said in the finished  
mescid. II, p. 537
681. The Ansar and Muhacirler become  
brothers.
682. Zurare oğlu dies.
683. The Neccar accepts Muhammad as their  
leader.
684. Bilal learns the call to prayer. II, p. 541
685. Stories of the treatment of the hypocrites. II, p. 542  
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- II, p. 546-7
- II, p. 551
686. The building of the first minbar. II, p. 554
687. The early sicknesses incurred in Medina.
688. Three women ask Muhammad to cure them. II, p. 554
689. Conversations of Muhammad with three  
priests. II, p. 557
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- II, p. 565
690. The story of Ubeyy Ibni Selûl OĖlu  
Abdullah. II, p. 566
- II, p. 567
691. The Marriage of Fatima and Ali. II, p. 570
692. The birth of Fatima. II, p. 573
693. Announcement that Fatima will marry Ali. II, p. 575
694. The angels celebrate the announcement.
695. Ali receives a gift of armor.
696. A feast in honor of Selmân who bought  
the armor.
697. Muslims gather at the mosque.
698. Fatima and Muhammad's wives are ordered  
to decorate themselves.
699. Gabriel appears in the form of Dahyetûl  
Kubrâ. II, p. 588-9
700. Wedding ceremony.
701. Muhammad speaks with Esma. II, p. 594
702. Muhammad visits Ali's house and finds  
Fatima is with Gabriel. II, p. 594-5

- II, p. 598
703. Muhammad identifies the houris.
704. Gabriel's gift of a green cloak from  
heaven for Fatima. II, p. 601-2
705. The Jews admire Fatima's cloak. II, p. 603-4
706. The Jewish women become Muslim.
707. Another version of the story concerning  
the cloak.
708. The story of Mesud-u Sakafi's camel who  
wants saved. II, p. 612
709. Muhammad meets a Bedouin girl.
710. Muhammad speaks to a wild hart. II, p. 616
711. Ebu Mesud falls at Muhammad's feet.
712. Muhammad meets the shepherd boy Zeyd  
oğlu Amr.
713. Miracle of water and Muhammad meets a  
dragon. II, p. 622
- II, p. 622
- II, p. 625-6
714. Zeyd oğlu Amr converts.
715. He is attacked and put in a dungeon.
716. Gabriel comes to Zeyd oğlu Amr in the  
dungeon.
717. Gabriel speaks with Zeyd oğlu Amr.
718. Zeyd oğlu Amr meets Gabriel disguised  
as an old man. II, p. 638
719. Zeyd oğlu Amr comes before Muhammad.

720. Mirdas Oğlu Abbas and Süleym  
Oğulları become Muslims. II, p. 645
721. The story of Talha.
722. Talha speaks to Abbas.
723. Vedia, the nurse, sends news to Gümeyre.
724. Abbas meets with Gümeyre
725. Gümeyre is seated in the tent. II, p. 655
726. Talha fights for Gümeyre. II, p. 660
727. Gümeyre tries to decide whether or not  
to surrender. II, p. 661-3
728. Melik b. Rabi'a meets with Ebu Bekir. II, p. 666ff.  
II, p. 668  
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729. Abbas' men decide to stone Ebu Bekir. II, p. 670  
Gabriel warns him. II, p. 671
730. Muhammad arrives. II, p. 674  
II, p. 675
731. Muhammad sends a letter for Abbas with  
Omer. II, p. 677
732. Abbas and Talha make peace.
733. Mikdad becomes a Muslim. II, p. 683  
II, p. 685
734. Mikdad speaks with his mother Temime.
735. Word that Miyase is coming reaches Ebu  
Cehil.
736. Mikdad reaches the meydan in armor:  
he learns that Miyase is coming.

737. Mikdad and Miyase fight: Cabîr recognizes that Mikdad is his brother's son. II, p. 692-3
738. Mikdad asks for his father's sword.
739. Miyase's dowry is discussed. II, p. 698-9
740. Mikdad learns there is a new king in Iraq.
741. Story of dragon.
742. Mikdad visits the king.
743. Mikdad receives a robe of honor and a horse.
744. Arrival of Riyah oğlu Malik at court.
745. The people discover Mikdad.
746. Mikdad and Ali meet in combat.
747. Ali tells Zeyd to bring Mikdad to his side.
748. Mikdad and Miyase convert. II, p. 714
749. The king of the Sûnbûs tribe tells Miyase that he has captured and enslaved Mikdad. II, p. 715
750. Mikdad is held in chains inside a tent. II, p. 715
751. Gabriel tells Muhammad of Mikdad's capture: Ali and Fazl b. Abbas set out to the rescue. II, p. 718-19
752. The king of the Sûnbûs is killed. II, p. 720
753. Mikdad's mother comes to Medina and converts.
754. The Meccan caravan approaches Medina.
755. God sends down messages.
756. The Medinans and Meccans meet. Hamza carries a white flag given him by Muhammad.
757. Messages are exchanged.



758. Muhammad goes to Dhat al-Saq. II, p. 730
759. The fourth raza called "Little Badr."
760. Muhammad gives Ali letters with orders  
for eight muciheler.
761. They are to meet the Meccan caravan at  
Necran.
762. The Muslims want to know their orders  
since it is the month of the hajj.
763. Gabriel sends the Bakara sura, verse 217. II, p. 731  
II, p. 737
764. The kible is turned in the direction of  
Mecca.
765. The history of the Battle of Badr. II, p. 739
766. Muhammad preaches the hutba and sends  
his soldiers to Hanle. II, p. 741
767. Angels help Muhammad and Ali in battle.
768. Muhammad moves from konak to konak. II, p. 747
769. Two women give S'lnb'us and Adiy' water:  
Muhammad finds an idol on the hill. II, p. 748
770. Muhammad speaks with the idol wor-  
shipper.
771. Ali wrestles the old man and wins. II, p. 751
772. Ebu S'lfyan searches for deserters. II, p. 754-5
773. The travels of Ebu S'lfyan and the dream  
of Antike. II, p. 760
774. Abbas speaks of Antike's dream
775. Battle preparations. II, p. 761

776. Muhammad and the heroes prepare for battle.
777. The Ansar swear loyalty to Muhammad.
778. The dream of Cuheym. II, p. 765
779. Muhammad provides rain for the waterless Muslims. II, p. 769  
II, p. 772
780. Habbab informs Muhammad that the Badr springs are open. II, p. 774-5
781. Muhammad prays for victory. II, p. 778
782. 1000 Quraysh line up against 300 Muslims. II, p. 779
783. Thirty drink from the pond of the water of life. II, p. 781
784. Haris, Ubeydullah and Ali meet Utbe, Seybe and Velid.
785. Velid and Ali fight. II, p. 784  
II, p. 788
786. The battle continues.
787. Malik oğlu Suraka joins the Quraysh. He is the devil in disguise. II, p. 791  
II, p. 792  
II, p. 793
788. The angels come to help the Muslims.
789. A sword named "Avn" appears from a branch for Muhammad.
790. Umeyye becomes Bilal's slave.
791. The death of Ebu Cehil. II, p. 799  
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792. A list of the martyrs.
793. A list of the dead Quraysh. II, p. 814
794. Muhammad takes the prisoners to Medina.
795. Ransoms for the prisoners.
796. Ebu Süfyan agrees that the Muslims may make the hajj.
797. Abbas converts and raises his finger.
798. Zeynab makes an agreement. II, p. 824  
II, p. 826-7
799. The Quraysh want Zeynab back. Ebu Süfyan stops them.
800. Ebülas becomes a Muslim.
801. Veheb oğlu Umeys plots Muhammad's murder. II, p. 837  
II, p. 840
802. Umeys becomes a Muslim.
803. Umeys speaks with the Quraysh.
804. News comes to Muhammad that the Süleyman tribe want to make war.
805. The violation of the holy months.
806. Ebu Süfyan meets with Mişkem' oğlu Selâm, head of the Jewish Nadir tribe.
807. Two Muslims in a date grove are killed.
808. The day of the camel.
809. The Affan tribe gathers.
810. Necran gaza.
811. The travels of the Kaynuka tribe. II, p. 849

812. The trick played by the Jews on  
the Arab woman. II, p. 850
813. Zeyd receives order to mobilize  
forces since Ebu Süfyan is marching  
towards Syria. II, p. 853
814. Eşref Oğlu Kâab is killed.
815. Ebu Naile. II, p. 856
816. Ebu Naile says "Friends, it is easy  
to work with Kaâb."
817. Ebu Naile cuts off Kaâb's head. II, p. 860
818. Uhud
819. The emperor says that the prophet isn't  
his enemy.
820. Ebu Süfyan goes to Persia for help. II, p. 868
821. Muhammad gathers the Companions. II, p. 871
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823. The Meccan's idol Hubal is lost.
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825. Muhammad presents battle flags. II, p. 877
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827. List of soldiers at Uhud. II, p. 887
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829. Hamza. II, p. 892-3

830. Why Vas Vahşi killed Hamza. II, p. 896
831. Death of Celâs.
832. The honor of Ebi Âmir Oğlu Hanzale.
833. The martyrs of Islam.
834. Ibn Kam'e and Utbe attack with stones.
835. Story of Sinan oğlu Malik. II, p. 906
- II, p. 909
- II, p. 912
836. Ibni Abdul Eşhel.
837. Two old Muslims from Yemen.
838. Kazman, the hypocrite tells Râfi oğlu Umeyye oğlu Hatib that he is a Muslim.
839. It is shown that Kazman is evil.
840. A member of the Keytun oğlu Sa'lebe tribe won't fight on the sabbath.
841. Osman is ordered to kill Haris Bin Süveyd Bin Samet. II, p. 917
842. Muhammad speaks with Sa'id b. Rabi. II, p. 918
- II, p. 919
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843. Women mourn the death of Hamza. II, p. 925-6
844. Sülkrü, a Muslim woman.
845. Cunneh oğlu Amr fights.
846. Muhammad says he will care for the women. II, p. 928
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847. List of captives among them Ebu Uzze. II, p. 930
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848. After the Uhud Gaza. III, p. 6-7  
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849. The Martyrs of Uhud. III, p. 7-8  
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850. Reyhan marries Muhammad. III, p. 9  
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853. Abdullah Bin Uneys. III, p. 30
854. Sufyan oğlu Halid and stories of the  
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855. Relationships of tribes.

856. Enemy surrounds the believers.

857. Tarik oğlu Abdullah is stoned.

858. The martyr Adiyye Oğlu Hubeyb.

859. How Hubeyb was martyred.

860. Umeyye oğlu Amr goes to kill Ebu Süfyan.

861. Hammâdî returns to Medina.

862. Umeyye oğlu Amr returns to Mecca.

863. A new obligation is given to Amr.

864. The trip of the Huzeyl tribe.

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865. The drama of the pit.866. The Nadiyr tribe leaves Medina.867. The Thirteenth Gaza.

868. The prayers of fear.

869. Gabres wants to kill Muhammad.

870. A hoca who tried to kill his wife.

871. The fourteenth gaza.

872. The fifteenth gaza.

873. The Hendek Gaza.

874. The Fizara tribe.

875. The Mürre Oğullar tribe.

876. The Eşza' Oğullar tribe.

877. The Süleym Oğullar tribe.

878. The Esed Oğullar tribe.
879. Assistance needed from the Taif districts.
880. Ebu Sufyan begins to act.
881. The letter is sealed.
882. The poet Hassan ibn Sabit's praise of Muhammad.
883. The opinion of Selman-i Farisi.
884. Muhammad begins to dig the trench.
885. The companions join in the digging.
886. A miracle.
887. Muhammad again returns to the trench.
888. The Medina hypocrites.
889. A verse of Qur'an is revealed about the hypocrites.
890. Those who are sent to the fortress.
891. A new miracle.
892. The enemy army comes to Medina.
893. Gabriel announces the victory of God's army.
894. The battle begins.
895. Ali moves against the Hashimites.
896. Ahtab oğlu Huyey persuades the Kurayza Jews.
897. Ali is thrust into the midst of the battle.
898. Muaz oğlu Saad is wounded.
899. Safiye kills a Jew.
900. Mesud oğlu Nuaym causes disorder among the enemy.



901. Ebu Sufyan returns to Mecca.
902. The entrances to the trench are opened.
903. Ali returns to his house.
904. The Kurayza Oğullar Gaza.
905. The Muslim army in front of the  
fortress.
906. Ebu Lubade acts as referee.
907. About the Kurayza Jews.
908. The Kurayzas come down from the fortress.
909. A Jewish woman is killed.
910. An intercession from Kays oğlu Sabit. III, p. 246.
911. The booty is distributed.
912. The poet Hassan bin Sabit's praise of the  
prophet Muhammad.
913. The opinion of Selman-i Farisi.
914. The prophet Muhammad begins to dig the  
trench.
915. The companions join in the digging.
916. A miracle.
917. The prophet Muhammad again returns to  
the trench.
918. The Medina hypocrites.
919. A verse of Qur'an is revealed about the  
hypocrites.
920. Those who are sent to the fortress.
921. A new miracle.
922. The enemy army comes to Medina.

