# Will I Be Happy? Will I Be Rich? Three Lot Books (Qur'as) from the Library of Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī 

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#### Abstract

This article deals with a collection of three divinatory lot books (qur'as) that were once owned by Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī, an early tenth/sixteenth-century governor of Mamluk Damascus: Qur‘at al-Imām Ja‘far, Qur‘at al-Dawāzdahmarj, and al-Qur‘a al-mubāraka al-ma`mūniyya. Beginning with a transcription and translation of their introductions and some samples of their main texts, I analyze the books' divinatory technique and show it to be a combination of choice and chance, the latter generated either through a muqāra'a or through a khatṭ procedure. I lay bare the mechanics that inform the seemingly haphazard arrangement of the 3,856 divinations included in the books, identify the books' sources as either Quranic or (Perso-)Indic astrology, and conclude with a discussion of the historicity of the various user strategies, based on supplementary manuscript evidence. In the appendix, I provide a full transcription and translation of the first lot book, with instructions for making one's own divinatory device.


People have always wanted to know what the future holds. Some of the most popular divinatory techniques today include natal and weekly horoscopes, tarot cards, pendulums, tasseography, scrying, and palmistry. Since people in the past probably considered their fates much more sealed than we do nowadays, ${ }^{1}$ they must have been no less keen than we are to know what those fates might be. Indeed, they turned to techniques such as astrology, bibliomancy, geomancy, hydromancy, oneiromancy, onomancy, ornithomancy, physiognomy, and scapilumancy, and they sought to manipulate their futures through alchemy and magical bowls, spells, letters, and shirts. In spite of Ibn Khaldūn's staunch antioccult stance, the Mamluks proved no exception, gazing at the stars, visiting geomancers, dissolving spells in their beverages, and donning densely written-on shirts. ${ }^{2}$

[^0]In two previous publications, I have explored how people in the Mamluk period armed themselves against snake and scorpion bites and how they chose an optimal seating position at a majlis. ${ }^{3}$ Adding another chapter to my exploration of the Mamluk occult, I now turn my attention to divination through sortilege or lot casting-that is, the interpretation of results produced by chance. ${ }^{4}$ Often, the casting of lots (qur ${ }^{〔}$ ) took the specific form of fal, or bibliomancy, be it with the Quran, with al-Bukhārī's Șaḥīh, with Ḥāfiz's divan, or with specifically designed lot books. The manuscript under scrutiny here-a splendid volume of 138 folios currently kept at the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi (MS Ayasofya 1999)— falls into the latter category, containing three such lot books. ${ }^{5}$

The manuscript opens on fol. 1 with an ex libris: "Of the eminent, lofty, and lordly library of the guardian of the well-protected Syrian domains, Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī, may God render his triumph victorious" (bi-rasm al-khizāna al-karīmiyya al-āliyya al-mawlawiyya [. . .] kāfil al-mamlaka al-shāmiyya al-maḥrūsa Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī a'azza Allāh naṣrahu; see Fig. 1). The colophon (fol. 138r) teaches us that the copy was made "in the beginning of the month of Muḥarram 907 [August 1501] by the one in need of the mercy of God, exalted is He above all, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammadī al-Ja'farī al-Ḥanbalī (fi mustahall shahr Allāh al-Muḥarram al-ḥarām mufattị̣ shuhūr sanat sab` wa-tis‘ mīya ‘alā
(Matthew Melvin-Koushki), lettrism (Noah Gardiner), magical amulets and talismans (Jean-Charles Coulon), magical shirts (Yasmine Alsaleh), magical squares (Bink Hallum), and oneiromancy (Yehoshua Frenkel), to name but a few. The occult beyond the Mamluk sultanate has been explored by scholars such as Delia Cortese, Lucia Raggetti, Anne Regourd, Liana Saif, and Petra G. Schmidl. For the specific topic of predictions in Mamluk chronicles, see A. Mazor, "The Topos of Predicting the Future in Early Mamlūk Historiography," in Mamluk Historiography Revisited: Narratological Perspectives, ed. S. Conermann and B. J. Walker, 103-19 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2018).
3. See K. D'hulster, "The Venom Is in the Tail: A Latin (?) Magical Formula against Stings and Bites in a Mamluk Manuscript (Ayasofya 1443)" and idem, "The Art of Picking the Best Seat: From Vedic Vāstu Śāstra to Seating Positions at a Muslim Majlis (Ayasofya 2836)." See also idem, Browsing through the Sultan's Bookshelves: Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamluk Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906-922/1501-1516) (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2021), 131-32, 138-43; and idem and N. Löhr, "(Mis)reading the Stars at the Mamluk Court: The Horoscope (Zāyirja) of al-Ẓāhir Qāniṣawh (r. 1498-1500)," forthcoming.
4. See T. Fahd, La divination arabe: Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de I'Islam (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 214-19 (calling it rhapsodomancy rather than sortilege or bibliomancy); idem, "Kur'a," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., ed. P. J. Bearman et al., 5:398-99 (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2004); E. SavageSmith, ed., Magic and Divination in Early Islam (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), xxxiii-xxxv; P. G. Schmidl, "Medieval Traditions of Prognostication in the Islamic World," in Prognostication in the Medieval World, ed. M. Heiduk et al., 1:189-242 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), at 217-18.
5. All three lot books are briefly referenced in Fahd, La divination arabe, 216-17; Savage-Smith, Magic and Divination, xxxiv and n. 88. For the second and third books, see P. Kunitzsch, "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol': Eine Nachlese," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 118 (1968): 297-314; and idem, "Eine neue Alfadhol-Handschrift," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 134 (1984): 280-85. Unfortunately, I was not able to access the Heidelberg dissertation in relation to which Kunitzsch wrote his excellent 1968 article: B. F. Lutz, "Das Buch 'Alfadol': Untersuchung und Ausgabe nach der Wiener Handschrift 2804" (PhD diss., Heidelberg University, 1967). As such, it remains unclear whether this dissertation contains a detailed analysis of how to operate the qur'a in its Latin or German translation.
yad faqīr 'afw Allāh ta‘ālā Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ja'farī al-Hanbalī). ${ }^{6}$ In view of the name, the location, and the year, ${ }^{7}$ there can be no doubt about the previous owner of this precious manuscript: Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī (d. 910/1504-5), also known as Qāniṣawh al-Burjī, who passed away while serving as governor of Damascus. He was initially interred in Damascus, but a few months later his corpse was taken to Cairo to be buried a second time in the family tomb built by one of his brothers, Khā’ir Beg, who would become the first governor of Ottoman Egypt. ${ }^{8}$

The tenth/sixteenthcentury Aleppan prosopografist Ibn al-Ḥanbalī was personally acquainted with Qāniṣawh al-Burjī's son Maḥmūd b. Qāniṣawh b. Mālbāy (sic?) al-Muḥammadī al-Malikī al-Muẓaffarī, and