923. Gabriel announces the victory of  
God's army.
924. The battle begins.
925. Ali moves against the Hashimites.
926. Ahtaboğlu Huyey persuades the Kurayza  
Jews.
927. Ali is thrust into the midst of the  
battle.
928. Muaz oğlu Saad is wounded..
929. Safiye kills a Jew.
930. Mesud oğlu Nuaym causes disorder among  
the enemy.
931. Ebu Sufyan returns to Mecca.
932. The entrances to the trench are opened.
933. Ali returns to his house.
934. The Kurayza Oğuls Gaza.
935. The Muslim army in front of the fortress.
936. Ebu Lubade acts as referee.
937. About the Kurayza Jews.
938. The Kurayzas come down from the fortress.
939. A Jewish woman is killed.
940. An intercession from Kays oğlu Sabit. III, p. 246
941. The booty is distributed.
942. The acceptance of Reyhane by Muhammad.
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944. Halid ibn Velid becomes a Muslim.
945. Ali's hair is cut at the sunnet of Saad ibn III, p. 256,258  
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946. Ali praises God.
947. The death of the Ansar Muaz oğlu Saad.
948. The killing of Nadiyrli Ebu Rafi Sellam ibn Ebil Hukayk of the Hazreç oğuls.
949. The acceptance of Reyhane by Muhammad.
950. Halid ibn Velid and Amr ibn As become Muslim.
951. Halid ibn Velid becomes a Muslim.
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953. Ali praises God. III, p. 264  
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954. The death of the Ansar Muaz oğlu Saad.
955. The killing of Nadiyrli Ebu Rafi Sellam ibn Ebil Hukayk of the Hazreç oğullar.
956. Ebu Bakr's son Abdurrahman becomes a Muslim.
957. Abdurrahman ibn Ebu Bakr as a Muslim.
958. The Sixth hegira Year: The Lihyan Oğul's Gaza.
959. The Kurud Gaza. III, p. 291
960. The Mustalik Oğuls Gaza.
961. The Islamic army is assembled. III, p. 297

962. A struggle breaks out between two Muslims.
963. A request from Abdullah ibn Abdullah.
964. Muhammad marries Harise's daughter Cüveyriye. III, p. 308
965. Lies and bitter words are said about Ayşe. III, pp. 312ff.
966. Muhammad enters the mosque.
967. Muhammad mounts the minber.
968. The poet Sabit oğlu Hassan.
969. Sabbahil Abes oğlu Tavk becomes a Muslim. III, pp. 331ff.
970. Malik oğlu Tavk's father becomes a Muslim. III, p. 333
971. The Azab fortress gaza. III, p. 336  
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973. Commander of the Faithful Ali arrives. III, pp. 356ff.  
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974. The Pir Elvah ibn Abid Gaza. III, p. 360  
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- III, p. 375
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- III, p. 378
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- III, p. 389
975. The killing of Beni Abbas Esced bin  
Guveyleme. III, pp. 391-2
976. A great miracle. III, p. 392
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- III, p. 400
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- III, p. 413
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- III, pp. 425ff.
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- III, p. 435

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III, p. 438

980. Ridvan's Oath of Allegiance.

981. Fear fills the hearts of the Quraysh.

982. The Treaty of Hudeybiye.

III, pp. 450-1

983. A Muslim flees from Mecca.

984. Muhammad's great pleasure.

985. The story of Ebu Basiyr ibn Useyd ibn  
Harise.

986. The hegira of the Meccan women.

987. Muhammad does not return the women.

988. The Hayber Gaza in the Seventh Hicri Year.

989. The capture of Naim fortress.

990. The capture of Kamus fortress and  
Safiye Hatun.

991. The treasure of Rebi oğlu Kinane.

992. The capture of Sa'b ibn Masz fortress.

993. The capture of Vatiyh Sülalim fortress.

994. The Mesleme oğlular fight Muhammad.

995. Ali shows how to open the fortress' gate.

996. Muhammad's 23rd Gaza: the Vadiyül Kura.997. Muhammad marries Ahtab oğlu Huvey's  
daughter, Safiye Hatun.

998. Muslims who die at Hayber.

999. Esvedil Rai'n becomes a Muslim.

1000. The story of Gilazisselemi oğlu Huccac.
1001. The distribution of the booty from Hayber.
1002. The capture of Fedek fortress.
1003. Muhammad's advice.
1004. A murder at Hayber.
1005. Ebu Talib oğlu Cafer comes to Medina  
from Ethiopia.
1006. Names of Muslims who return by ship  
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1007. Those who went to Ethiopia after Bedir,  
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1008. The names of sixteen Muslims who went  
from Mecca to Ethiopia.
1009. Arrival at Mecca to pray at the Ka'ba.
1010. Muhammad marries Meymune.
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Harise and Abdullah ibn Revaha. III, p. 512  
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1012. The martyrdom of Harise oğlu Zeyd.
1013. The martyrdom of Ebu Talib oğlu Cafer. III, p. 519  
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III, pp. 519-20
1014. The martyrdom of Abdullah ibn Revaha.
1015. The army returns to Medina.
1016. Ashab-i Kiram is martyred at the Mute  
gaza.

1017. Capture of Mecca, Muhammad's 25th Gaza.
1018. Muhammad's preparations.
1019. A letter is secretly sent to Mecca. III, p. 536  
III, pp. 536 ff.  
III, p. 536  
III, pp. 538 ff.
1020. Two relatives come from Mecca.
1021. At Cahfe stopping place. III, p. 547
1022. Ebu Sūfyan leaves Mecca. III, pp. 550 ff.  
III, pp. 554 ff.  
III, p. 559
1023. Ebu Sūfyan understands everything.
1024. Ebu Sūfyan becomes a Muslim.
1025. Three pieces of good news.
1026. What is happening in Mecca at this time.
1027. Abbas and Ebu Sūfyan see the Muslim  
army.
1028. The great Muslim army.
1029. Ebu Sūfyan in Mecca.
1030. Muhammad comes to Zi-Tuva halting place.
1031. Ebu Bekir comes to his father's mountain.
1032. Muhammad orders "Don't kill anyone!" III, p. 582  
III, p. 584  
III, p. 585  
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1033. Five Meccans are not forgiven.



1034. Muhammad in Mecca. III, p. 593  
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 III, p. 598  
 III, p. 599
1035. The first call to prayer in the  
 Ka'ba. III, pp. 599-600
1036. Isaf and Naile are turned to stone.
1037. Hind becomes a Muslim.
1038. Miracles on the day of Mecca's capture
1039. The anxiety of the Medinan Ansar.
1040. An enemy's evil intentions.
1041. Small military actions.
1042. The idol called Menat is broken.
1043. The breaking of the idol Uzza.
1044. Another story which is not a legend.
1045. The Huneyn Gaza. III, pp. 615-16
1046. The glorious army begins to move.
1047. Muhammad hears the news. III, p. 621  
 III, p. 622  
 III, p. 623
1048. Orders are given to Avf oğlu Malik's  
 chieftains. III, p. 625  
 III, p. 627  
 III, pp. 627-9  
 III, p. 631
1049. Angels come from heaven to help. III, p. 638

- III, pp. 638-9
- III, p. 641
1050. Muhammad's nurse's son Şeyma III, pp. 646-7
1051. The Taif Gaza. III, p. 653
1052. The campaign against the Temim ogullar
1053. The Temim become Muslim.
1054. The campaign of Amri oğlu Kutbe.
1055. The campaign against the Kirta oğullar.
1056. The campaign against the Beni Tayy Arabs.
1057. The poet Kab bin Züheyr becomes a Muslim.
1058. The poet gives a Hirka-i Saadet at the Ka'ba.
1059. The event of the Hirka-i Saadet.
1060. The importance of the Hirka-i Saadet.
1061. How did the Hirka-i Saadet enter Topkapi Palace?
1062. Ceremonies in the palace on 15th day of Ramazan.
1063. The visiting of the Hirka-i Saadet by officials.
1064. The Hirka-i Şerif (The Prophet's Mantle).
1065. Yavuz Sultan Selim becomes Caliph.
1066. Ceremonies relating to the Hirka-i Şerif.
1067. The death of Muhammad's daughter Zeyneb.
1068. Zeyneb's death.
1069. The birth of Ibrahim.
1070. Jealousy towards Mariye.
1071. The Prophet and his wives.

1072. The tale of the helmet and agreement  
between Hafsa and Ayşe.
1073. Mariye in Hafsa's house.
1074. The Prophet is separated from his wives  
for a month.
1075. Omer visits the Prophet.
1076. The Tahrim Süre.
1077. The Tebük Gaza. III, p. 681.
1078. The hypocrites.
1079. Arrival at Tebük fortress. III, p. 684
1080. Raid on Dumetil Cendel fortress. III, p. 688
- . . . . . III, p. 689
1081. Those who do not go on the Tebük gaza.
1082. The death of Ibrahim.
1083. The gaza of Saad ibn Vakkas.
1084. Saad ibn Ebu Vakkas rushes to help. III, pp. 704-6
- III, p. 712
1085. The Taif become Muslim.
1086. Urve-i Sakafi is martyred.
1087. Ebu Bekir leads the pilgrimage.
1088. The Melhan Gaza. III, p. 720
1089. Muhammad's farewell pilgrimage.
1090. A pilgrimage caravan of 100,000.
1091. The farewell Hütbe. III, p. 729
1092. Oh people! Let us return to the other  
world!
1093. Usame bin Zeyd prepares for the Syrian  
campaign.

## APPENDIX B

### IDENTIFICATION OF MINIATURES

The following identifications of miniatures have been made by Prof. Zeren Akalay (Vols. I, II and VI found in Topkapi Palace Museum), Prof. Ernest Grube (Vol. III Spencer Collection , N.Y.C. Public Library) and Minorsky (Vol. IV, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin). In the middle column I have indicated where they appear in the published critical editions of Darir. In certain cases, I have indicated by brackets where I might modify identifications slightly.

One should note that in certain cases page numbers will not follow logically according to the traditional presentations in the printed critical version set out in Appendix A. I feel this is a sign of reshuffling in the manuscripts as they exist today.

Finally, in the right hand column I have indicated story groupings wherever possible.

Volume I (Topkapı Palace Museum Hazine 1221): 35x24 cm. Written surface 27x17.5 cm. 416 folios.  
13 lines of Naskh script to the page. 18th century green leather binding. 139 miniatures.

- |              |  |            |             |
|--------------|--|------------|-------------|
| 1) fol. 12a  | The enthronement of Sultan Bertuk.   | I, p. 40-1 | Adam        |
| 2) fol. 25b  | The Prophet Adam and his son Seth praying.   | I, p. 43   | and<br>Seth |
| 3) fol. 27a  | Adam and his son Seth's oath to God written on paper and sealed by Gabriel before 70,000 angels.   | I, p. 43-4 |             |
| 4) fol. 27b  | With angels as witnesses, Seth and Mehvail are married under a chrysolite dome sent from Allah. Gabriel prays.   | I, p. 51   |             |
| 5) fol. 36b  | Kaydar (descended from Abraham) aged 200 years, is hunting. The birds advise him.  | I, p. 52   | Kaydar      |
| 6) fol. 38a  | Kaydar sleeps under the tree of Sacarat al-Vaad.   | I, p. 52-3 |             |
| 7) fol. 39b  | Kaydar runs to meet the prophet Jacob who has come with his twelve children.   | I, p. 54-5 |             |
| 8) fol. 41a  | Kaydar brings his son, Hamel, to Mecca. Disguised as a human being, the angel of death takes Kaydar's life.  | I, p. 62-3 |             |
| 9) fol. 50a  | After hearing a voice from Hatif, Hashim goes to Medina with friends to see the girl he is to marry. (I read this as being a voice from the "air" or from heaven).                             | I, p. 64-6 | Hashim      |
| 10) fol. 51b | Notables of Medina give a banquet in honor of Hashim.  | I, p. 74   |             |
| 11) fol. 55b | Satan, disguised as an old woman, speaks ill of Hashim to Selma, his betrothed.  | I, p. 78   |             |
| 12) fol. 59a | Satan, disguised as a learned Jew who has converted to Islam, invites other Jews to Medina to create trouble. The Jews fall at Satan's feet. (I read this as the Jews being invited to Mecca). | I, p. 80-3 |             |
| 13) fol. 61b | Hashim visits Selma's father, Amr. b. Zayd. The actual Jew who has converted to Islam comes to the tribe and Amr goes to meet him.   | I, p. 86   |             |
| 14) fol. 65b | The Jews attack the Meccans. Hashim prepares himself to kill Satan with his sword.   |            |             |

- 15) fol. 73a Abd al-Muttalib identifies himself after helping children to carry off a stone. Muttalib recognizes his nephew, gets down from his camel and weeps.
- 16) fol. 76b Abd al-Muttalib and Muttalib pray for help against the Jews.
- 17) fol. 79a Abd al-Muttalib fights the Jews with bows and arrows.
- 18) fol. 80a Abd al-Muttalib hits Latiye before the eyes of his mother, Selma, and his tribe.
- 19) fol. 82b Abd al-Muttalib and Muttalib are met at Mecca. Muttalib introduces Abd al-Muttalib as a slave.
- 20) fol. 129a Abdullah, returning from trading, fights with the Jews.
- 21) fol. 130a Abdullah prays for help in his fight with the Jews.
- 22) fol. 131a Abdullah's prayers are answered when his uncles and brothers come.
- 23) fol. 132b The Jews are captured and brought to town.
- 24) fol. 141b Abdullah hunting.
- 25) fol. 148b Zerka sees members of the Ghassan tribe hiding behind oak trees.
- 26) fol. 152a The Soothsayer Satih predicts the coming of the Prophet.
- 27) fol. 153b Satih asks Abdullah to place his hand on Satih's face.
- 28) fol. 156b Ebu Talib tells Ebu Cehil's father Hisham that the last of the prophets will be their descendant.
- 29) fol. 158b Abdullah brings Amine to Satih who sees that she has conceived the Prophet.
- 30) fol. 159b Upon hearing these words, some Quraysh fall to the ground as if struck by lightning.
- 31) fol. 161a Zerka speaks to the elders of Mecca and tells them their idols will become small.
- 32) fol. 163b Zerka speaks with Satih.
- 33) fol. 166b Zerka gives a banquet in honor of the Quraysh and the Hashim.
- 34) fol. 167b Tekna tries to kill Amine. Tekna falls to the floor in pain.
- 35) fol. 170b The fight between Ebrehe and Arbat.
- I, p. 95
- I, p. 99-100
- I, p. 102
- I, p. 103
- I, p. 109
- I, p. 160 ff.
- I, p. 164
- I, p. 165-6
- I, p. 166-7
- I, p. 178 ff.
- I, p. 184
- I, p. 186 ff
- I, p. 188
- I, p. 190
- I, p. 191 ff.
- I, p. 193
- I, p. 195
- I, p. 197
- I, p. 197 ff.
- I, p. 199 ff.
- I, p. 202 ff.
- Abd al-Muttalib
- Abdullah
- Stories of prophecies by soothsayers Satih and Zerka

- 36) fol. 174b Idolators gather at the church Ebrehe built.  
 37) fol. 177b The heroes of Mecca destroy the church because they fear that  
 it, rather than the Ka'ba, could become a pilgrimage spot.  
 38) fol. 186b Ebrehe's elephant kneels before Abd al-Muttalib when Abd al-  
 Muttalib whispers to him that he will be the grandfather of  
 the Prophet.  
 39) fol. 187b Ebrehe invites Abd al-Muttalib to sit with him on his throne.  
 40) fol. 193a Meccans circumambulate the Ka'ba.  
 41) fol. 193b Abd al-Muttalib and the Meccans climb Abu Qubais to defend  
 themselves from the army of Ebrehe.  
 42) fol. 194a The elephants of Ebrehe's army.  
 43) fol. 195a Abd al-Muttalib and the Meccans pray for help.  
 44) fol. 196b Ebrehe's army wants to burn the Ka'ba but the elephants  
 won't go near it.  
 45) fol. 198b Abd al-Muttalib takes Habbad by the collar and waist when he  
 challenges him with words.  
 46) fol. 200b The birds of Ababil stone Ebrehe's army.  
 47) fol. 203b Ebrehe's arms, legs and head are knicked off with the stones.  
 48) fol. 205a Abd al-Muttalib and the Meccans look at Ebrehe's destroyed  
 army.  
 49) fol. 207b Abd al-Muttalib instructs the men to gather booty.  
 50) fol. 214a On the night Muhammad is to be born, the angels circumambulate  
 the Ka'ba and set up three flags.  
 51) fol. 215b At the house of Abd al-Muttalib, angels dressed as women  
 announce Muhammad's forthcoming birth to Amine.  
 52) fol. 216b Angels scatter water over Amine at moment of Muhammad's birth.  
 53) fol. 223b Three angels bring a silver pitcher, chrysolite bowl and  
 towel as presents for Muhammad.  
 54) fol. 229a Abd al-Muttalib visits Muhammad  
 55) fol. 231a Nusravan tells Satih, the soothsayer, that the idols have  
 fallen, the fire on the sacred altar has gone out, and  
 kings' palaces have fallen. Satih replies it is because  
 the apostle of God has been born.