Fig. 1. Ex libris (Ayasofya 1999, fol. 1v)
6. Here and in the following, the texts are transcribed faithfully from the manuscript, including missing and superfluous diacritics. Vowels and other orthographic signs are retained in the transcription only in those cases where they may be relevant.
7. The year is 907/1501, not 700/1300-1301, as Kunitzsch supposed ("Zum 'Liber Alfadhol," 300). Since he worked with a partial copy that did not include the colophon, he took the date from Fahd (La divination arabe, 216, n. 4), who gave the date as sab mīya instead of sab ${ }^{\text {c wa-tis }}$ ' mīya.
8. See, among others, Ibn Iyās,Badā’i‘al-zuhūr fí waq̄̄̄’‘‘al-duhūr, ed.P.Kahle, M. Mușṭafā, and M. Sobernheim (Istanbul: Maṭba‘at al-Dawla, 1931), 4:66; Ibn Iyās, Badā’i‘ al-zuhūr fī waq̄̄̄’ic al-duhūr, ed. M. Musțafā (Cairo: Dār Ihyā al-Kutub al-^Arabiyya, 1961), 5:204 (footnote); Ibn Ṭūlūn, I‘lām al-warā bi-man waliya nā’iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrā, ed. 'A. Ḥāmid Khatṭ̄āb ('Ayn Shams: Maṭba‘at Jāmi'at 'Ayn Shams, 1973), 2:144-78; idem, Mufākahat al-ḥillān fí ḥawādith al-zamān, ed. Kh. al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1998 ), 224.
he consequently devoted to the latter a fairly extensive entry in his Durr al-haabab, which provides a fascinating read. ${ }^{9}$ Successfully fording the Mamluk-Ottoman transition, Maḥmūd made his career in the Ottoman system. He lived for some time in Istanbul, where he studied with Ibn Kemāl Paşa and dedicated poetry to Sultan Süleyman. Back in Syria, he met with Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Pașa and was present at the Ottoman conquest of Tabriz. Whenever he passed Aleppo, he paid his childhood friend Ibn al-Hanbalī a visit, thus allowing the latter to regularly update his entry in the Durr al-habab. Interestingly, Maḥmūd claimed that Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī had poisoned his father in order to seize his money. The Banū MālbāyQāniṣawh, governor of Mamluk Damascus; Khā’ir Beg, governor of Mamluk Aleppo and after 1517 governor of Ottoman Egypt; at least two more brothers; and Maḥmūd b. Qāniṣawhwould make a fine topic for future research.

As for the copyist, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘farī al-Ḥanbalī, al-Ghazzī devoted an entry to him in his al-Kawākib al-sā'ira. ${ }^{10} \mathrm{He}$ was born around 863/1459 and passed away in 940/1533-34, having spent his life in Damascus. He copied works by one of his masters, Shaykh al-Bārizī, and was said to be "distinguished in Damascus by his excellent handwriting and his perfect execution of the profession of faith [in writing]" (infarada bi-Dimashq bi-jūdat al-kitāba wa-itqān șan‘at al-shahāda), a claim easily confirmed by the present manuscript. Given his excellent hand, more of his work is bound to turn up sooner or later.

The three texts bound in MS Ayasofya 1999, all owned by Governor Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī and copied by Aḥmad al-Ja'fari’'s expert hand, are works of bibliomancy (fall)-that is, books used for divination by way of casting lots (qur'a). Such works come in two types. First, there are books that were used for bibliomantic purposes without being specifically designed to that end, such as the Quran, al-Bukhārī’s Ṣahīḥ, or Ḥāfiẓ's divan in the Islamic world and the Bible or Virgil in the West. The method of using such a book as a divinatory tool is straightforward. When you have a question or concern-for example, "Will I be happy?"-you either open the book at random or balance it on its spine, thus allowing it to fall open on an arbitrary page. You then read the answer to your question either in the verse or passage that first catches your eye or in one that you pick with your eyes closed. Although the procedure itself is simple, it is clear that a great deal of interpretation may be required to make sense of the divining verse, and the surrounding verses can be read as an additional commentary. The second type comprises purposefully designed lot books, which

[^1]come with more complicated instructions but allow for much easier interpretation. You pick a topic of concern out of a list provided in the beginning of the book- for example, "Will I be rich?"-and then generate a chance number by way of an explicated procedure. This number leads you to a carefully spelled-out divination in the book that is geared specifically to the topic at hand. The three qur'as under scrutiny belong to this second type. They provide $(20 \times 20)+(12 \times 12 \times 12)+(12 \times 12 \times 12)$ answers for $20+(12 \times 12)+(12 \times 12)$ topics of concern ${ }^{11}$-that is, a total of 3,856 answers on a total of 308 topics-and they are based on two distinct chance operations.

This pool of 3,856 answers constitutes a large and fascinating stock of concerns, wishes, and anxieties, of both the questions one may have and the answers one hopes or fears the most. It is tempting to read this stock against the backdrop of the manuscript's historical context and to think of it as a window on the mindset of Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī or the early tenth/sixteenth-century Damascene or Mamluk elite in general. This approach, however, is unwarranted. Parallel manuscripts show that the three lot books had been around for centuries by the early 1500s-the oldest copies (in Latin translation) date back as far as the sixth/twelfth century-and neither the list of topics nor the divinations were ever significantly updated or adapted to changing contexts, let alone to the idiosyncrasies of the manuscripts' coincidental owners. In short, the texts shed light on Qāniṣawh's mindset only to the extent that they shed light on the human condition in general and throughout the ages.

While divination often involves engaging a professional such as a geomancer, an oneiromancer, or a palm reader, these three qur'as are explicitly framed as self-help or DIY books. Their instructions, which are often phrased in the second person, guide readers through the procedure step by step, from identifying the topic of concern through generating a chance number up to locating the correct divination. In fact, in the introduction to a parallel manuscript of one of the works, ${ }^{12}$ this DIY format is explicitly described as an asset, for it allows Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd to seek a divination without having to disclose his particular concern to anyone. Nagging doubts over relatives' loyalty or paralyzing fear in the face of an impending battle are not things that rulers would want to air in public.

In sum, the three qur`as included in MS Ayasofya 1999 were deliberately designed for self-directed divination, and they reflect universal concerns rather than the coincidental historical context in which this particular copy was penned. Consequently, this article focuses on bringing to light the inner workings of these premodern occult books, describing their use in practice, and reconstructing their fundamental logics. Starting with a careful transcription, translation, and analysis of their introductions, tables of contents, and illustrative samples from their texts, I unpack the often abstruse DIY instructions, detail the two different chance operations involved, and identify four distinct user strategies. In doing so, I lay bare the mechanism that underpins the seemingly haphazard order of divinations.

[^2]By way of conclusion, I consider the historicity of the four user strategies and the nature of chance. A full transcription and translation of the first qur ${ }^{〔}$ a is given in the appendix to this article to provide interested readers with hands-on experience in using a bibliomantic work.

I employ the following abbreviations: c(hance number); h(ouse); l(ine); Q(uran); s(ection); and t (opic).

## (1) Ayasofya 1999/1: Qur'at al-Imām Ja‘far (fols. 2r-18v)

The title page on fol. 2 r (Fig. 2) reads "The qur'a of Imam Ja'far, who is the revered imam and
 sayyid Ja'far, son of the great imam and sayyid Muḥammad al-Bāqir and descendant of the revered, brave, and triumphant imam and commander of the faithful 'Alī b. Abī Țālib, may God be pleased with him" (Qur'at al-imām Ja'far, wa-huwa al-imām al-sayyid al-jalīl Ja'far b. al-imām al-sayyid al-kabīr Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. al-imām al-jalīl al-baṭl al-ghālib amīr al-mu'minīn ${ }^{\text {'Alī }}$ b. Abī Țālib raḍiya Allāh (anhu). As the sixth Shii imam, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), was not in fact the grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Țālib, the second ibn (unlike the first one) clearly stands for "descendant" instead of "son." Many occult writings are ascribed to the second/ eighth-century imam, and it is not surprising that the present manuscript does not help settle the question of his alleged authorship of this and similar works. Even in terms

Fig. 2. The title page of the first qur'a (Ayasofya 1999/1, fol. 2r)
of qur'as alone, multiple texts are ascribed to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq. Perhaps the most popular Ja‘farian qur'a format-found, for example, in a 1992 edition-involves drawing a square on the ground, labeling the sides alif, $b \bar{a}{ }^{\prime}, j \bar{j} m$, and dāl, throwing a stick on the square three times, taking note of the side of the square on which the stick falls, and then looking up the resulting three-letter combination (jīm-alif-bā̀, dāl-dāl-alif, etc.) in the lot book. ${ }^{13}$ A second Ja‘farian qur'a format, recorded in Iran, involves rolling a die inscribed with the same abjad letters three times, while a third format, recorded in Indonesia, relies on a geomantic figure formed by a bunch of pebbles grabbed in one's hand. ${ }^{14}$ Unsurprisingly, manuscripts of Ja'farian qur'as are fairly common. The French Bibliothèque nationale, for example, houses at least five copies. Unlike Ja‘farian qur'as in general, however, the qur'a format discussed here appears to be rather rare. Thus far, I have been able to identify only one parallel: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe $2639 / 6 .{ }^{15}$ However, it goes without saying that there must be many more that remain undiscovered. ${ }^{16}$

A nondescript basmala and na't are followed by a brief introduction (fols. 2v-3r) detailing the legitimacy of the qur'a procedure, its alleged author, and its source:


Now, the worthiest form of bibliomancy is the bibliomancy based on the Book of Godgreat and exalted is He above all-[for it is this book] that has pronounced the Truth. The Envoy of God-God bless him and grant him salvation-liked bibliomancy, whereas he detested interpretation of the bird's flight [as another form of divination]. As for Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq-may God be pleased with him-not one of the occult sciences did he leave undivulged, not a single hermetic text did he leave undisclosed, and not a single wonder did he fail to spread. It is he who has written this qur'a, based on [verses] extracted from the Quran. Whoever wishes to [learn something] regarding
13. See, e.g., Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, Qur'at al-imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, ed. 'A. al-Sayyid al-Ṭūkḥī (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-Thaqāfiyya, 1992). Unfortunately, no manuscripts are listed.
14. See F. Yahya, Magic and Divination in Malay Illustrated Manuscripts (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 141-42. See also the brief description in H. Massé, "Fāl-Nāma," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 2:760-61. It should be noted that the technical terminology (raml, făl, qur'a, etc.) is fairly unstable.
15. MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 2639/1 contains another, more popular, Ja'farian qur'a.
16. Perhaps MS Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Giresun 108/21 (non vidi)? See M. Atalan, "Cafer Es-Sadık'ın Eserleri," Dinî Araştırmalar 4, no. 11 (2001): 113-32, at 120. The ninth/fifteenth-century Persian MS London, British Library, Add. Or. 6591 (of which I have seen one folio) appears to contain a closely related Ja'farian qur'a, with thirty instead of twenty topics to be chosen from a first wheel diagram (dā'ira-yi hājāt) and with the chance number, ranging between 1 and 15, generated simply by picking it from a second wheel diagram (dā'ira-yi a'dād). See P. Lory, "Divination and Religion in Islamic Medieval Culture," in Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural, ed. F. Leoni, 13-32 (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2016), 24.
some matter in his［life］－be it a matter existing already or one not［yet］existing－ should read what is［written］around the smallest circle，twenty chapters in total，with each of these chapters denoting a particular topic of concern．This is the most laudable， the most correct，the best，and the most veracious of all qur＇as［available］，because its proof texts and their indications are taken from the Noble Quran．Facing each chapter there is a Quranic sura．

User－friendliness and legitimacy constitute two recurrent topoi in qurac，but the present introduction stresses only the issue of legitimacy．It asserts that unlike tīra，or interpretation of a bird＇s flight（which was＂detested＂by the Prophet），fäl as an alternative means of sortilege was approved by Muḥammad，and the present qur ${ }^{〔}$ a is said to be the ＂most correct，the best，and the most veracious＂of all qur＇as since it draws on the Quran． At least the last part of this statement is correct：in contrast to the other two qur＇as in the manuscript，Ayasofya 1999／2 and 1999／3，this one uses only Quranic verses．The grounds on which（Pseudo－）Ja‘far selected these twenty suras and four hundred verses is not specified． All that the lot book says is that it is based on the nawāzi ${ }^{〔}$ al－Qur $\bar{a} n$ ．Since the root $n-z{ }^{〔}{ }^{〔}$ means＂to pull out，＂perhaps nawāzi‘ should not be understood as a technical term but simply denotes verses extracted from the Quran．I return to this issue later on．

The introduction concludes with the following instructions and a diagram of two concentric circles ${ }^{17}$（fols．2v－3v；Fig．3）：

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { وهما دآيرتين احداهما في الأخري وأبواب الحاجـات يف الدآيرة الحارجـة بإزآء السور من القـرآرآن تـدور هــا }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { في المقارعـة من السورة التي هي بازآء الحاجةّة حتي ينتهي آي العدد فيقف علي السورة التي وصل العـدر }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { مداراة أو تحّذير وهذه صورة الدايرة ألمذكورة }
\end{aligned}
$$

| 1 | الملك والجا والرايات والراتات | البقره |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | الأولاد الذكور والاناث | ال عمران |
| 3 | التزويح هل هو صالح ام لا | النسا |
| 4 | الوفآ وصدق الوعد | المانده |

[^3]| 5 | العلم والحلم والمعرفها | الانعام |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | العطآء والخل وحقيقتهما | لاعراف |
| 7 | النصر والطفر وخلافه | الانفال |
| 8 | التهمة وبطالها وحقيقتها | برآه |
| 9 | صدق الحديث وكذبه | يونس |
| 10 | الفرح من الخوف والشده | هو2 |
| 11 | الغبة والمودة والغضه | يوسف |
| 12 | ادراك الحاجة والمومول | الرعد |
| 13 | السفر هل هو صالح إ لا | ابرهيم |
| 14 | الغابب هل تقدم ام يتاخر | الححر |
| 15 | التجارة والرسح والحساره | النحل |
| 16 | هل دزق هذا المال ام لا | الاسرا |
| 17 | هل يقع هدا الامر ام لا | الكهi |
| 18 | السرقه والابق هل تعود ام لا | رمريم |
| 19 | عدل السلطان وجوره | طَه |
| 20 | هل تكون السنة مجدبة ام مخبه | الاسيا |