I, p. 204  
 I, p. 207-8 King  
 Ebrehe  
 I, p. 216 ff.  
 I, p. 217 ff.  
 I, p. 221  
 I, p. 222 ff.  
 I, p. 223 ff.  
 I, p. 224-5  
 I, p. 223  
 I, p. 225  
 I, p. 225 ff.  
 I, p. 227 ff.  
 I, p. 230 ff.  
 I, p. 232 ff.  
 I, p. 327  
 I, p. 238-9 Birth of  
 Muhammad  
 I, p. 240  
 I, p. 248  
 I, p. 251  
 I, p. 252-3

- 56 } fol. 233a Abd al-Muttalib visits Amine and takes Muhammad in his arms. I, p. 254 ff.  
 57 } fol. 234b The Meccans visit Muhammad and are amazed at his size. I, p. 255  
 58 } fol. 244a After hearing a voice, Halime tells friends that she will be Muhammad's wet nurse. I, p. 264
- 59 } fol. 245b As Halime and her husband go to Mecca, a man pushes their donkey with a stick and prophesies that doors of happiness will open to them. I, p. 265 ff.
- 60 } fol. 252a Halime, her husband and son meet Abd al-Muttalib and ask for Muhammad. I, p. 274
- 61 } fol. 253b Abd al-Muttalib takes Halime to Amine. I, p. 276  
 62 } fol. 255a Halime suckles Muhammad. I, p. 276-7  
 63 } fol. 262a Muhammad whispers to a lion who then licks his feet. I, p. 285-6  
 64 } fol. 264a Zamre tells his mother, Halime, that Muhammad's breast has been split by two men. She runs to him. I, p. 287
- 65 } fol. 265b Muhammad tells her that two men opened his chest and purified his heart with light before resealing it. I, p. 287-8
- 66 } fol. 269a Muhammad goes to the summer place of Halime's family. There a soothsayer tells those around him that he is a prophet. (I read this as saying they go to Mecca) I, p. 289
- 67 } fol. 270b Halime goes to the Ka'ba to worship and Muhammad disappears. I, p. 290  
 68 } fol. 271b An elder asks the idols where Muhammad is and they fall. I, p. 291  
 69 } fol. 274a Upon hearing a voice, Abd al-Muttalib finds Muhammad in the Tihamé valley. I, p. 293
- 70 } fol. 274b Abd al-Muttalib and Ebu Talib take Muhammad back to town. I, p. 294-6  
 71 } fol. 275a The Quraysh meet Muhammad. I, p. 295  
 72 } fol. 276a Muhammad embraces his mother in front of Abd al-Muttalib's house. I, p. 297
- 73 } fol. 277a Abd al-Muttalib sits by Ka'ba walls and places Muhammad near him. I, p. 298
- 74 } fol. 283b Muhammad and seven children come to Atlikah's house. She kneels at his feet. I, p. 302
- Miracle  
stories  
from  
Muhammad's  
childhood
- Stories of  
Muhammad  
and the  
Quraysh



- 75) fol. 286a Quraysh comes to visit Muhammad. I, p. 304-6  
 76) fol. 288b Abd al-Muttalib becomes angry with Ebu Leahb for throwing  
 Muhammad out of his seat and hits him with a stick. I, p. 307  
 77) fol. 290a Muhammad learns to read and write from a Meccan teacher. I, p. 309  
 78) fol. 292a Abd al-Muttalib, Ebu Talib and Atika go to Muhammad's  
 school after he complains of the teacher. I, p. 310  
 79) fol. 295b Muhammad tells the forty children born at the same hour  
 as he that Ebu Bakir is his vizir. I, p. 315  
 80) fol. 298b Hisham, Ebu Cehl's father, gives a banquet for the  
 elders of Mecca. I, p. 316  
 81) fol. 300b Muhammad and Ebu Bakir watch Ebu Cehl and his friends  
 at play in Batha. I, p. 318  
 82) fol. 302b While Muhammad and his forty friends play with Ebu Bakir  
 in Atika's garden a tree blooms. I, p. 319  
 83) fol. 305a The ones wanting to kill Muhammad split into two groups  
 and fight one another. I, p. 321  
 84) fol. 306b Witnesses tell Abu al-Muttalib of the fight. He takes  
 Muhammad to his mother's house and shows him to the  
 Quraysh elders. I, p. 322  
 85) fol. 308a Abd al-Muttalib tells of Muhammad's miracles and the  
 elders kiss Muhammad's hand. I, p. 324 ff.  
 86) fol. 309b Ebu Cehl becomes jealous of miracles and sends friends  
 to stone Muhammad. Muhammad tells his friends to  
 retaliate and himself picks up a handful of dirt. I, p. 325  
 87) fol. 311b Ebrehe's son tells his followers about how they will  
 fight the Meccans. I, p. 327  
 88) fol. 313b Amine hears a voice telling of Ebrehe's son's plans.  
 She tells Abd al-Muttalib so that he may inform the  
 elders. I, p. 328-9  
 89) fol. 315b Abd al-Muttalib falls at Muhammad's feet. I, p. 329

Muhammad's  
school  
years

The  
conflict of  
Muhammad  
and the 40  
children  
with  
Abu Cehl

- 90) fol. 319b Muhammad goes with Hamza and other relatives to fight  
I, p. 330 The
- 91) fol. 320b Ebrehe's son.  
Abd al-Muttalib wants Muhammad to go as an envoy to the  
I, p. 331 attack of  
King
- 92) fol. 322b enemy.  
Tavil b. Haccar wants to kill Muhammad but his horse's feet  
I, p. 337 Ebrehe's  
son
- 93) fol. 324b get stuck in the sand.  
Abd al-Muttalib embraces Muhammad on his return.  
I, p. 338
- 94) fol. 327a Tavil b. Haccar confers with Muhammad and his party.  
I, p. 339
- 95) fol. 328b Tavil kills Babil's son Šahab who opposes him.  
I, p. 345
- 96) fol. 335b Satan, disguised as a pious person, incites an Arab tribe  
I, p. 355 against Muhammad.
- 97) fol. 337a (Subject as yet undetermined)  
98) fol. 339a Zubayr, Muhammad's uncle, cuts off Hatab b. Raybal's head.  
I, p. 359
- 99) fol. 340b Muhammad attacks Sukkan.  
I, p. 360
- 100) fol. 345b When Muhammad comes to a church, monks appear to meet him.  
I, p. 363-4
- 101) fol. 349b Discussion between Abd al-Muttalib and Sayf b. Zelzayn.  
I, p. 369
- 102) fol. 353b Hudane and Halifa b. Anbasa (Anbese?) tells Abd al-Muttalib about their disagreement.  
I, p. 374 Hudane  
and
- 103) fol. 356b Fight between two women (people?), Hudane and Halifa b.  
I, p. 380 Halifa
- 104) fol. 360a An old man (woman?) Sinan Can, separates the fighting tribes  
I, p. 380 of Hudana and Halifa.
- 105) fol. 363b Halifa tells Abd al-Muttalib of his wife's disloyalty.  
I, p. 380-1
- 106) fol. 368b Muhammad and forty friends listen.  
I, p. 389 Muhammad
- 107) fol. 377a As he is dying Abd al-Muttalib asks relatives to protect  
I, p. 389 Muhammad
- 108) fol. 379a Ebu Cehl wrestles Muhlī, an Ethiopian slave.  
I, p. 397
- 109) fol. 381b Muhammad comes to Batha to speak with Ebu Cehl.  
I, p. 398 ff. Ebu Cehl  
wrestles
- 110) fol. 383b Ebu Cehl wrestles Muhammad.  
I, p. 405
- 111) fol. 388b Muhammad wins wrestling match.  
I, p. 408
- 112) fol. 394b Zubayr, Muhammad's uncle gives a banquet in honor of the  
I, p. 418 tribes following Muhammad.  
Miracle
- 113) fol. 398a Muhammad points at a camel and it begins to speak.  
I, p. 425
- 113) fol. 398a Muhammad and friends safely cross a flooded river.  
I, p. 429 stories

- 114) fol. 400b Muhammad prays for rain. I, p. 431 ff.  
 115) fol. 405a Harb b. Ummei, Muhammad b. Habib and Abdullat b. Ced'an I, p. 438-9  
 confer about the misunderstanding with the Quraysh.  
 116) fol. 408b Ebu Talib tells tribes of Quraysh and Beni Hashim about Muhammad's greatness. I, p. 443  
 117) fol. 414a Ebu Bakir meets Muhammad and Quraysh and enjoys the smell of Muhammad's hair. I, p. 450  
 118) fol. 415a A visit from the Quraysh to Muhammad. I, p. 451  
 119) fol. 416a Ebu Talib hears that Ebu Bakir and Muhammad are at his quarters. (Upon meeting, dismounts his horse and explains that Quraysh have gathered for an audience with Muhammad.) I, p. 453

Volume II (Topkapı Palace Museum, Hazine 1222): 38.5 x 27 cm.; written space: 28.3 x 17 cm.  
499 folios. 13 lines to the page. Naskh script. 19th century red leather binding.

- 120) fol. 8a Hatice and Ebu Talib's wife Fatimah watching Muhammad as he passes before Hatice's house. Muhelhel b. Talhi is reading a poem. I, p. 463 Hatice hires Muhammad  
 121) fol. 14a Muhammad comes to Hatice's house with Ebu Talib. I, p. 473 as  
 122) fol. 30a Hatice's slave gives Muhammad a coat and turban after he joins Hatice's caravan. (A slave is not mentioned in the story and Muhammad simply arrives at the Ka'ba with a gold shirt and turban.) I, p. 482 or 494 Muhammad  
 123) fol. 40b Muhammad converses with a dragon in front of the unbelievers. I, p. 504-6 as  
 124) fol. 44a Muhammad's caravan stops in the mountains for the night. I, p. 507 caravan  
 125) fol. 55a As Bahira looks on, a bare tree blooms when Muhammad sits under it and water springs from a well. I, p. 517 leader  
 126) fol. 64a Muhammad and his caravan are guests of a church and Muhammad states he prefers milk to wine. I, p. 527  
 127) fol. 69a The Jews who have attacked Muhammad's caravan tell of their troubles to the judge of the city. I, p. 533-4

128 } fol. 88b	Hatice prepares her house for Muhammad.	I, p. 552	
129 } fol. 105a	Muhammad serves sherbet at his uncle's son (Ebu Kasim)'s birth. (In the text, no mention of sherbet.)	I, p. 566	
130 } fol. 112b	Muhammad comes to see the newborn son (Ali) of his uncle.	I, p. 572	Birth
131 } fol. 113b	Muhammad names the newborn Ali after hearing a voice.	I, p. 573	of Ali
132 } fol. 123a	Muhammad is met at the Ka'ba.	I, p. 585	
133 } fol. 127a	When Muhammad makes a sign, the dragon in the Ka'ba is lifted by an eagle and taken to the sky.	I, p. 585	Muhammad
134 } fol. 130a	Muhammad's party argue with their opposition.	I, p. 588	defends
135 } fol. 133b	Muhammad replaces the Ka'ba's black stone.	I, p. 591	the Ka'ba
136 } fol. 137a	Cummane meets Isri b. Cuayd and is insulted by him.	I, p. 593	
137 } fol. 150a	Varaka and Muhammad talk in the Ka'ba.	I, p. 605-7	
138 } fol. 151b	Sitting in the Ka'ba, Muhammad understands that he is a prophet.	I, p. 607	The first
139 } fol. 155a	Muhammad hears voices on Mt. Hira.	I, p. 608	revelation
140 } fol. 158b	God's first revelation to Muhammad.	I, p. 614-15	
141 } fol. 160b	Hatice meets Muhammad on his return from Mt. Hira and sees the brilliance of the light on his face.	I, p. 616	
142 } fol. 167a	Gabriel comes to Muhammad's house.	I, p. 623	Gabriel
143 } fol. 168a	Hatice asks Muhammad whether Gabriel (who is invisible to her) is in the same place with them.	I, p. 623	teaches
144 } fol. 170b	Muhammad performs the first ritual ablution as taught to him by Gabriel.	I, p. 625-6	prayer and
			ablution

\*Note at this point how the manuscript moves out of synchronization. This section should follow #159.

145 } fol. 176a	Muhammad leaves Mecca with Ali and his slave Harts oğlu Zeyd.	I, p. 795	
146 } fol. 181a	Muhammad, on a walk with Ali, stops to help a slave trying to fill a pond. The pond overflows with the miracle.	I, p. 801	

147) fol. 184a Muhammad, at a banquet with the new Muslim Seyf b. Huld,

stops eating when they cut the meat without blessing it.

I, p. 802-3  
I, p. 804-5

148) fol. 186b Seyf talks with Muhammad.

149) fol. 188a As Muhammad and his friends read the Qur'an secretly,

Abdullah b. Masud tells them he will read the Qur'an to the Quraysh.