There are two circles, one enclosed in the other, and the chapters on the topics of concern are found in the outer circle, facing the Quranic suras and encircling these. Let the one with a concern point out the concern of his choice from those detailed in the aforesaid circle to disclose it. Let him then perform a muqāra`a with someone else, the two of them using both hands. Next, let him count all fingers raised by the both of them and add these up. Let him then move backward from the sura that faces his topic of concern by that [same] number [of positions], stopping at the sura at which this number is completed. Next, let him look at the tables containing the suras and count down from the first line under the sura [title] by the same number of lines as the number yielded by the muqāra'a. Let him then consider the line at which this number is completed. There, he will find [the indication], be it good news or an admonition, something appeasing or a word of warning. This is the shape of the aforesaid circle:

| Inner circle |  | Outer circle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Innermost circle (sura) | Intermediate circle (topic) |  |
| The Heifer | Power and standing | 1 |
| The Family of 'Imrān | Children, male and female | 2 |
| The Women | Marriage: appropriate or not? | 3 |
| The Table Spread | Loyalty, sincerity, and promises | 4 |
| The Cattle | Knowledge, intelligence, and learning | 5 |
| The Heights | Presents and greed and what they mean | 6 |
| The Spoils of War | Victory and triumph and their opposites | 7 |
| Immunity | Suspicion: justified or not? | 8 |
| Jonah | Reports: true or false? | 9 |
| Hūd | Deliverance from fear and adversity | $10^{18}$ |
| Joseph | Love, friendship, and hatred | 11 |
| Thunder | Seeing one's need and hope fulfilled | 12 |
| Abraham | Travel: proper or not? | 13 |
| The Rocky Tract | The absent one: on his way back or delayed? | 14 |
| The Bee | Trade, wind, and losses | 15 |
| The Night Journey | Will I obtain this property or not? | 16 |
| The Cave | Will this matter transpire or not? | 17 |
| Mary | Stolen goods and runaway slaves: will they return or not? | 18 |
| Țā-Hā | The ruler's justice and injustice | 19 |
| The Prophets | Will the year be unproductive or productive? | 20 |

Fig. 3. The wheel diagram concluding the introduction and section 1 , corresponding to sura 2 (Ayasofya 1999/1, fols. $3 \mathrm{v}-4 \mathrm{r}$ )

18. From 11 to 20, the figures are preceded by a zero.

The main part of the text (fols. $4 \mathrm{r}-18 \mathrm{v}$ ) consists of twenty unnumbered sections, bearing the titles of suras 2-21 (see Fig. 3 for an example) as given in the innermost circle of the diagram. Each section contains twenty unnumbered Quranic verses. These verses are taken from all over the Quran, not just from the suras named in the section headings. Each verse is followed by "indicates" (yadull 'ala) ${ }^{19}$ and the relevant divination. By way of example, the twenty verses and their respective "indications" listed in section 20 (entitled al-Anbiyā", sura 21 ) are the following: (fols. $18 \mathrm{r}-18 \mathrm{v}$ ): ${ }^{20}$


[^4]| يدل علي الحيانة والغدر | ان الله لا يهدي كد الحآيني |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي اصلاح أمر النساء | خلق لیم من انفسكم ازواجا |
| يدل علي انه يرزق ولدا صال | لأهب لك غالما زكيا |
| يدل علي انه لا يحد ما يطلب | الا يملكون كشف الضر عنكم |

Sura The Prophets

He is the One that sends down rain even after men $\mid$ indicates have given up all hope ( $\mathrm{Q} 42: 28$ )
Of a surety, they are the ones who make mischief
(Q 2:12)
That they should not worship Allah, Who brings to light what is hidden (Q 27:25)
For this is truly a thing designed against you
(Q 38:6)
They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah
(Q 3:170)
That is indeed the real and evident Loss!
(Q 39:15)
But in that case they would not have stayed therein after thee, except for a little while (Q 17:76)
And find with skill the spacious paths of its Lord
(Q 16:69)
Verily in this Qur'an is a Message for people who
would truly worship Allah (Q 21:106)
Allah Most Gracious will bestow love
(Q 19:96)
And cast horror into their hearts
(Q 33:26)
This charge is an obvious lie
(Q 24:12)
And they rejected those Signs, though their souls were convinced thereof (Q 27:14)
And if there be one thousand, they will overcome two thousand (Q 8:66)
Gives a little, then hardens his heart
(Q 53:34)
He granteth wisdom to whom He pleaseth
(Q 2:269)
That Allah will never guide the snares of the false ones (Q 12:52)
He created for you mates from among yourselves
(Q 30:21)
To announce to thee the gift of a holy son
(Q 19:19)
They have neither the power to remove your troubles from you (Q 17:56)
low prices.
the ruler's injustice.
the occurrence of theft.
the occurrence of the matter inquired about.
that one will obtain property and favor.
little wind for trading.
the return of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
fulfillment and attainment of one's need.
loyalty and friendship.
adversity and prolonged trial.
that the news inquired about is false.
that the suspicion is justified and that he is not innocent. victory, success, and triumph.
avarice and meanness.
that one will be granted knowledge and wisdom.
treachery and betrayal.
that the women's affair will be settled.
that one will beget a good son.
that one will not find what one seeks.

How is this qur'a to be used? Paraphrased, the instructions given in the introduction run as follows: identify your topic of concern (hāja $)^{21}$ in the diagram; together with a second person, play the game of chance called muqāra'a with both hands and count the total number of fingers raised; move counterclockwise from the sura that faces your hāja past a number of suras equal to the number of fingers; arriving at a particular sura, count down the listed verses by the same number; and you will find the correct indication (dalāla).

Since these instructions are rather terse, let us spell out the various steps involved and, at the same time, reconstruct the underlying mechanism.

First, you pick one of the twenty topics listed in the intermediate circle of the diagram: $t(1)$ "power and standing," $t(2)$ "children," $t(3)$ "marriage," $t(4)$ "loyalty," and so on. Each of these topics is linked to the sura facing it in the innermost circle: $t(1)$ is linked to sura 2 , $t(2)$ to sura 3 , and so on. Since these links are fixed, the innermost and intermediate circles effectively constitute a single inner circle. Although the author does not explain why a particular topic is linked to a particular sura, usually the link is clear: $t(2)$ "children" is linked to sura 3, The Family of 'Imrān; t(3) "marriage" to sura 4, The Women; t(4) "loyalty" to sura 5, The Table Spread (Q 5:1: "Fulfil your pacts!"); and so on. So, for example, if you want to know whether your father, a tradesman, will return from a journey, you pick t (14), "the absent one" (al-ghāyib).

Having selected a topic, you go to the corresponding section. Since you picked $t(14)$, you go to s(14) by counting the sections as you leaf through the book. Alternatively, if you know the names and order of the suras by heart, you go straight to the section that carries the name of the fifteenth sura, The Rocky Tract, since the number of the sura linked to a particular topic is always one greater than the number of the topic.

Next, you play a game of muqāra`a. Muqāra`a-also known as mukhāraja, musāhama, and munāhada-is a finger game described as follows in the Encyclopaedia of Islam:
[Mukhāraja] conveys the idea of the division of various objects done in various ways amongst two or more persons; but the word mukhāraja by itself and the other terms followed by the expression bi-l-aṣābic "with the fingers" all denote the game of mora, morra or mication (Latin micatio, Ital. mora). This game is played all around the shores of the Mediterranean, and also in Arabia and Iraq, and consists of two players, facing each other, and, at a signal given by one of them, they simultaneously put up the right hand, with one or more fingers bent back and the rest raised, whilst at the same time announcing together a number less than ten; the winner is the one who guesses the exact number represented by the outstretched fingers of the two players. This procedure is a game of chance, and in principle Islam forbids it, especially as it is often used to designate the beneficiary of some disputed object, to divide up a sum of money, to provide the reply to a wager, etc. ${ }^{22}$

[^5]However, contrary to the rules of the game as described above, the present muqāra`a requires the two players to use both hands instead of one each, and it does not involve any guessing. You simply add up the number of fingers raised by you and the other party, which gives you a chance number, c. For example, if you raise seven fingers and your companion raises four, c is 11 .