I, p. 807

150) fol. 189a Abdullah b. Masud reads the chapter "Ar-Rahman" for the

Quraysh in the Ka'ba.

I, p. 810

151) fol. 194a The King of Ethiopia, Necaşl, asks for information concerning Islam and Muhammad from Muslims he has invited.

I, p. 818-19

This section logically follows #180

152) fol. 251a Abdullah b. Zahir and his friends discuss Muhammad.

I, ca. p. 716-18

This section logically follows #191

153) fol. 255a Omer comes to Fatimah's (his sister) house, and asks for a sheep to be slaughtered and roasted. She and her husband don't

Conversion  
of Omer  
and Bilal  
story

154) fol. 257b Omer reads the chapter called "Ta Ha" for the Qur'an

and becomes a Muslim.

I, p. 762

155) fol. 263a Bilal performs the first call to prayer in front of the Ka'ba.

Omer talks with the unconverted Quraysh.

I, p. 764-5  
I, p. 775

156) fol. 268b The Quraysh are angry with Omer and attack him.

Sa'lebe oğlu Mesna buys a horse from Seyf b. Huldece.

I, p. 781-2  
I, p. 782-3

157) fol. 270a Sa'lebe oğlu Mesna buys a horse from Seyf b. Huldece.

I, p. 787-8

158) fol. 279a Mesna converts and Muhammad gives him a horse as a present.

I, p. 790

This section should follow #144

160) fol. 283b Ali performs the ritual prayer as Muhammad, Hatice and

Gabriel have taught him.

I, p. 627-8

161) fol. 285b Muhammad's uncle, Ebu Leahab, speaks against Muhammad at the Ka'ba.

I, p. 629



- 162) fol. 290b Atkelan tells Ebu Bakir that a Prophet should appear  
from Mecca. Conversion stories  
I, p. 631-3
- 163) fol. 293b Ebu Bakir tells Ukbe b. Ebu Mu'lyte that Muhammad is a  
prophet. I, p. 635
- 164) fol. 298a Ebu Bakir learns Qur'anic verses from Muhammad. I, p. 640
- 165) fol. 301a Abdurrahman b. Auf tells Atkelan about the Prophet that  
has come out of Mecca. I, p. 642
- 166) fol. 304a Abdurrahman b. Auf becomes a Muslim. I, p. 645
- 167) fol. 310b Othman converts and Ebu Bakir, Othman, Omer, and Ali  
perform the ritual prayer in Mecca. I, p. 650
- 168) fol. 315a Talha becomes a Muslim. I, p. 651
- 169) fol. 317b Hatice's nephew Hakim b. Huzzam buys Zayd b. Harise who  
was taken as a slave. I, p. 656
- 170) fol. 324b Ebu Ubeyde becomes a Muslim. I, p. 659-69
- 171) fol. 335a The non-Muslim Quraysh call Muhammad a liar. I, p. 674
- 172) fol. 338b Muhammad speaks of his prophecy to his relatives during  
a banquet at his house. I, p. 676-7
- 173) fol. 343b Ebu Cehl's men who were present at this banquet, tell  
Ebu Cehl what Muhammad said. I, p. 680
- 174) fol. 347a Ebu Cehl and his men come to Ebu Talb and ask for  
protection from Muhammad. I, p. 683
- 175) fol. 351a Ebu Cehl offers Ebu Talb to change Muhammad with  
Valid b. Mugire's boy. I, p. 687
- 176) fol. 355a Hamza and Muhammad's other uncles speak with the Quraysh  
who want to kill Muhammad. I, p. 692
- 177) fol. 366a Ebu Cehl wants to stone Muhammad as he prays at the Ka'ba. I, p. 708-9
- 178) fol. 371a In Muhammad's presence, Ebu Cehl kneels before an idol  
which he has brought from the Ka'ba. I, p. 715
- 179) fol. 373a A genie from the family of earth comes to Muhammad. I, p. 716
- 180) fol. 374b While Muhammad is at the Ka'ba, Ebu Cehl brings an idol in  
which the genie from the earth family is hidden and kneels  
before it. (#152 fits story here) I, p. 718
- 181) fol. 382a Muhammad speaks with Gabriel on Mt. Hira. I, p. 727-8

- 182) fol. 383a The angels swear an oath to Muhammad on Mt. Hira. I, p. 728  
 183) fol. 388b Muhammad tries to convince Hamza to become Muslim. I, p. 735  
 184) fol. 392b Hamza and <sup>C</sup>Abbas convert and speak with the Quraysh. I, p. 730?  
 185) fol. 398a Kesir b. Amr, who has written in praise of Muhammad, is taken by Ebu Bakir to Muhammad. I, p. 745  
 186) fol. 400a Bilal b. Hamman becomes a Muslim. I, p. 747  
 187) fol. 402a After Bilal becomes Muslim, Muhammad is told of his master's cruel treatment of Bilal. I, p. 749  
 188) fol. 406a Muhammad becomes angry with Ebu Bakir for paying Bilal's liberation money. Ebu Bakir falls to his knees before Muhammad. I, p. 754  
 189) fol. 410a An ox begins to speak before Omer, Ebu Cehl's nephew, and says that Muhammad is God's envoy. I, p. 757-8  
 190) fol. 411b Omer becomes angry with an idol in which a gentile praising Muhammad is hidden. He plans to kill Muhammad. I, p. 759
- (Refer to pg. 340, #153)
- 191) fol. 420a Tufayl b. Amr becomes Muslim. II, p. 77  
 192) fol. 421a After Muhammad performs a miracle, Amr and his tribe convert. II, p. 82-3  
 193) fol. 434b A black named Fukane wrestles with Muhammad. II, p. 97-102  
 194) fol. 452a Habib b. Malik speaks with Ebu Talib. II, p. 121  
 195) fol. 466b Habib b. Malik and some of his tribe witness the moon break in two, and then become Muslims. II, p. 134  
 196) fol. 476b Muhammad and friends fight the revolting Quraysh at Ebtaha. II, p. 145 ff.  
 197) fol. 484a Muhammad and followers perform the ritual prayer before the battle. II, p. 151  
 198) fol. 486a Muhammad sends Ali for Ebu Cehl so that they can talk. II, p. 152  
 199) fol. 492a Ebu Cehl attempts suicide by using his sword. (After he and Ali fight?) II, p. 154-5  
 200) fol. 493a Ebu Cehl and his men trample Muhammad and his men. II, p. 158
- Conversions and miracles  
 Muhammad's victory over the Quraysh



- 201 } fol. 494a Muhammad and his followers meet. II, p. 159  
 202 } fol. 495a The wives of the Meccan elders meet with Hatice and speak  
 about preventing the fighting. II, p. 160  
 203 } fol. 496b The two armies confront each other. Hamza attacks. II, ?  
 204 } fol. 498b Camels are sacrificed after Muhammad's victory. II, p. 165

Volume III N.Y.C. Public Library, Spencer Collection: 465 folios. 128 miniatures. 13 lines to the page. Notes on fly leaf indicate that the manuscript was once in the possession of Sultan Ahmed (1703-1730) and later passed to Sultan Abdul 'Aziz (1861-1876) "who bequeathed it to his daughter, Sultana Salha." A library seal dated 1198 A.H. (1783 A.D.) and reading "Ismetlu Bash-Rukhshah-qaddin hazretleri" appears on fol. 234r (information on p. 4 of Grube analysis).

- 205 } fol. 3a Gabriel prepares Muhammad for his Night Journey. II, p. 168 M<sup>c</sup>ra.j  
 206 } fol. 5a Muhammad, on Burraq, ascends to heaven. II, p. 172  
 207 } fol. 6b Muhammad leads angels and prophets in prayer in heaven. II, p. 173  
 208 } fol. 57a The Quraysh chiefs question Muhammad concerning his  
 Night Journey. II, p. 221  
 209 } fol. 58b Muhammad with Ebu Bakir, Ebu Talib, Omer and other Quraysh  
 talk with those in doubt of the Prophet. II, p. 222 Ebu Talib's  
 210 } fol. 64b Muhammad visits his uncle Ebu Talib who is ill and tries  
 to convert him. II, p. 227-30 death  
 211 } fol. 75a Hamza promises retribution on any Quraysh who bothers  
 Muhammad after Ebu Talib's death. Ebu Leheb wants to  
 make peace. II, p. 241  
 212 } fol. 90b 'Addas, servant of Utbe and Seybe, recognizes the Prophet  
 and kisses his feet. II, p. 259  
 213 } fol. 98b 'Abbas asks Ebu Laham to pay his debts to the Prophet. II, p. 266 ff.  
 214 } fol. 106b Ebu Bakir counells with the Prophet's cousins concerning  
 Muhammad's plan to marry. II, p. 274-5 Marriage  
 215 } fol. 115a Ummul Hakim visits Muhammad in order to tell him about  
 arrangements of his marriage to Ayse. II, p. 278 with Ayse

- 216) fol. 129b Arabs gather around Muhammad, Ebu Bakir and 'Ali to gaze at the extraordinary man.
- 217) fol. 132b Muhammad with Ebu Bakir and 'Ali going for help from his uncle 'Abbas.
- 218) fol. 135a Muhammad tries to persuade Ebu Leheb to become a Muslim.
- 219) fol. 136a Encouraged by Ebu Leheb, the unbelievers stone Muhammad who is protected by Ebu Bakir.
- 220) fol. 140a 'Ula b. 'Ula accepts Islam.
- 221) fol. 144b The Banu Sa'sa'bah accept Islam.
- 222) fol. 147a The fall of the disbeliever who has become a beggar.
- 223) fol. 150a Humnad b. Omer greets Muhammad.
- 224) fol. 152a Humnad b. Omer and his tribe celebrate Muhammad. (and swear help and allegiance).
- 225) fol. 155b Ebu Cehil's anger.
- 226) fol. 157b Ebu Leheb loses his speech; Muhammad is accused of being a magician. (Only Ebu Cehil is mentioned as losing speech)
- 227) fol. 159a Ebu Cehil, having lost his speech, asks Muhammad to heal him.
- 228) fol. 161b Muhammad heals Ebu Cehil with water from a well that he has had spring from the ground; Ebu Cehil, healed, accuses Muhammad of being a magician.
- 229) fol. 163b Ebu Cehil asks the people to abandon their faith in Muhammad.
- 230) fol. 169b Nu'man identifies Muhammad as a Prophet and converts.
- 231) fol. 173a The leader of the Şeyban tribe converts.
- 232) fol. 175a Muhammad and Ebu Bakir are surrounded by the Banu Seleme tribe.
- 233) fol. 182b The Prophet restores life to Mutl' who had died trying to save his idol; a Jew incites the people to kill Muhammad.
- 234) fol. 184b Seeing Mutl' restored to life, the Jew accepts Islam. (Mutl' converts.)
- 235) fol. 186a A pagan promises Muhammad that he will break his gold and silver idol and distribute it to the poor. (Mutl' makes this promise.)

II, p. 289

II, p. 294

II, p. 295

II, p. 295

II, p. 301

II, p. 303

II, p. 305

II, p. 308

II, p. 317

II, p. 319

II, p. 321

II, p. 321-2

II, p. 323

II, p. 324-5

II, p. 333-4

II, p. 335

II, p. 336-7

II, p. 341-2

II, p. 342

II, p. 342-3

Attacks

on

Muhammad

Conversion stories

Ebu Cehil  
looses his  
speech

Mutl'

- 236) fol. 190b Muhammad creates an inexhaustible spring of cool, healing water. II, p. 346-7 Conversion stories
- 237) fol. 193b The Banu Cenda' decide to convert after this water miracle. II, p. 349
- 238) fol. 197a Muhammad converts unbelievers. II, p. 354
- 239) fol. 204a Muhammad answers questions about Allah. II, p. 355?
- 240) fol. 209a Ebu Cehl tries to prevent Hamza from converting. II, p. 362
- 241) fol. 211b Ebu Heysem listens to the secret meeting of the Jews who confer about Muhammad and the new religion. II, p. 364 The Jews and Muhammad
- 242) fol. 214a The Jews with their prophet's gown. A "bismallah" appears which they cut out, but it reappears on it again. (The letters indicate that this is a "shahada.") II, p. 365
- 243) fol. 215b The leader of the Jews reads passages from the Old Testament referring to the coming of Muhammad. (I read this to be they read a letter) II, p. 366
- 244) fol. 218a The Jews receive information about Muhammad. II, p. 367 ff.
- 245) fol. 218b The Jews receive new information concerning Muhammad. II, p. 369 ff.
- 246) fol. 220a The Jews try without success to destroy the vessel with the "bismallah" they have found. (I read these letters as "Muhammad Resulallah.") II, p. 367-8
- 247) fol. 222a The leader of the Jews writes a letter to Muhammad. (The leader orders a letter written.) II, p. 370 Ebu Heysem
- 248) fol. 227a Ebu Heysem received by Muhammad. II, p. 375 Ebu Heysem
- 249) fol. 230a Ebu Heysem tells his friends that he has become a Muslim. II, p. 376
- 250) fol. 232b Muhammad converts three persons from Medina to Islam. (Ebu Heysem, Esad, and Enes) II, p. 377
- 251) fol. 234a The people discuss Muhammad. II, p. 377-8 Conversion and the Ukaz fair
- 252) fol. 236b Ebu Bakir and Muhammad meet with a tribe that has not yet converted. II, p. 379-80
- 253) fol. 238b The people of the tribe question Muhammad and Ebu Bakir. II, p. 381-2

- 254) fol. 240a Muhammad propagates Islam at the Ukaz fair.  
 255) fol. 241a Usaid b. Hudair talks with Muhammad. (Zurare b. Es'ad)  
 256) fol. 244b The first twelve people from the Ukaz fair who have converted ask Muhammad to name a leader for them, and invite him to Medina.  
 257) fol. 246a Mus'ab b. 'Umayr tells the people of Medina about Islam and the arrival of Muhammad. (Muaz oğlu Sa'd).  
 258) fol. 249a Mus'ab b. Umayr learns about Islam from two wise Muslims. (Sa'd b. Mu'az learns).  
 259) fol. 251a After becoming Muslim, Sa'd b. Mu'az asks only those of his tribe to follow him who are willing to convert.  
 260) fol. 254b A group of converts from Medina come and greet Muhammad.  
 261) fol. 258b Satan tells the unbelievers gathered at Mt. Mina of the approach of the Muslims.  
 262) fol. 261a A Muslim asks the Quraysh to convert.  
 263) fol. 262a Followers of Muhammad reproach the unbelievers.  
 264) fol. 267a 'Abbas informs Muhammad, who is with Ebu Bakir and Ali that some of the people of Medina have sent a message saying they will follow him.  
 265) fol. 269b The sons of a pagan try to convert their father.  
 266) fol. 271b Muhammad gets news from Mus'ab b. 'Umayr about Medina. (Muhammad tells his dream of Medina to Mus'ab b. Umayr)  
 267) fol. 275b Al-Walid b. al-Mughira free 'Ayyash and Heysem.  
 268) fol. 280a Satan disguised as a tribesman enters the gathering of unbelievers.