You then move that many sections backward in the book. With a c of 11, and starting in $s(14)$, you end up in $s(3)$. Within the section, you navigate to the correct line to find the appropriate Quranic verse and its dalāla. It is important to note, however, that the instructions as given in the manuscript are slightly misleading here: they direct the reader to "count down the same number of lines starting from the first line underneath the title" using c , thus leading to $1(\mathrm{c})$, but the correct procedure is in fact to go to $1(21-c)$-or, put otherwise, to begin at the bottom and count up. ${ }^{23}$ Curiously, as discussed later, the instructions in the second and third qur'as contain a similar error. In the present example, you go to $1(21-11=10)$, which reads: "Then there came running, from the farthest part of the City, a man" (wa-jā’a min aqșā al-madīna rajul yas ${ }^{〔}$ ā, $\mathrm{Q} 36: 20$ ). This "indicates the arrival of the absent one or the return of something" (yadull 'alā qudūm ghāyib aw 'awd shay'). The divination is thus comforting, ${ }^{24}$ in that you are assured that your absent father will return, but it remains frustratingly vague as to when he will do so. Had the muqāra'a yielded a c of $1,3,7,8,13,14$, or 16 , the dalāla would have been equally vague ("the arrival of the absent one," qudūm al-ghāyib); had c been 9 or 19 , it would have been more promising ("the swift arrival of the absent one," sur'at qudūm al-ghāyib); had c been $0,2,4,5,6,15$, or 20 , it would have been rather disheartening ("a delay in the arrival of the absent one," ta'khīr qudūm al-ghāyib or bițā’ qudūm al-ghāyib).

Following the instructions' apparent meaning and thus simply counting the lines from the top down would have landed you at $1(11)$ instead of $1(10)$, "Didst thou not Turn by vision to those who abandoned their homes" (a lam tara ilā alladhīna kharajū min diyārihim, Q 2:243), which "indicates travel, with a positive outcome" (yadull 'alā al-safar wa-yanāl khayran). In this case, then, the incorrect method leads to a result that nonetheless seems fitting. However, had the muqāra‘a yielded a different number, the error caused by the incorrect procedure could have been more obvious. Had c been 8 , for example, the divination in $\mathrm{s}(6)$ on $1(8)$, "justice and keeping one's word" (al-‘adl wa-l-wafá' bi-l-qawl), would have seemed nonsensical in comparison to the correct divination on $1(21-8=13)$,

[^6]24. Obviously, "comforting" only when the absent person is a loved one rather than an adversary.
"the arrival of the absent one." Similarly, had c been $10,1(10)$ in $s(4)$ would have indicated an inappropriate "decline of trade" (khusrān al-tijāra), whereas $1(21-10=11)$ indicates "the arrival and return of the absent one" (qudūm al-ghāyib wa-rujū cihi).

Although the text makes no mention of the possibility, the wheel diagram on fol. 3 v can also be used to easily locate the correct divination for any topic and chance number. In its "default" position-that is, when $\mathrm{t}(1)$ on the intermediate circle is aligned with number 1 on the outer circle-the combination of the outer circle and the innermost circle yields the line number (shown by the outer circle) of $t(1)$ in each section (shown by the innermost circle). Rotating the circles to align another topic on the intermediate circle with the number 1 on the outer circle produces the line position of that topic in each section. Next, one simply has to count c positions counterclockwise from 1 to arrive at the correct section on the innermost circle and the correct line number on the outer circle. Constructing a device to carry out this maneuver is simple: one needs only to cut out an inner and an outer circle and join them with a central pin that permits them to rotate against one another. Readers can use the cutout diagram in the appendix to this article as a template for a personal divination device. An alternative method is to cut out the inner disc and replace the outer rotating disc with a movable string attached to the axis to mark the location of the number 1 . This latter option is probably the more historical one, given the various surviving examples of divinatory devices equipped with strings. ${ }^{25}$

To apply this method to the above example of the absentee, $t(14)$, with $c(11)$, you would align $t(14)$ on the inner circle with the number 1 on the outer circle to obtain the line position (outer circle) of $t(14)$ for each sura and section (innermost and intermediate circle). You would then count eleven steps backward on the wheel diagram, starting from 1 on the outer circle, to reach $\mathrm{s}(3)$ and sura 4 on the intermediate and innermost circles and $\mathrm{l}(10)$ on the outer circle, which would give you the location of the divination.

At first glance, the qur'a may seem magical: whatever topic you pick and whatever chance number your muqāra'a yields, you always end up with the correct divination, even though the four hundred possible divinations appear to be randomly scattered across twenty sections. However, the apparent magic in fact follows a predictable pattern. The underlying mechanism becomes clear when we tabulate the line positions of the twenty topics in the twenty sections (see Table 1). ${ }^{26}$

[^7]Table 1．The line positions of divination topics in each section of Ayasofya 1999／1．