II, p. 383  
 II, p. 385

II, p. 385 ff.

II, p. 386

II, p. 386

II, p. 388

II, ?

II, p. 397

II, p. 399

Satan  
 and  
 unbelievers

II, p. 394-6

Conversion  
 at  
 Medina

II, p. 401

Medina  
 stories

II, p. 404

II, p. 406

II, p. 424

269 } fol. 283a	The unbelievers plan to kill Muhammad.	II, p. 425	Medina converts
270 } fol. 284b	Ebu Cehl finds a suitable way to kill Muhammad.	II, p. 425	
271 } fol. 286a	Gabriel brings God's order for Muhammad to leave Mecca and go to Medina.	II, p. 428	
272 } fol. 287b	The unbelievers try to persuade Ebu Bakir to leave Muhammad.	II, p. 429	Hicra
273 } fol. 291b	Ebu Bakir and Muhammad on the way to Medina.	II, p. 435	
274 } fol. 296a	Muhammad and Ebu Bakir hide in a cave.	II, p. 438	
275 } fol. 298a	A tree grows in front of the cave and conceals Ebu Bakir and Muhammad.	II, p. 438	
276 } fol. 300a	Ebu Cehl and his men search for Muhammad.	II, p. 439-40	
277 } fol. 303a	Satan leads the Quraysh to the cave where Muhammad and Ebu Bakir hide.	II, p. 440	
278 } fol. 306a	The Quraysh talk about how to capture the Prophet.	II, p. 442	
279 } fol. 309a	Suraka b. Malik comes to kill the Prophet but his camel (horse) refuses to approach Muhammad.	II, p. 445	
280 } fol. 310b	Suraka returns to Mecca to report to Ebu Cehl.	II, p. 447	
281 } fol. 313a	Three women on the Mednan road convert when they meet Muhammad.	II, p. 448	Ummi Mabed
282 } fol. 316a	The Prophet and Ebu Bakir seek a night's lodging.	II, p. 450	
283 } fol. 319a	Ummi Mabed watches in amazement as Muhammad milks a dry sheep.	II, p. 451	
284 } fol. 320b	Muhammad heals, with the assistance of an angel, Ummi Mabed's dumb, blind and deaf son. (Angel is not mentioned in the text)	II, p. 454	
285 } fol. 322b	Ummi Mabed beseeches Muhammad to stay with them.	II, p. 455	
286 } fol. 324b	Ummi Mabed's friends send food for Muhammad. After he eats, the food is miraculously restored.	II, p. 457	
287 } fol. 326b	Muhammad breathes on the bones of the lamb they have eaten, and it is resurrected.	II, p. 458	

288) fol. 331a	The people of Medina welcome the Prophet and Ebu Bakir.	II, ?	Arrival
289) fol. 333b	Ali answers questions about the Prophet at the Ka'ba.	II, p. 461-2	at
290) fol. 338b	Abdullah and Malik discuss the great storm that has occurred at Medina.	II, p. 465	Medina
291) fol. 343b	Upon Muhammad's arrival in Medina, everyone asks him to be their guest.	II, p. 471	
292) fol. 346b	Muhammad riding on his camel, waits for it to stop at the house where he will stay.	II, p. 472 ff.	
293) fol. 350a	Muhammad calms Ebu Kalid al-Ansari who is overcome with joy that Muhammad's camel has stopped at his house.	II, p. 477	
294) fol. 352b	Muhammad heals Ebu Eythb-i Ansari's mother who is blind.	II, p. 480?	
295) fol. 356b	Muhammad builds a small mosque in Medina.	II, p. 481	
296) fol. 359a	The chiefs of two leading Medinan tribes plot to kill Muhammad.	II, p. 484	Attacks
297) fol. 360b	Hanza saves Muhammad from assassination. Ali offer prayers of thanks to God.	II, p. 485	on
298) fol. 363b	The people of Medina urge the Jews to convert.	II, p. 487	Muhammad
299) fol. 366b	The head of the would-be-assassin floats by Hanzal who sent him to kill Ali (Muhammad?).	II, p. 490	Ali
300) fol. 370b	'Amir lies about a debt he says Muhammad owes him (Umeyr).	II, p. 492	
301) fol. 372b	Ali inquires about this debt.	II, p. 493 ff.	
302) fol. 375b	Ali takes Muhammad's daughter(s) from Mecca to Medina.	II, p. 497	
303) fol. 378a	The Quraysh ask Ali not to return to Muhammad.	II, p. 499	
304) fol. 380a	God sends an angel to help Ali fight the evil spirits who surround him like a flaming cloud.	II, p. 500	
305) fol. 385b	The Zoroastrians worry about the diminishing holy fire.	II, p. 507	Selman
306) fol. 387_	(listing omitted from Grube's list) Selman and his Hoca read from a holy book which foretells the Prophet.	II, p. 508	the
307) fol. 390a	Selman, son of the fire worshipper, is sent out naked as he refuses to become Zoroastrian. (is told to flee the country when he refuses to practice Zoroastrianism).	II, p. 511	Persian

- 308} fol. 393b Selman is sold to a priest. (sent to a monastery). II, p. 513  
 309} fol. 396b Selman is sold to the sovereign of Istanbul. (He is sent  
 to the emperor of Byzantium). II, p. 515  
 310} fol. 399a Sem'un healing people. II, p. 517  
 311} fol. 404a Selman meeting members of the Quraysh, asks them about a  
 new religion. He is told of Muhammad and Islam. II, p. 521 ff.  
 312} fol. 405b When the Quraysh try to force Selman to pray to their  
 idols, he refuses. II, p. 522  
 313} fol. 408b Selman converts to Islam after finding Muhammad a true  
 Prophet. II, p. 526  
 314} fol. 411a Selman tells Muhammad he has converted. II, p. 527  
 315} fol. 413a Muhammad buys Selman from his master. II, p. 528  
 316} fol. 419b Abdullah b. Selam is informed of Muhammad's arrival in Kuba  
 when he is sitting in a date tree. II, p. 532  
 317} fol. 420b Abdullah talks to a group of Jews. II, p. 533  
 318} fol. 422a Muhammad reveals to the Jews that Abdullah has become  
 a Muslim. II, p. 533  
 319} fol. 423b Muhayrik'in proclaims his decision to help Muhammad in  
 his war. II, p. 533  
 320} fol. 426a Muhammad receives the letter from the King of Persia. II, p. 534  
 321} fol. 427b Muhammad offers the first prayer in the new mosque. II, p. 537  
 322} fol. 434a Bilal-1 Habeşî wants to go to Damascus. (is chosen to  
 read the call to prayer). II, p. 541  
 323} fol. 438a Gabriel instructs Muhammad about the call to prayer.  
 (Gabriel and Muhammad convert Cilas). II, p. 542-3  
 324} fol. 439a Gabriel brings word from God revealing Celal's  
 insincerity (concerning the hypocrites). II, p. 542-5

First call  
to prayer  
in Medina

Abdullah

325 } fol. 443a	Kuzman cuts his wrist with an arrow.	II, p. 546-7
326 } fol. 447b	Wadi'ah is thrown out of the mosque. (One of the hypocrites)	II, p. 551
327 } fol. 488b	Muhammad preaches from the new minbar. (fol. 448?)	II, p. 554
328 } fol. 451_	Ayşe and other women approach Muhammad to cure their bad health. (?)	II, p. 557
329 } fol. 445b	Three priests watch Muhammad in the mosque. (Fol. 455b? misprint?)	II, p. 558
330 } fol. 457b	Muhammad, helped by Gabriel, discusses the trinity concept and the concept of the immaculate conception with the priests.	Christian priests
331 } fol. 460b	Muhammad appoints Omer as his successor.	II, p. 565
332 } fol. 462b	Abdullah b. Ubeyy b. Selul asks a priest about Muhammad.	II, p. 565-6
333 } fol. 464a	A monk discusses Islam with Muhammad.	II, p. 566
		II, p. 567

Volume IV (Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin, #419): "37.4 x 27 cm.; written surface 29 x 17 cm.

The manuscript consist of 490 folios ( + folio 44a), 13 lines to a page. Some folios are out of order, the true sequence being: ff. 2, 7, 3, 102, 112, 103, 11, 113. A number of folios containing miniatures are missing, some having been lost at an earlier date and some having been cut out recently. The numeration of miniatures in a European hand (in ink) ends on f. 437a, with no. 130, while at present this miniature would be only no. 109. The lacunae, mostly of one folio and totalling 53 folios, are found after ff. 11, 19, 32, 61, 71, 73, 116, 125, 135, 137, 141, 148, 154, 157 (3 folios missing), 160, 165, 177, 178, 194, 196, 212, 225, 234, 247, 251, 254, 262, 272, 276, 293, 297a, 303, 305, 306, 336, 347, 357, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 379, 380, 384, 388, 392, 420, 448."

"The binding is of black leather with a three-piece center and four corner pieces sunk with gold. The script in large naskh."

"A colophon on 490a indicates the manuscript was copied by Mustafa b. Vali A.H. 1003/A.D. 1594-5 under Sultan Murad III (982-1003/A.D. 1574-95. Prayers are offered for the trustee of the book, Salihdar Hasan-agha."

"Fol. 2b contains an endorsement dated A.H. 1167/A.D. 1753 stating that the book belongs to Se'adetlu Bash-Rukhshah-gadin hadretleri. ...A similar entry is found on fol. 8b."



Because of the possible important bearing on my arguments, I have quoted the above extensively from Minorsky, Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Miniatures, Dublin, 1958, p. 30-1. It is interesting to note that a library seal of date close to the above (1783 A.D.) appears from the same source at the beginning of the N.Y.C. volume.

- 334) fol. 6b Ebu Bakir, Omer and 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf, wearing large turbans with long edges hanging on their shoulders and long scarves round their necks, in a meadow with a hilly background. (They discuss who will marry Fatimah) II, p. 573  
 Marriage of Fatimah and Ali
- 
- 335) fol. 7b Gabriel (in the text: Michael), dressed in red, brings a covered vessel with dates and grapes from Paradise (uchmaq) to Muhammad, who is dressed in green and veiled, while flames stream up from his head. II, p. 567
- 
- 336) fol. 14a Muhammad's companions congratulate Ali (standing on the right of Muhammad) on his prospective marriage with Fatimah. On the Prophet's right: Ebu-Bakir, Omer, and Othman. 'Abbas is seen shaking hands with Ali; behind him, dressed in white, is Selman, the Persian. II, p. 575
- 337) fol. 22a Fatimah (in green) sitting by Ayse (in white) and Umm Selma (in pink), all veiled. Twelve other ladies and attendants surround them. Fatimah holds a phial of perfume brought to her father by Gabriel disguised as Dahyetll Kubra. II, p. 588-9
- 338) fol. 24b Muhammad joins the hands of Ali and Fatimah. Two attendants hold tall candles. II, p. 594
- 339) fol. 30b Ali waiting outside while Muhammad is asking Fatimah whether she is pleased with her bridegroom. A handmaiden keeps watch on the threshold. II, p. 594-5
- 340) fol. 38b Muhammad standing outside Ali's house explains to Ali that the Arab sitting inside with Fatima and helping her grind the flour on the handmill is the Archangel Gabriel. II, p. 598

341) fol. 40b A parcel containing the green cloak brought by Gabriel from Paradise is presented to Fatimah who is about to proceed to a Jewish wedding party. Sitting: Muhammad, Fatimah, Umm al-mu'minin (i.e. Aysē), Umm-Selma, and Umm al-Ayman (the Prophet's nurse, future wife of Zayd)-- all veiled except Umm al-Ayman (sic). Four handmaids standing, one opening the bundle.  
II, p. 601-2

342) fol. 44a Jewish women on seeing Fatimah's cloak accept Islam. One of the sleeves is taken outside to the sages of Israel who admit that no such stuff has ever been seen in the world. Inside the room, sitting right to left: Umm al-Ayman, Umm al-mu'minin, Fatimah, Umm-Selma (all veiled), as well as nine Jewesses; outside many Jews wearing red or black tarbushes of Ottoman Jewish pattern.  
II, p. 603-4

(This section should follow #345)

343) fol. 53a Muhammad, followed by Ebu Su'ud Thaqafi and other companions, visits an Arab encampment where a young Arab is seen with three crouching camels and a wild goat (deer, stag, hart). The latter, having scented the Prophet, approaches him and implores him to save her from captivity.  
II, p. 616

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344) fol. 57a Ebu Mesud's camel implores the Prophet to free her from her master. The latter is seen kissing the Prophet's feet.  
II, p. 612

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345) fol. 60b The jar of the shepherd 'Amr b. Zeyd is still full of water after Muhammad and his companions have drunk from it.  
II, p. 622

346) fol. 61b 'Amr b. Zeyd begs Muhammad to kill a dragon.  
II, p. 622

Miracle  
of  
dragon

- 347) fol. 64b At Muhammad's request, two mountains move and crush the dragon. II, p. 625-6
- 348) fol. 74a Two youths (Gabriel and 'Amr) in conversation by a spring amid a smiling lawn in a hilly country. A camel and a horse are at their service. II, p. 638
- 349) fol. 79a Chamza (Gumeyre in modern translation), daughter of 'Abbas b. Mirdas, lives a merry life and rejects the offers of suitors. She is sitting under a golden awning surrounded by her eight slave girls dressed in Circassian (?) frogged coats, who are entertaining a guest, while two other guests are seen in the tent. II, p. 645  
(Chamza (Gumeyre) and Talha)
- 350) fol. 87b Talha woos Chamza. They are sitting on a throne in a bower decorated with scenes of animal life. Outside, one youthful and one bearded attendant. (The miniature is in exquisite Persian taste). II, p. 655
- 351) fol. 91b The black-eyed Talha kills another suitor before the eyes of Chamza, who is riding a camel surrounded by four attendants. II, p. 660
- 352) fol. 93b After a fight with Talha, Chamza consults her attendants as to whether she should surrender herself to the victor. II, p. 661-3  
A mountainous landscape and a spring.
- 353) fol. 95b Malik b. Rabi'a (on miniature wrongly Ebu Bakir) goes to 'Abbas b. Mirdas' encampment to discuss the capture of Chamza by Talha. II, p. 666 ff.  
II, p. 668
- 354) fol. 98b Ebu Bakir goes to 'Abbas b. Mirdas' encampment. II, p. 669
- 355) fol. 100b While going round to collect the tithe, Talha comes to visit an encampment of 'Abbas b. Mirdas' men and speaks to his shepherds. II, p. 670
- 356) fol. 102a 'Abbas discussing with his tribesmen the consequences of the capture of Talha. II, p. 670
- 
- 357) fol. 103b Abbas' men stop Ebu Bakir on the road and hurl stones at his messenger (left below). II, ?
- 358) fol. 106a Muhammad informed by Gabriel, comes to the rescue of his companions who are seen greeting him. II, p. 674  
Muhammad fights 'Abbas b. Mirdas

- 359) fol. 107a Muhammad brings forth water from out of a rock to quench  
the thirst of his companions. II, p. 675
- 360) fol. 111b Omer embraces Talha after the latter's liberation. II, p. 677  
(This miniature should follow #357)
- 
- 361) fol. 112a <sup>C</sup>Abbas' tribesmen approve his decision to resist the Muslims. II, p. c. 671
- 
- 362) fol. 118b Ebu Cehl exhorts the Quraysh to try their luck in fighting  
Miyase, daughter of Amir Jabir al-Kindi. II, p. 683
- 363) fol. 120b Jabir's son informed by a shepherd of the coming of the  
Meccan army. II, p. 685
- 364) fol. 125a Miyase challenging Mikdad b. Aswad. II, p. 692-3
- 365) fol. 134a Mikdad discussing the stirrup of <sup>C</sup>Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib. II, p. 698-9
- 366) fol. 145a Mikdad, vanquished by Ali, accepts Islam. Miyase (on Ali's  
right) also becomes a Muslim. II, p. 714
- 367) fol. 147a While Miyase, surrounded by ladies, is awaiting the beginning  
of the nuptial festivities, Malik b. Zibah (dressed as  
Rustam) enters her tent and declares that he has captured  
Mikdad and put him in fetters. II, p. 715
- 368) fol. 150a Ali and Fazl b. <sup>C</sup>Abbas free Mikdad while his guards sleep. II, p. 718-19
- 369) fol. 151b Mikdad kills Malik as the latter seizes Miyase's hand. II, p. 720
- 370) fol. 161b Muhammad, Ali, and 'Ammar, overtaken by night near the palm  
grove of Dhat al-Saq, stand in the moonlight. II, p. 730
- 
- 371) fol. 171a Muhammad is exhorting his men to remain under arms when the  
passage of the Meccan caravan is reported. II, p. 739
- 
- 372) fol. 172a Gabriel predicts victory for Muhammad. II, p. 736
- 
- 373) fol. 173a Muhammad preaches from a pulpit to his Meccan companions. II, p. 741
- 374) fol. 183a Sthbils b. 'Amr and 'Adiyy b. Ra'na sent by Muhammad to spy on  
the movements of the Meccan caravan. II, p. 747
- 375) fol. 184b Muhammad and Ali mounted on camels, catch sight of an idol  
set up on a hill. II, p. 748

- 376) fol. 189b The old idol-worshipper, overcome by All in a round of wrestling, breaks his silver idol and accepts Islam. In the background, mountains with flat tops looking like polished blocks of cornelian.
- 377) fol. 193a Ebu Sifyan interrogates two Juhayna Arabs as to whether they have met Muhammad.
- 378) fol. 199b In the sanctuary of the Ka'ba, <sup>C</sup>Abbas attacks Ebu Cehl. Some Meccans try to calm <sup>C</sup>Abbas who is seen with his hand on his sword. Ebu Cehl, who has lost his turban, appeals to his countrymen.
- 379) fol. 203a The Meccans are at their yearly festival near the wells of Badr, Ebu Cehl presiding over the meeting (on the miniature, his face is damaged).
- 380) fol. 208a Ebu Cehl interrogating Ctheym b. 'Abd al-Muttalib on the latter's dream.
- 381) fol. 212a Muhammad's companions complaining of thirst at stage of Adafir.
- 382) fol. 214b Muhammad interrogating some of Ebu Sifyan's men.
- 383) fol. 216b Muhammad, sitting under a canopy (<sup>'</sup>uraysh) amidst his companions, prays to God for victory.
- 384) fol. 217a The Quraysh in battle array.
- 385) fol. 221b The Muslim and Quraysh armies facing each other (Ebu Cehl's face damaged by a reader).
- 386) fol. 223b Another scene: the head of Asad (Esved) b. 'Abd al-Asad brought by Hamza to Muhammad's feet.
- 387) fol. 225b All, in green cloak and armed with a double-edged sword, shows clemency in his fighting.
- 388) fol. 229b In the middle of the battle Gabriel inspires Muhammad to recite the ayat of the Qur'an, 111, 200.
- 389) fol. 232a Iblis, having assumed appearance of Suraka b. Malik and riding a mule, joins the Quraysh (his figure is damaged).
- 390) fol. 234a Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib charging.
- 391) fol. 234b Iblis turns back his mule from the Muslims.

II, p. 751

II, p. 754-5

II, p. 760

II, p. 761-2

Battle  
of Badr

II, p. 765

II, p. 769

II, p. 772

II, p. 774-5

II, p. 778

II, p. 779

II, p. 781

II, p. 784

II, p. 788

II, p. 791

II, p. 792

II, p. 793

- 392) fol. 240b Mī'adh (Muaz), fighting with one hand, his other arm hanging half separated from his body.
- 393) fol. 242a 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud stabbing Ebu Cehlī
- 394) fol. 253a The Quraysh prisoners led in fetters behind Muhammad.
- 395) fol. 259a The defeat of the Quraysh being reported to Umm al-Fazl, wife of 'Abbas (in pink); on her left, her slave Abu Rafī.
- 396) fol. 270a In Muhammad's presence Abbas lifts his finger and professes Islam, while Ebu Bakir is about to put his cloak onto the convert's shoulders.
- 397) fol. 272b A servant of Muhammad's daughter Zeynab brings to the Prophet her gifts as a sign of intercession for her husband Abu-As b. al-Rabi.
- 398) fol. 280a Umeys b. Vehab arrives in Medina with the intention of killing the Prophet, while Omer and other companions are talking on the porch of the mosque.
- 
- 399) fol. 293a The Prophet sitting under an awning. On his left are the future Four Caliphs; on his right, four men, probably some of Muhammad's relations enumerated in the text.
- 400) fol. 296a Some other converts joining Muhammad.
- 401) fol. 296b Three other converts: Vehab b. Sa'd, Katib b. Amr and 'Ayad b. Ebi Zuhayr.
- 402) fol. 299a Poets bringing to Muhammad their odes on the battle of Badr. (Muslims and infidels, they were thirty-six in number, but only the poems of three are quoted in the text).
- 
- 403) fol. 308a Representatives of the Jewish tribe of Banu Kaynuka before Muhammad (the scene is replica of ff. 272b, 293a, 314a).
- 404) fol. 310a In Bazaar of the Banu Kaynuka: an Arab woman of a bedouin tribe is selling her bracelet (peçe) to goldsmiths. The types are realistically drawn (cf. fol. 44a).

II, p. 799

II, p. 800

II, p. 803

II, p. 814

II, p. 824

II, p. 826-7

II, p. 837

III, p. c. 115?

III, c. p. 115?

III, c. p. 115?

III, c. p. 115?

II, p. 849

Banu  
Kaynuka

II, p. 850

- 405) fol. 314a The spoils of the Quraysh (sent by Zeyd b. Haritha?) are  
presented to the Prophet. II, p. 853
- 406) fol. 310 (315?) The two milk-brothers Ebu Naille and Ka'b b. Eshraf  
in confidential conversation. II, p. 856
- 407) fol. 321b The head of Ka'b b. Eshraf presented to Muhammad. II, p. 860
- 
- 408) fol. 323b Although the Ansar belonging to the Banu Aus tribe refuse to  
kill the Banu Kurayza Jews, saying that they are bound with  
the latter by oath (halif), Muhammad appoints two Aus to  
each captive Jew and the execution begins. III, p. 246 ff?
- 
- 409) fol. 330a At the request of her husband, Ebu Sufyan, Hind accompanied by  
her attendants, goes to her tribe of Banu Kanana to invoke  
their help. II, p. 868
- 410) fol. 332a Utbeyr b. Mut'im incites his Abyssinian slave Ebu Dasma to  
kill Muhammad. II, p. 868?
- 411) fol. 334a Muhammad tells Bilal to cry in Medina to rally the companions. II, p. 871
- 412) fol. 337a Muhammad, having heard that the Quraysh have arrived in Uhud,  
preaches to his companions. II, p. 875
- 413) fol. 341a Muhammad, ready for battle, comes out of his house saying that  
he will not put down his sword until he has fought the enemy. II, p. 877
- 414) fol. 342a Muhammad presents a red silk banner to his uncle Hamza and  
places under his command a detachment of muhajirs. II, p. 878
- 415) fol. 342b Muhammad presents a white silk banner to the leader of the  
Ansar Sa'd b. Ubada. II, p. 878
- 416) fol. 343a Muhammad presents yellow banner to Mikdad b. Isvad and places  
under him a detachment of Arabs from outside. II, p. 878
- 417) fol. 343b Muhammad marches with three detachments; behind him Ali is  
carrying a banner called 'Ugab (the Eagle). II, p. 878
- 418) fol. 345b A blind man from among the infidels throws earth on the army  
of Islam accusing them of damage done to his field. II, p. 879-80
- 419) fol. 357b The Muslims (right) and Quraysh (left) fling stones at each  
other. II, p. 887

- 420) fol. 361a Vahṣī removes the spear with which he killed Hamza. II, p. 892-3  
 421) fol. 364b After Vahṣī's conversion Muhammad questions why he killed Hamza. II, p. 896  
 422) fol. 371b Malik b. Sīnan (Ehnes) sucking blood from the wounds of the Prophet whom Ibn Kam'e and 'Utbe b. Ebl Vakās struck with stones. II, p. 906  
 423) fol. 374b The wounded Prophet placed at foot of the Ohod mountains. II, p. 909  
 424) fol. 375b Ebu Ibn Halaf advances to kill the Prophet. Harīta b. Samma (in pink) asks for permission to fight him. II, ?  
 425) fol. 379a Talha b. 'Ubeyd stoops to enable the Prophet climb the peak. II, p. 912  
 426) fol. 383a Muhammad orders Omer to kill Harris b. Sīveyd where ever he finds him. II, p. 917  
 427) fol. 384b Hind, Ebu Sūfyan's wife, incites the women of the Quraysh to mutilate the bodies of the fallen Muslims (a scene of remarkable expressiveness). II, p. 918  
 428) fol. 386b Ebu Bakir caressing the little daughter of Sa'id b. Rabi who fallantly fell in battle. II, p. 919  
 429) fol. 389a Safiya, with true resignation, receives the news that her brother Hamza is among the dead. II, p. 922  
 430) fol. 392a The women wailing for Hamza outside the mosque. II, p. 925-6  
 431) fol. 394b After the battle of Uhud Muhammad asks everyone to be again present under arms. No exemption for Cūbeyr b. 'Abdullah (in brown), left in charge of his brother's daughters, to be given. II, p. 928  
 432) fol. 396b A party of mounted Muslims, led by Muhammad, is moving towards a rich tent. A young man, as if alarmed by their approach is carrying away in his arms a young person. (The text does not support the illustration. The latter may refer to Muhammad's rapid advance towards Hamra al-Asad). II, p. 928?  
 433) fol. 398a Ma'bad Khuaz'i, returning with his caravan from Syria, informs Abu Sūfyan that Muhammad has already reached Hamra al-Asad. II, p. 930



- 434) fol. 401a Muhammad orders 'Asim b. Tabit to kill the captive poet Ebu Uzze (sitting) who, having been freed after the battle of Badr again joined the Meccans.
- 435) fol. 404a After the raid to Hamra al-Asad Muhammad preaches to his companions. 'Abdullah b. Ubi remains standing, while the other members of the congregation persuade him to sit down decorously.
- 436) fol. 411b Muhammad preaching to his companions.
- 437) fol. 419a Hamza and the other Muslims fallen on battlefield of Uhud.
- 438) fol. 420b The enemies fallen at Uhud.
- 439) fol. 421b The unknown warriors fallen at Uhud, with bodies blackened by the sun.
- 440) fol. 434b Ka'b b. Malik of Bannu 'Amir on entering the mosque wants to know who among those present is Muhammad. Ali explains that the Prophet is to be recognized by his resplendent looks and perfumed breath.
- 441) fol. 435b Reyhan, daughter of Ka'b b. Malik, neglected by her husband.
- 442) fol. 437a Ka'b kills Reyhan's faithless husband. Reyhan in horror at her father's deed.
- 443) fol. 438b After his return from the Prophet, Ka'b stands at prayers. Reyhan listens to him and accepts Islam.
- 444) fol. 442a King Rayyan of Bannu 'Amir questions Ka'b on his conversion.
- 445) fol. 443a While Rayyan orders a fire to be lit and horseshoes heated in it to be applied to Ka'b's body, Reyhan, dishevelled and in distress, enters followed by notables.
- 446) fol. 445b Ka'b and Reyhan overtaken by Rayyan's men, give themselves up to God's will.
- 447) fol. 446b Ka'b declares that being a Muslim he cannot return to his heathen king.
- 448) fol. 447b By God's command Gabriel transports Ka'b and Reyhan on to a mountain. Rayyan's men are trying to scale it.
- 449) fol. 449b As God destined Reyhan to be the Prophet's wife, Ali goes to Ka'b's rescue. Below: Ali's mule carrying his double-edged sword (Dhul-Fiqar)

II, p. 932

III, p. 6-7

III, p. 6-7

III, p. 7-8

III, p. 8

III, p. 9

III, p. 9

III, p. 10

Reyhan

III, p. 10-11

III, p. 19-20

III, p. 21-22

III, p. 25

III, p. 26

III, p. 26

III, p. 28

III, ?