| 엉 | － | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | － | $\stackrel{\square}{-}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{7}$ | － | $\stackrel{\sim}{7}$ | フ | 7 | 9 | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | － | $\bigcirc$ | in | $\square$ | m | N | － |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{9}{5}$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | － | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\underset{7}{7}$ | $\cdots$ | ～ | 7 | 윽 | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | － | $\bigcirc$ | in | F | m | $\sim$ | 7 | \％ |
| $\stackrel{\infty}{\omega}$ | $\stackrel{\infty}{\sim}$ | $\wedge$ | $\stackrel{\square}{-}$ | $\cdots$ | $\pm$ | $\cdots$ | I | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $a$ | $\infty$ | ＾ | $\bigcirc$ | in | － | m | N | － | $\bigcirc$ | 9 |
| is | $\wedge$ | $\stackrel{\square}{-1}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\pm$ | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | N | $\bigcirc$ | in | H | m | $\sim$ | － | 은 | $\cdots$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ |
| $\stackrel{0}{5}$ | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{1}{7}$ | $\pm$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | フ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | N | $\bigcirc$ | in | H | m | N | $\rightarrow$ | － | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\wedge$ |
| $\stackrel{1}{6}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\pm$ | $\cdots$ | ～ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | n | $\bigcirc$ | in | ＋ | m | N | － | ¢ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\wedge$ | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ |
| 年 | $\underset{7}{7}$ | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 | 9 | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | n | $\bigcirc$ | in | H | m | $\sim$ | 7 | $\stackrel{1}{2}$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | へ | $\stackrel{\square}{-}$ | $\stackrel{1}{\sim}$ |
| $\stackrel{m}{\omega}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{7}$ | テ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | N | $\bigcirc$ | in | － | m | $\sim$ | $\rightarrow$ | － | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | － | $\stackrel{\square}{-}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\pm$ |
| $\underset{\infty}{7}$ | フ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | n | $\bigcirc$ | in | H | m | N | － | 앗 | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | 今 | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{1}{\sim}$ | 7 | $\cdots$ |
| 7 | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | n | $\bigcirc$ | in | 7 | m | N | － | 안 | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | A | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{n}{7}$ | $\underset{\sim}{7}$ | $\cdots$ | $\sim$ |
| $0$ | 윽 | a | $\infty$ | N | $\bigcirc$ | in | － | m | N | － | － | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | 今 | $\stackrel{\square}{-}$ | $\stackrel{1}{7}$ | $\underset{7}{7}$ | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 |
| is | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | － | $\bigcirc$ | in | 7 | m | $\sim$ | － | 앙 | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\cdots$ | $\underset{\sim}{7}$ | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 | 을 |
| $\infty$ | $\infty$ | n | $\bigcirc$ | in | 7 | m | $\sim$ | 7 | 앙 | 9 | $\stackrel{\infty}{\sim}$ | $\cdots$ | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\cdots$ | $\underset{\sim}{7}$ | $\cdots$ | ～1 | 7 | O | $\sigma$ |
| is | － | $\bigcirc$ | in | ＊ | m | $\sim$ | 7 | 앙 | 9 | $\stackrel{\infty}{\sim}$ | 二 | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | J | $\cdots$ | ～ | 7 | 악 | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ |
| is | － | in | 7 | m | $\sim$ | 7 | 은 | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | － | $\stackrel{\square}{-}$ | $\cdots$ | $\underset{\sim}{1}$ | $\cdots$ | I | 7 | 9 | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | N |
| in | in | 7 | m | N | $\rightarrow$ | $\bigcirc$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\pm$ | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | ＾ | $\bigcirc$ |
| \％ | 7 | m | N | $\rightarrow$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\circ}$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | न | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{n}{\sim}$ | 7 | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 | 윽 | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | N | $\bigcirc$ | in |
| \％ | m | N | － | $\stackrel{\sim}{\circ}$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\wedge$ | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{n}{\sim}$ | 7 | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 7 | 익 | a | $\infty$ | N | $\bigcirc$ | in | 4 |
| \％ | $\sim$ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{n}{\sim}$ | 7 | $\cdots$ | フ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | ＾ | $\bigcirc$ | in | 7 | m |
| W | $\rightarrow$ | $\bigcirc$ | 9 | $\stackrel{\infty}{\sim}$ | $\wedge$ | $\bigcirc$ | $\stackrel{1}{\sim}$ | $\pm$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 7 | $\bigcirc$ | $\sigma$ | $\infty$ | － | $\bigcirc$ | in | ＊ | m | $\sim$ |
|  | $\pm$ | บ | ค | İ | 4 | 9 | 今 | $\infty$ | 옹 | 악 | 7 | I | $\stackrel{3}{7}$ | J | $\stackrel{3}{2}$ | $\underset{\square}{\square}$ | I | $\stackrel{\infty}{ \pm}$ | 9 | 언 |

The rows show the line position of a particular topic in each section; the columns show the order of the topics in a particular section. To take an example, relevant dalālas for $\mathrm{t}(13)$ appear on $1(9)$ in $s(1)$, on $1(10)$ in $s(2)$, and so on, while the first dalāla in $s(5)$ relates to $t(5)$, the second to $t(4)$, the third to $t(3)$, and so on. In this qur'a, like in the other two (which differ only in their grouping of topics into twelve sets of twelve instead of a single set of twenty), we are dealing with a fixed set of topics whose order is the reverse of that of the suras with which they are linked. The sequence in which the topics are addressed remains the same in each section but moves down by one position per section, allowing each section to open with a verse that provides a dalāla for the topic associated with the sura linked to it. However, it should be noted that although the first line of each section provides a divination that is apposite for the topic associated with the relevant sura, that divination will be the correct one only when the muqāra'a produces a chance number of 20.

The reason the twenty verses and dalālas that go with a particular topic are scattered across the twenty sections rather than presented together in a single section is clear enough: the arrangement conceals the regularity of the pattern governing the placement of the divinations and dupes the qur'a user into assigning a much greater role to chance than it actually has. Indeed, the user is given the impression that the chance number leads first to a randomly selected sura and then to a randomly selected line, whose probability is thus one in four hundred rather than one in twenty. In reality, of course, the possible divinations that the user may reach for a single topic remain limited to twenty.

Naturally, alongside leafing through the book and rotating the wheels of the diagram, Table 1 offers a third strategy-albeit an ahistorical one-for arriving at the correct divination. In the example case discussed above, $t(14)$ and $c(11)$, you would consult the row for $\mathrm{t}(14)$, identify the section in which this topic falls on $\mathrm{l}(1)$, and then move eleven positions to the left, which lands you at s(3), $1(10)$.

All of the three strategies are underpinned by the same basic formula, which can be used on its own as a fourth, likewise ahistorical strategy:

$$
\text { for any } \mathrm{t}(\mathrm{x}) \text { and muqāra‘a } \mathrm{c}, \mathrm{~s}(\mathrm{x}-\mathrm{c}) \text { and } \mathrm{l}(21-\mathrm{c})
$$

In other words, to find the divination for a given topic, you deduct your chance number from the topic number to identify the correct section ${ }^{27}$ and then deduct the chance number from 21 to identify the correct line. In our example of $t(14)$ and $c(11)$, the correct section is $s(3)$, because $14-11=3$, and the correct line is $1(10)$, because $21-11=10$. As this qur'a is transcribed in the appendix, the reader can explore it in depth and test each of these four strategies.

To conclude the discussion of this first qur'a, a few words regarding the four hundred Quranic verses ${ }^{28}$ and their dalālas are in order. Just as the author did not care to explain

[^8]why a particular topic is linked to a particular sura, he did not bother to clarify the reasons behind his selection of Quranic verses. What is clear is that the verses do not necessarily come from the suras associated with the topics for which they provide divinations. For example, in $\mathrm{s}(20)$, which is linked to sura $21,1(1)$ provides a dalāla for the topic associated with sura 21, as expected, but the verse on this line is taken from sura 2 , not from sura 21. However, lexical markers reveal that the selection is not entirely random. For example, the twenty verses used to provide divinations for $\mathrm{t}(1)$ "power" (mulk) generally contain words derived from the root $m-1-k$ or related words such as "agent" (khalīfa) or "authority" (sulțān). As another example, the twenty verses cited for $\mathrm{t}(13)$ "travel" (safar) often contain a verb of movement, such as "to turn aside" (inṣarafa), "to abandon" (kharaja), or "to disperse" (intashara). As for the divinations themselves, we can only speculate about their sources. Presumably, they reflect the author's own voice.

In lieu of a colophon, the text concludes on fol. 18 v with "Finished in praise of God, by His aid and through the success granted by Him" (tammat bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-‘awnihi wa-ḥusn tawfiqihi). Whereas this qur'a offers a choice of twenty topics and provides twenty possible Quran-based divinations for each topic, with the correct one chosen through a muqāra'a procedure, each of the other two qur'as in MS Ayasofya 1999 addresses 144 (or $12 \times 12$ ) topics and provides 1,728 (or $12 \times 12 \times 12$ ) divinations, informed not by the Quran but by an unidentified (Perso-)Indic model and identified using a khatt procedure.