- 450) fol. 451a All and Zubeyr put to flight Rayyan's men. III, ?  
 451) fol. 453a Two important converts: 'Amr b. Ummayya al-Dummayri and III, p. 30  
     'Abdullah b. Anis al-Juhaymi before the Prophet.  
 452) fol. 455b 'Amr b. Iudgha Sulaymi (standing) volunteers to murder Kalid b. Sufyan al-Hadhli (al-Hudhaili?) lower down called Sufyan b. Kalid, who is marching against the Prophet. III, p. 31  
 453) fol. 456b Three other volunteers, Abdullah b. Uneys, Amr b. Umayya, and the youthful son of Zeyd b. Amr join Amr b. Iudgha. III, p. 32  
 454) fol. 458b The story of Zeyd b. Amr: Ta'abbata-Sharran having placed six men at entrance of a grotto where Zeyd was hiding, God sent a snake to kill them. III, p. 33  
 455) fol. 460b The family story of the fifth volunteer, Malik b. Sukru. His father Sukru joins the shepherds of Halid b. Muharib with the intention of killing their master (in pink) who had dishonored his wife. III, p. 35  
 456) fol. 462b Having killed Halid (whose headless body is seen on the couch) Sukru puts on his clothes, mounts his steed, bids Halid's wife to bring his spear, and finally kidnaps her. III, p. 37  
 457) fol. 464b The family story of the sixth volunteer, Arm. b. Qadban. His father Qadban (surnamed Muta.jilr al-mawt) stops Ta'abbata-Sharran on a narrow path. III, p. 38  
 458) fol. 466b Qadban escapes from Ta'abbata-Sharran. III, p. 37-9  
 459) fol. 468a The family story of the seventh (?) volunteer, Malik b. Ta'abbata Sharran. Ta'abbata-Sharran climbs to an inaccessible grotto which is full of honey. III, p. 37-9  
 460) fol. 469a Being surprised by the owners of the grotto Ta'abbata-Sharran tells his men to inflate the skins brought for the honey. (He then covers himself with the skins and rolls down the mountain to bring help). III, p. 37-9

- 461) fol. 470b The leader of the volunteers, 'Abdullah b. Uneys kills  
a lion for his friends' repast. III, p. 40
- 462) fol. 473a Abdullah b. Uneys disguised as a white-bearded poet, recites  
a gasida to the black officer of Sufyan b. Halid (sic)  
commissioned to guard a pass. III, p. 44
- 463) fol. 474b Abdullah speaking to Sufyan's chamberlain. III, p. 45
- 464) fol. 478a The chamberlain explains to Abdullah that the king likes to  
hear Muhammad cursed. III, p. 46
- 465) fol. 484a Sufyan b. Halid listening to Abdullah's praise of Muhammad  
and Ali. III, p. 50?
- 466) fol. 485a Sufyan softened by Abdullah's further gasidas tells the  
chamberlain to entertain the poet in his tent. III, p. 51
- 467) fol. 486a Abdullah asks for Sufyan's permission to go and visit his  
ancient father whom he had left in a grotto. III, p. 51
- 468) fol. 487a The king, whose curiosity is awakened by Abdullah's tales,  
accompanies Abdullah to the grotto where Abdullah murders  
him. Sufyan's horse is seen in the distance. III, p. 52
- 469) fol. 488a Dressed in Sufyan's clothes, Abdullah is riding his horse.  
On being questioned by the black officer, he praises the  
liberality shown to him by Sufyan and shows the king's  
signet ring. III, p. 52
- 470) fol. 489b Abdullah presents Sufyan's head to the Prophet. The latter  
gives him a staff and requests him to carry it even to the  
Day of Judgement when it will be his special sign.  
Abdullah's companions are seen behind him. III, p. 53-4

Volume V (currently designated VI) (Topkapi Palace Museum Hazine 1223): 36.5 c 27 cm.; written  
surface: 29 x 17 cm. 420 folios. 13 lines. 18th century green leather binding. 125 miniatures.  
Mss. copied by Ahmad al-Nuri b. Mustafa in 1003 A.H./ 1594-5 A.D. during the reign of Murad III.

- 471) fol. 3a Muhammad goes to Ali's house. Selman-i Farisi tells Muhammad  
that Ali has gone out. III, p. 256 Halid
- 472) fol. 5b Halid b. al-Velid and son Suleyman go to look for Ali. III, p. 258 b.  
al-Velid

- 473) fol. 12a Halid b. al-Velid falls asleep. Someone pushes him. He  
wakes to find Ali. III, p. 264
- 474) fol. 17a Halid b. al-Velid meets a man knocked down by a stone on his  
breast. Sets a fire to see who he is. III, p. 268
- 475) fol. 18b By the fire's light, Halid b. al-Velid discovers it is Rabia  
b. Malik Seyf b. Muglyre. III, p. 268
- 476) fol. 19b Ali comes driving the people of the castle for which Rabia  
b. Malik Seyf b. Muglyre is the chief. III, p. 269
- 477) fol. 21a The chief of the castle takes Ali and Halid b. al-Velid to  
the castle and talks about how Ali treats the non-Muslims  
therein. III, p. 271
- 478) fol. 22b Gabriel comes to Muhammad and tells him that Ali is coming  
with booty. III, p. 271
- 479) fol. 26a Muhammad talks with Salima b. al-Akrah in the mesqid. III, p. 295?
- 
- 480) fol. 28b Muhammad and a friend pray for Amr b. Ummeys Zamrl. Amr b.  
Ummeys and King Mauv  
481) fol. 30a Amr b. Ummeys speaks with a pagan woman coming with a loaded  
camel. III, p. 332?
- 482) fol. 31b Amr b. Ummeys is angry when he learns that these goods are  
for an idol. He throws the woman to the ground but the  
old woman grabs his testicles and he faints. III, p. 336
- 483) fol. 34b Bejr b. Abbade and friends meet a hoca. Bejr tells him that  
his adopted son has run away with the horses and clothes  
and asks his help. The hoca takes him to King Mauv's castle. III, p. 337
- 484) fol. 38b While the two are with King Mauv, the pagan woman appears and  
says she has brought the man they are looking for. III, p. 340
- 485) fol. 46a Bejr b. Abbade comes near Ebu al-Nace who has become Muslim. III, p. 343
- 486) fol. 49a Mauv and troops surround castle of Ebu al-Nace. III, p. 346
- 487) fol. 55b When Selma learns that many of Mauv's people have converted,  
she falls down in prayer near the idol tree. The tree  
tells her that Ali has come. III, p. 348-9
- 488) fol. 58a Ali and Mauv meet before this tree. III, p. 356 ff.

- 489) fol. 59b Ali tries to convince him (unsuccessfully) to become Muslim.  
 A soldier draws a sword to cut Mauv's head off. III, p. 359
- 490) fol. 62a Ali brings Alvah b. Abid who wants to meet Muhammad. III, p. 361
- 491) fol. 67a Ali goes to war. III, p. 362
- 492) fol. 70b Ali kills a dragon. III, p. 366
- 493) fol. 73b The people in the castle beg mercy from Ali. III, p. 366-7 ff.
- 494) fol. 74b Ali kills a lion. III, p. 368
- 495) fol. 76b Ali lifts a rock and wants to enter the passage he has found. III, p. 369-70
- 496) fol. 83b Amr b. Ummeiye Zamiri sees a poet reading on horseback (a camel).  
 The horse is startled; he falls. III, p. 375
- 497) fol. 85b Abdullah b. Enisi reads poetry before the chief of the  
 Miskal b. Fassal tribe. III, p. 376-7
- 498) fol. 90a Ali talks with shepherds. III, p. 379
- 499) fol. 94a Ali and shepherd appear before castle. The shepherd asks  
 for entry since he has brought booty. III, p. 378-9
- 500) fol. 96b Ali enters. He sees wives of Miskal coming with goods. III, p. 378
- 501) fol. 98b While walking around the castle, Ali meets Ganaim who has  
 come to tell of new booty. III, p. 376 or 380?
- 502) fol. 100b Adherents of Miskal and Ali meet each other. III, p. 386
- 503) fol. 103a Ali kills Miskal who won't convert. III, p. 388
- 504) fol. 105a Muhammad meets Ali near Medina. III, p. 389
- 
- 505) fol. 108a Satan comes in while Muhammad is sitting with a friend. (A  
 note on p. 413 says this appears in the Topkapi Palace  
 version but not some others.) III, p. 414 ff.
- 506) fol. 125a Noah talks to Satan. III, p. 424
- 507) fol. 131b Muhammad talks to Satan. III, p. 425 ff.
- 
- 508) fol. 135b Muhammad's army fights the Mutallak (Mustalik ogullari?) tribe. III, p. 307 ff. or 428
- 
- 509) fol. 136b Muhammad sees Ayye, daughter of the chief, among the slave  
 women. He likes her. III, p. 308? or  
 before #224

510) fol. 144b Muhammad forgives those who gossiped about Ayse. III, p. 312 ff.

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511) fol. 148b Muhammad and army make ready for war. III, p. 391-2 Gaza  
 512) fol. 152b Muhammad provides a miracle of water for the elders of Islam. III, p. 392 stories  
 513) fol. 159b Muhammad and army meet army of Esced b. Buveyleme. III, p. 397  
 514) fol. 163a A 13 year old boy on Muhammad's side shoots Esced's son. III, p. 398  
 515) fol. 164a Esced kills the boy with an arrow. III, p. 400  
 516) fol. 172b Ali kills Esced. III, p. 404  
 517) fol. 176a Muhammad prepares to fight with the protection of Gabriel, Mikael and Azrael. III, p. 407  
 518) fol. 179a An army surrounds Muhammad. III, p. 408  
 519) fol. 186b Ali and Ammar b. Yasir meet a tribe by the river. III, p. 413?  
 520) fol. 191a The tribe attacks them. III, c. p. 413

(This should follow #480)

521) fol. 194a Tavk b. Sabbah refuses to convert. Ammar ties him to a tree. III, p. 331 ff. Tavk  
 522) fol. 197b Ali continues to fight. III, p. 333  
 523) fol. 206b Father of Tavk b. Sabbah wants to see Muhammad. III, p. 332?  
 On Tavk's wedding day, Emruz b. Sariye drives away the bride  
 and all of the women wall. III, c. p. 332?  
 524) fol. 208a To fight with the Emruz's army who have come to save Naïma, III, c. p. 332?  
 Tavk ties Naïma's camel to a tree. III, c. p. 332?  
 525) fol. 208b Tavk talks with Emruz b. Sariye who has come with army. III, c. p. 332?  
 526) fol. 216a Tavk fights army of Emruz. III, c. p. 332?  
 527) fol. 223a Upon Tavk's call, Ali kills Emruz. III, c. p. 332?

(This story should follow #521)

528) fol. 229a Muhammad creates water from a dry well. III, p. 435  
 529) fol. 233a The friends of Muhammad drink water he has used for ritual III, p. 436?  
 ablution.

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530) fol. 244b Tribe of Banu Bakr wants revenge on tribe of Banu Huzza. III, p. 603 ff. or 527?

- 531 } fol. 256b Ka'ab b. Malik and Alkame talk about where Muhammad is going. III, p. 547 War  
532 } fol. 264b Abbas takes Ebu Sufyan on the back of his saddle. III, p. 550 ff. with  
533 } fol. 277b Ebu Sufyan wants to abandon Abbas. He ties him up. III, p. 554 ff. Mecca  
534 } fol. 280\_ Ebu Sufyan and Abbas meet Omer Ummeiyeh and army. III, p. 559  
535 } fol. 289b Halid b. al-Velid attacks enemy when Meccans won't let Muslims in. III, p. 582  
536 } fol. 291a Muhammad says no more blood, Halid b. al-Velid goes on killing Meccans. III, p. 584  
537 } fol. 292a Halid b. al-Velid continues killing III, p. 585  
538 } fol. 294b Muhammad gets angry. He has Ali catch him, tie him up, and bring him to him. III, p. 586  
539 } fol. 296a When Muhammad speaks with him, Gabriel defends Halid b. al-Velid. III, p. 587  
540 } fol. 297b Muhammad walks toward Mecca with the Muslims. III, p. 593  
541 } fol. 298a Muhammad is joined by Gabriel, Mikael, Israfil and Azrael. III, p. 594  
542 } fol. 299b Muhammad walks towards the Ka'ba. III, p. 595  
543 } fol. 301b Muhammad and Ali talk about removing the drawing on the Ka'ba walls. III, p. 598  
544 } fol. 303a Ali breaks Ka'ba idol. III, p. 595  
545 } fol. 304a Bilal makes the first call to prayer from Mecca. III, p. 500-600  
546 } fol. 308b Malik b. Auf says Meccans have become Muslims. III, c. p. 615  
547 } fol. 310a Malik b. Auf gives a banquet in honor of the ones who brought news of Mecca's conversion. III, p. 621?
- 
- 548 } fol. 311a Malik b. Auf entertains tribe of Banu Amer. III, p. 627
- 
- 549 } fol. 316a Gabriel tells Muhammad's tribe of Havazin-1 Sakif's forthcoming attack. III, p. 622 Havazin-1  
550 } fol. 317b Muhammad warns Meccans, among them Abbas. III, p. 623? Sakif  
551 } fol. 322a Dered b. Samme (Dureyd b. Samms) gives advice to Malik b. Auf. III, p. 625 tribe  
552 } fol. 324a Malik b. Auf goes to hill with slave Necija whose eyes have the ability to see a person coming from one day's distance. III, p. 627

553} fol. 326a Necya tells of the grandeur of Muhammad's army. III, p. 627-9  
 554} fol. 328b Zithbeyr kills all of the people in Malik's army with his sword. III, ?  
 555} fol. 330a Gabriel gives Muhammad courage. III, p. 631

556} fol. 332b Muhammad prays for best fighting tribe of the Bent Selam. III, p. 604-5/641/545?

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557} fol. 336a Muhammad's miracle of water for soldiers. III, ? Battles  
 558} fol. 338a Gabriel tells Muhammad that the angels are on his side. III, p. 638  
 559} fol. 341a Masud b. Gaffari dies. III, ?  
 560} fol. 343a Ali breaks enemy's lance. III, ?  
 561} fol. 344a Ali kills Zulhammar. III, p. 638-9  
 562} fol. 350a Muhammad advises new Muslims. III, p. 653?  
 563} fol. 352a Saad b. Seheh (ibn Cihade), chief of Cezzame tribe asks to see Muhammad. III, p. 646-7

(This section should appear before #532)

564} fol. 353b Herkel (king of Iraq) gets angry with part of his tribe who become Muslims. He asks to see them. III, p. 509 ff. Iraq  
 565} fol. 356b Emperor of Iraq hears Muhammad's army is coming. III, p. 511  
 566} fol. 359b Islamic army comes. III, p. 512  
 567} fol. 360a The king's army comes. III, p. 512 ff.  
 568} fol. 363a Cafer Tayyar talks with a monk and forces him and his tribe to convert. III, p. 519 Cafer  
 569} fol. 364b Cafer Tayyar throws the monk down the mountain. III, p. 519-20 Tayyar  
 570} fol. 365b Cafer Tayyar's arm is cut in battle. III, p. 519-20  
 571} fol. 371a The poet Beltea (Abu Beltea) reads a message in the sand from Muhammad to the Meccans. III, p. 536 ff. Meccan  
 572} fol. 372- Beltea gives Muhammad a message from the emperor (Meccans). III, p. 536 ff. war  
 573} fol. 376a When Muhammad is talking to Abdurrahman, Gabriel appears and tells him that a place is saved for him in heaven. (That the Meccans are arming) III, p. 536 ff.  
 574} fol. 378a Gabriel tells Muhammad to send Ali to Medina (Mecca). III, p. 538 ff.  
 575} fol. 379b Muhammad finds Ammar b. Yassar's camel wound around a tree. III, c. p. 538 ff. or II, p. 21 ff.



- 576} fol. 381a The emperor of Iraq orders the soldiers to group. III, p. 684 Ali  
577} fol. 383b The soldiers of the emperor march. III, p. 689  
578} fol. 385a Hald b. al-Veld fights the enemy. III, p. 689  
579} fol. 386b The war between Muhammad and the emperor. III, p. 689  
580} fol. 389a Muhammad calls Ali three times and he comes. III, p. 704-6  
581} fol. 390b Ali kills the enemy. III, p. 712  
582} fol. 391a Ali grabs Bules by the waist and takes him prisoner. ?  
583} fol. 393b Muhammad and Muslims pray at grave of Abdullah b. Mazeni. III, c. p. 720?  
584} fol. 395b Ka'ab comes after Muhammad's call and walks with him. ?  
585} fol. 399b In order to give it to Muaz, Bilal brings the turban to Fatimah's house. III, p. 755
- 
- 586} fol. 402b Muhammad talks of his death. III, p. 729 Death  
of  
Muhammad
- 
- 587} fol. 403b Muhammad's last sermon. III, p. 757-9 Muhammad
- 
- 588} fol. 405b Azrael, disguised as a young person, waits outside Muhammad's door. III, p. 760-1/739  
589} fol. 407b Muhammad asks Fatimah to tell him to come in. III, p. 739/760-1?  
590} fol. 408b Muhammad and Gabriel talk. III, p. 760-1  
591} fol. 410b Muhammad takes Hasan and Huseyn in his arms. III, p. 761  
592} fol. 412b Muhammad brushes teeth with misvak in a silk bed. ?  
593} fol. 414a Muhammad's death. III, p. 762  
594} fol. 415b Ebu Bakir meets with others. Talks to Saad b. Iyade. III, p. 762-3  
595} fol. 417a Men make oath of allegiance to Ebu Bakir. III, p. 762-3

## APPENDIX C

List of manuscripts used in compiling the Modern Turkish version of the Siyer-i Nebi. The translator notes with other copies are at variance with the Topkapı ones.

Volumes 1-2-6	Topkapı Saray H. 1221, 1222 and 1223 (1003/1594 A.D.)
Volumes 1-5	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut 4271 (H. 1050/1640-41 A.D.)
Volume 1	Fatih 4272 (A.H. 969/1555 A.D.)
Volumes 1-2	Fatih 4274 (A.H. 969/1555 A.D.)
Volume 1	Fatih 4404 (A.H. 969/1555 A.D.)
Volume 1	Fatih (A.H. 1092/1681)
Volume 1	Millet Ali Emiri Ef. 313 (A.H. 1179/1765-66)
Volume 1	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut 4491 (A.H. 1179/1765-66 A.D.)
Volumes 1-5	Süleymaniye Çelebi Abdullah Ef. 251 (A.H. 1179/1765-66 A.D.)
Volumes 1-3-4	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut Ef. 4861 (A.H. 977/1589)
Volume 3	Millet Ali Emiri Ef. 720 (A.H. 1038/1629 A.D.)
Volumes 3-4	Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmut Ef. 4301 (A.H. 1038/1629 A.D.)
Volumes 3-4	Fatih Selim Ağâ 98 (A.H. 1038/1629 A.D.)
Volume 4	Millet Ali Emiri Ef. 314 (A.H. 938/1531-32 A.D.)

- Volume 5           Nuruosmaniye                           2855 (A.H. 962/1594-5 A.D.)
- Volume 5           Millet Ali Emiri Ef.       315   (A.H. 976/1568 A.D.)
- Volume 5           Ist. Belediye Muallim Cevdet 31 (A.H. 969/1562  
A.D.)
- Volume 2           Turkish and Islamic Museum: copy with miniatures.

## APPENDIX D

### PARTIAL LISTING OF ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE REIGN OF MURAD III

History of Sultan Süleyman (Zafername) (Lokman). 1579.

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, No. 413. 25 miniatures.

Qiyafat al-Insânîye fi Shamâ'il al-Othmâniya (Lokman's geneo-  
logical mss.)

Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1563. 1579 A.D. 12 miniatures

Istanbul University Library T. 6087. 987/1579 A.D.

12 miniatures.

Istanbul University Library T. 6088. c. 1580

12 miniatures.

(All of the above were painted by Osman, head of the  
nakkaşhane.)

Topkapi Saray Museum R. 1264. 996/1587 12 miniatures.

British Museum Add. 7880. 997/1589 A.D. (First 12  
portraits from 1588-9/997).

Topkapi Palace Museum. R. 1265. 1003/1595 12 miniatures  
Tarcûma-i Shahnâma (Firdausi). c. 1580. Binney Collection 17.4  
miniatures.

Kitab-i Shah u Geda Yahya Beg. c. 1580. Binney Collection  
20.6 miniatures.

Shahnane-i Selim Khan./Topkapi Palace Museum A. 3595. #3  
miniatures.

Nasîhat al-salâtîn, Mustafa 'Ali, Gelibolu'lu. 989/1581.

Topkapi Saray Museum R. 406. 3 miniatures.

Mathnavî (Jalal al-Din Rûmî). British Museum. Or. 1693.

c. 1580-90.

Shahinshahname.

Vol. 1 1581. Istanbul University Library F. 1404.

58 miniatures.

Vol. 2 1592-97. Topkapi Saray Museum B. 200.

95 miniatures.

Zubdat al-aş'âr (Khodja Sa'd ad-Dîn) c. 1582. Topkapi Saray

Museum. R. 824 2 miniatures.

Javahir al-gharaib tarajamat Bahr al-adga'ib (Jannabi).

Binney 10. 11 miniatures.

Nusretnâme. (Wars of Lala Mustafa Paşa in Georgia and Azerbaijan  
recounted by Mustafa 'Alî Gelibu'lu)

British Museum, London, Add. 22011. 990/1582-3.

11 miniatures.

Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1365. 992/1584. 41 miniatures.

Kitab al-Bulhan (astrology and divination).

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris suppl. turc. 242. 1582.

New York City Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 788. 1582.

Matâlî al-saâda et yanâbi al-siyâda. (Written by Muhammad ibn  
Amir Hasan al-Sudi for Fatma Sultan, daughter of Murad III.

Illustrated by Osman.) Paris, Bibliothèque National suppl. turc.  
242? Check--same as previous one? C.47 miniatures.

Târîh-i Hindi Garbî.

Bayazid Library 4969. 991/1583.

Topkapi Palace Museum R. 1488. 3 miniatures. 14 miniatures.

Zubdet al-Tawârîkh. (Lokman).

Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, Istanbul. 1973. 991/1583. 40 miniatures.

Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1321. 991/1588 (given by Siyavuş Paşa in 1586 to commemorate his second term of service as Grand Vizir.) 40 miniatures.

Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Turkish 414. (Prepared for the Black Eunuch Mehmed Ağâ.) 45 miniatures.

Hunername (Lokman). 2 vols. 1584 and 1588. Topkapi Palace Museum H. 1523-25. 45 miniatures and 65 miniatures.

Ibratnâma (Lâmi'î). 991/1583. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz and Deutsche Staatsbibliothek. Ms. Landberg 827. 8 miniatures.

Surname. Topkapi Saray Museum. H. 1344. 437 miniatures.

Hadîqat al-su'adâ (Fazûlî).

994/1585 Konya, Mevlana Museum 4. 4 miniatures

Bibliothèque Nationale suppl. turc. 1088. 12 miniatures

c. 1600 British Museum Or. 12009. 15 miniatures

1002/1594 Süleymaniye Library Fatih 4321. 7 miniatures.

c. 1595 British Museum Or. 7301. 11 miniatures.

Yusuf va Zulayka (Hamd-Allah Chelebi).

c. 1585-90. Chester Beatty Turk.

Mss. 428. 21 miniatures

c. 1580-5 Hans P. Kraus. 5 miniatures

Kalila wa Dimna. c. 1585-90. British Museum Or. 7354. 4 miniatures.

Shajaatname. (Describes Persian campaigns of Ozdemiroglu  
Osman Paşa)

994/1586. Istanbul University Library T. 6043.

77 miniatures.

Qissa-i shahr-i shatran. (Faramurz b. Abul Qasim).

998/1589-90

Istanbul University Library.

T. 9303. 64 miniatures.

Rauzat ash-Suhada (Husayn al-Kashifi). c. 1590. Berlin.

Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer

Kulturbesitz und Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Ms. Diez

A. 12 miniatures.

Kitab-i Genjine Feth-i Genje. 1589-90. (Capture of the city  
of Genje by Ferhad Paşa. Topkapi Palace Museum.

R. 1296. 998/1589-90. 20 miniatures.

Manaqib-i thavaqib. 998/1590. (Turkish translation done by  
Mahmud Dede, a Mevlevi from Konya at Murad III's  
request.)

Pierpont Morgan Library, N.Y.C. colophon missing.

Mss. 466. 29 minutes.

Topkapi Palace Museum R. 1479. 1007/1599.

### Humayunname

Topkapi Palace Museum. R. 843. 83 miniatures

British Museum Add. 15153. 997/1590. 165 miniatures.

Anthology (Ahi, Hukmi, Husayn Kaşifi). 998/1589. Turkish  
and Islamic Art Museum, 1968. 12 miniatures.

Gazavat-i Osman Pasha (Ta'liqi Zada). c. 1590. Topkapi

Saray Museum R. 1300. 1 miniature.

Tadj al-tavârikh. (Khodja Sa'd ad-Dîn). Topkapi Saray Museum.

R. 1112. 9 miniatures.

Shahnama (Firdausi). c. 1590. British Museum Or. 7204.

33 miniatures.

Tarîkh-i Fath-i Yemen (Rumûzî) 1002/1594. Istanbul

University Libr. T. 6045. 104 miniatures.

Siyer-i Nebi. (Darir) 1003./ 1594-5

Topkapi Palace H. 1221, 1222, 1223. 139, 85, 125 miniatures.

Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin Turkish, mss. 419

136 miniatures.

N.Y.C. Public Library Spencer Collection. 128 miniatures

Divan (Baqi). 1004/1595. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum.

1959. 8 miniatures.

c. 1595 British Museum. Or. 7084. 9 miniatures.

Nafahat al-uns (Jâmi), 1003/1595: Chester Beatty Turkish Mss.

474. 9 miniatures.

Adjâib al-makhlûqât (Qazvînî)

c. 1595 British Museum Add. 7894. 149 diagrams and miniatures.

c. 1595 British Museum Harleian 5500. 90 miniatures

c. 1595 Topkapi Saray Museum A. 3632. 127 miniatures

The Romance of Farrukhrûz (Faramarz)

c. 1595 British Museum Or. 3298. 64 miniatures.



APPENDIX E  
PARTIAL LIST OF MAJOR SITES COMPLETED IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE  
BETWEEN 1574-95 EXCLUDING THOSE COMMISSIONED BY  
MURAD III

Complex of Nur Banu, Toptaşı (architect: Sinan)

Valide-i Atik Mosque, Uskudar. 1577-83.

Han above the Misir Çarşı.

Hasan Paşa Han, Diyarbakir 980/1573-983/1575 A.D.

Han of Pertev Mehmet Paşa, Izmit 987/1579 A.D.

Derviş Paşa Camii. 1579. (Damascus style tiles).

Mosque of Mehmet Bey (Mahmut Paşa?) (architect: Sinan).

1580 A.D.

Azapkapi Camii. Done for Sokullu Mehmet Paşa. (architect:  
Sinan). 1580 A.D. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles).

Tophani Camii. Done for Kaptan Paşa, Kiliç Ali. (architect:  
Sinan). 1580. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles).

Eyup Zal Mahmut Paşa. 1581. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles).

Mosque of Sinan Paşa, Damascus. 994/1585 A.D.

Mosque of Sinan Paşa, Bursa-Yenişehir. 1585. (Iznik tiles.)

Mosque of Kizlar Ağâ Mehmet, Çarşamba. 1585 (Iznikhles)

Ramazan Efendi Camii, near Yedikule. Done of Hacı Husrev Ağâ.  
994/1586. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles).

Ivaz Efendi Camii. 1585. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles.)

Sinaniye. 1586. (Damascus style tiles.)

Mosque of Recep Paşa, Rhodes. 996/1588.

Kervansaray of el-Ktaife on Hajj Route. Done for Yemeni Fatih

Sinan Paşa. 1000/1591.

Mosque of Melek Ahmet Paşa, Diyarbakir. 999/1591. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles).

Takkeci Ibrahim Ağa Camii, Istanbul. 1591. (Iznik and Kütahya tiles).

Hunting lodge of Siyavuş Paşa, Yeşilköy. 1000/1592.

Cerrah Paşa Mosque. 1593. (Done for doctor who circumcized Mehmet III. )

Sadrazam Yemen Fatihi Sinan Paşa Mosque Complex, Istanbul. 1593.

Yeni Valide Mosque begun for Safiye Sultane in Istanbul at Eminönü.

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