## (2) Ayasofya 1999/2: Qur'at al-Dawāzdahmarj (fols. 19r-58r)

The title page of the second lot book on fol. 19r of the manuscript (see Fig. 4) is oriented vertically and reads Qur'at al-Dawāzdahmarj. As noted already by Paul Kunitzsch and as will be discussed below, the title is derived from the Persian davāzdah marj, "twelve fields." The basmala and na't (fol. 19v) read as follows:


In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise be to God, the Bountiful, the Magnificent and Omnipotent One, who has lavishly spent His beneficence on nomads and sedentary people alike. I laud Him for His beneficence and His copious kindness, and I thank Him for His incessant generosity and magnanimity. I testify that there is no god save God, the One who has no partner, the First and the Infinitely Last One, and I testify that our lord Muḥammad is His servant and His envoy, sent to the best of communities as an act of mercy on all of humankind, both the pious and the insolent. God bless him, his family, and his companions for all days, all months, all years, and all eons, and God grant him salvation.


The introduction continues with some detailed preliminary instructions, absent from Ayasofya 1999/1 but found in Ayasofya 1999/3, regarding the right mindset and the preferred timing for the divination, as well as a warning against "improper" use of the qur'a (fol. 19v):


Fig. 4. The title page of the second qur'a (Ayasofya 1999/2, fol. 19r)
Now, this is a qur'a that contains the knowledge to extract the innermost [wishes], ${ }^{29}$ and it has 144 chapters. If one seeks [the answer] to any of them, one must make sure that one's mind is set on what one seeks without allowing one's intention and heart to

[^9]be disturbed by the slightest distraction and without asking anything but that which one intended and had in mind. One must avoid doing any of this merely for the sake of giving it a try, just for fun or a laugh or as a joke, for that is an impediment to knowledge. The scholars warn about [the risks of] frequent mistakes and poor judgment. The most appropriate [time] to pose questions is between sunrise and sunset, and the best and strongest [results are achieved] when one does not consider more than one question each day, three questions being the utmost maximum.

The introduction concludes with the following instructions (fol. 20r), discussed below:


The way to use this dawāzdahmarh [sic] is that the person with a question draws a number of lines on the ground. As long as ${ }^{30}$ [their number] is more than twelve, twelve lines are subtracted therefrom [until] the remainder is less than twelve. He then examines the [remaining] number and counts up from the chapter [of his choice], table by table, by the number of the [remaining] lines that he drew. When he is done counting, he starts counting from the first [line] of the table to which the number led him until he is done counting. On that very line, he will find written what he wanted to know, if God-exalted is He above all-wills! We implore Him to guard us, to grant us success, and to guide us along the best of paths, by Muḥammad and his family!

These instructions conclude the introduction, which thus mentions neither author nor sources. However, as Kunitzsch argued, this qur`a is closely related to the third qur'a, the al-Qur'a al-mubāraka al-ma'mūniyya, and since the latter's introduction is much richer, I will discuss the two texts' titles, authorship, sources, and parallel manuscripts together under the next item.

The introduction is followed by a four-page table of contents (jadāwil, fols. 20v-22r; see Fig. 5), which lists 144 topics, numbered alphabetically from alif to qāf-mīm-dāl. Although the topics are numbered consecutively, they are arranged into twelve groups (called "chapters" in the text), which are themselves numbered numerically from 1 to 12 . For example, the first twenty-four topics, from alif to kāf-dāl (no. 24), are found in groups 1 and 2:
30. It is worth pointing out that the Arabic mā used here and elsewhere in the text is the "mā of duration."

| (...) | الباب الثاني | الباب الاول |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (...) | يّج هذا الإنسان عمره طويل ام لا | ا المولود يعيش ام لا عيش |
|  | يد متي نصيب المال و سعه الرزق | ب المال أصيبه أم لا اصيبه |
|  | يه حاله مع اخوته وoا | ج كيف يكون حال الاحوة والاخوات |
|  | يو حاله مع الوالدين وا | د كيف حال الوالدين في عمرهما |
|  | يز ينال الولد الشرف والخير ام لا | هـ الولد يكون أم لا يكون |
|  | يح هدا الرجل مريض أم صحيح | و المريض يبرأ أم لا يبرا |
|  | (...) | (...) |
|  | كد كيف حاله في البهايم والدواب | يب كيف يكون حال الأعدآء |


|  | Chapter 1 |  | Chapter 2 | (...) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alif | Will the newborn survive or not? | $Y{ }^{\text {a }}$ - $-j \bar{i} m$ | Will this person grow old or not? | (...) |
| $B \bar{a}^{\prime}$ | Will I obtain the property or not? | Yāa ${ }^{\text {a }}$ dā $l$ | When will I obtain goods and wealth? |  |
| Jim | How are my siblings doing? | $Y \bar{a}-h \bar{a}{ }^{\prime}$ | How is the relation with his brothers and what to expect from them? |  |
| Dāl | How are my parents doing? | $Y \bar{a}{ }^{-}-$ <br> wāw | How is the relation with his parents and what to expect from them? |  |
| $H \bar{a}^{\prime}$ | Will there be a child or not? | $Y \bar{a}{ }^{\text {a }}$-zāy | Will the child know dignity and good? |  |
| WāW | Will the ill person recover or not? | $Y \bar{a}-h \underline{a} \bar{a}$ | Is this man ill or in good health? |  |
| (...) |  | (...) |  |  |
| $Y \bar{a}{ }^{-}-b \bar{a}{ }^{\prime}$ | How are the enemies doing? | Kāf-dāl | How is he doing in terms of lifestock and riding animals? |  |

The remaining thirty-six folios of the second qur'a (fols. 22v-58r) provide the actual divinations. Each of the 144 topics listed in the table of contents is given an individual section, with two sections per page. Following the section number, each section first restates the topic as given in the table of contents, with some variance in wording. For example, the first topic appears in the relevant section as "Will the newborn survive or not, a short time or a long time?" (al-mawlūd ya īsh am lā ya'īsh, qalīl am kathīr?), while the second topic appears as "Will he obtain the property or not, little or much?" (al-māl yuṣībuhu am lā, qalīl huwa am kathīr). The topic is then followed by twelve possible divinations, each numbered alphabetically from alif to $y \bar{a}{ }^{J}-b \bar{a}{ }^{J}$. For example, the divinations in the section headed by topic 1 (fol. 22v; Fig. 6) read as follows:

| هذا المولود يعيش باذن الله عز وجل | 1 |
| :---: | :---: |
| ليس عليك خوف من الاعداء والظلمة ولا يصبيك مكروه | ب |
| يكون هذا الأمر فما ياتي أشد والله أعلم | T |
| للك النصيحة تُقبَل ونفُّ ان ان شآء الله تعالي | 2 |
| يكون في هذه السنة مطر كير لكنه في اول الشّ الشتاء | - |
| تقدر علي تلك الأرض والحصن وتطفر بمن فيها | 9 |
| يصيب من الحرب والحصومة الظفر بالذن الـن | j |
|  | $\tau$ |
| دلك الانسان والموضع والشي مبارك عليك حدا | b |
| اهل هدا البلد في ارتفاع واقبال وسعادة وشرف | ي |
| ذلك الانسان برأ من سحْره بادن الله | ي |
| يصيب المال في الراحة بغير عناء ولا تعب | يب |

Will the newborn survive or not, for a short time or a long time?

| Alif | This newborn will live by the permission of God, great and exalted is He above all! |
| :---: | :---: |
| $B \bar{a}$ | You have nothing to fear from your enemies and oppressors, and nothing bad will befall you. |
| Jim | That matter will transpire and what is coming is most strong, and God knows best! |
| Dā 1 | That advice ought to be accepted and followed, God willing! |
| Hā | There will be plenty of rain this year, yet all early in the rainy season. |
| Wāw | You will take control of that land and the fortress and gain victory over their residents. |
| Zāy | You will emerge victorious from the battle and the conflict, by God's permission! |
| Hā ${ }^{\text {ºm }}$ | That man is steadfast and has a fighting and warring character, by God's permission! |
| $T{ }_{\text {a }}{ }^{\text {a }}$ | That person, that place, and that thing are most blessed for you. |
| $Y \bar{a}^{\prime}$ | The people of that place enjoy prestige, welfare, happiness, and distinction. |
| Y $\bar{a}^{\prime}$-alif | That person will recover from the enchantment, by God's permission! |
| $Y \bar{a}^{\prime}-b \bar{a}^{\prime}$ | He will obtain good easily, without trouble or exertion. |



Fig. 5. The beginning of the table of contents, showing the first thirty-six topics arranged in three groups of twelve (Ayasofya 1999/2, fol. 20v)


Fig. 6. Sections 1 and 2 of the main text, each containing twelve divinations (Ayasofya 1999/2, fol. 22v)

How does this qur'a work? Paraphrased, the procedure outlined in the instructions translated above runs as follows: draw a random number of lines (khatt $t$ ) on the ground; as long as that number is more than twelve, subtract twelve from it; using the remaining number, count that many sections forward; arriving at a section, count down by the same number of lines; and read the correct divination off the line where you land. As in the first qur' $a$, the instructions are brief and leave much unsaid, so let us unpack them. ${ }^{31}$

You begin by choosing a topic of interest from the table of contents. Fortunately, you do not have to go through all 144 topics to find the one that best serves your needs, since they are not presented randomly. Although the text does not say so explicitly (merely implying it vaguely through its title), the topics are roughly grouped according to celestial "houses" (bayt, pl. buyūt). In the table of contents, the first topic in each group is connected to the first house (matters relating to life); the second topic is connected to the second house (matters relating to possessions); and so on. The first page of the table of contents can thus be tabulated as in Table 2.

Table 2. The celestial houses related to each topic in the table of contents in Ayasofya 1999/2.

| $\mathrm{t}(25)=\mathrm{h}(1)$ | $\mathrm{t}(13)=\mathrm{h}(1)$ | $\mathrm{t}(1)=\mathrm{h}(1)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{t}(26)=\mathrm{h}(2)$ | $\mathrm{t}(14)=\mathrm{h}(2)$ | $\mathrm{t}(2)=\mathrm{h}(2)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(27)=\mathrm{h}(3)$ | $\mathrm{t}(15)=\mathrm{h}(3)$ | $\mathrm{t}(3)=\mathrm{h}(3)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(28)=\mathrm{h}(4)$ | $\mathrm{t}(16)=\mathrm{h}(4)$ | $\mathrm{t}(4)=\mathrm{h}(4)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(29)=\mathrm{h}(5)$ | $\mathrm{t}(17)=\mathrm{h}(5)$ | $\mathrm{t}(5)=\mathrm{h}(5)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(30)=\mathrm{h}(6)$ | $\mathrm{t}(18)=\mathrm{h}(6)$ | $\mathrm{t}(6)=\mathrm{h}(6)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(31)=\mathrm{h}(7)$ | $\mathrm{t}(19)=\mathrm{h}(7)$ | $\mathrm{t}(7)=\mathrm{h}(7)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(32)=\mathrm{h}(8)$ | $\mathrm{t}(20)=\mathrm{h}(8)$ | $\mathrm{t}(8)=\mathrm{h}(8)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(33)=\mathrm{h}(9)$ | $\mathrm{t}(21)=\mathrm{h}(9)$ | $\mathrm{t}(9)=\mathrm{h}(9)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(34)=\mathrm{h}(10)$ | $\mathrm{t}(22)=\mathrm{h}(10)$ | $\mathrm{t}(10)=\mathrm{h}(10)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(35)=\mathrm{h}(11)$ | $\mathrm{t}(23)=\mathrm{h}(11)$ | $\mathrm{t}(11)=\mathrm{h}(11)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(36)=\mathrm{h}(12)$ | $\mathrm{t}(24)=\mathrm{h}(12)$ | $\mathrm{t}(12)=\mathrm{h}(12)$ |

Therefore, as long as you know the topics associated with the twelve houses, you have a good idea of where to find the topic of your choice. As discussed later, it is possible that the twelve groups in the table of contents are informed by the zodiacal signs, but even if so, then only in an opaque way.

Let us say, for example, that you seek a divination in relation to a sick relative. Illness is associated with the sixth house, so you scan the sixth line of each group of topics in the table of contents and choose the topic on line 6 in group 5 (numbered nūn-dāl, equivalent to topic 54): "Will the doctor prove beneficial for the diseased one or not?" You then go to

[^10]the corresponding section, $\mathrm{s}(54)$, in the main part of the book (fol. 35 v ).
Next you carry out the khatt procedure to produce a chance number, c. You draw some lines (khatt!) on the ground or on a piece of paper and count the number of lines drawn. You then subtract twelve from that number and, if necessary, repeat the subtraction until the remainder is less than twelve. The remainder is c, your chance number. The khatt procedure in this qur'a thus has the same function as the muqāra'a procedure had in the first qurca, but it has the advantage of not requiring a second person. Let us say you draw twenty-three lines; deducting twelve from twenty-three yields eleven, and your c is thus 11. If you had started with, say, fifty-seven lines, you would need to repeat the subtraction several times to reach the c of $9: 57-12=45 \rightarrow 45-12=33 \rightarrow 33-12=21 \rightarrow 21-12=9$.

You add your chance number to the topic number to identify the correct section. In the present example, c is 11 and your topic is number 54 , so the correct section is number 65 (sīn-h̄̄a) (fol. 38v). This lot book does not spell out what to do if the addition of chance number and topic number produces a number greater than 144 , but the third qur'a does provide for this possibility: you simply count up to s(144) and then continue counting from $s(1)$ onward. For example, if you want to know whether there will be a lot of rain this year (topic 141, qāf-mīm-alif) and the khatt produces a chance number of 8 , the correct section is $s(5)$.

Within the appropriate section, you go to the line whose number is one greater than your chance number, $1(1+c)$. Like in the previous qur'a, the instructions in this one are wrong in the sense that they lead the reader to the right section but not to the correct line. Here they indicate that the number of the correct line corresponds to the chance number, $1(c)$, instead of being one greater than the chance number, but the former clearly provides the divination for a different question. In the example of the ill relative, the correct line in $s(65)$ is $1(1+11)$, that is, $1(12)$, which gives you the following divination: "The doctor will prove most beneficial for the diseased one."

Incidentally, the chance number does not in fact have to be less than twelve, as the instructions insist; it can also be equal to twelve. In that case, to identify the correct divination within the section, you simply count down to $1(12)$ and then continue counting from the top of the section to arrive at $1(1)$.

In the first qur'a, the reader could identify the correct divination through four different strategies. Two-leafing through the book and using the wheel diagram-are historically attested, while the other two-using my $20 \times 20$ table and applying the underlying formulaare ahistorical. This second qur'a allows the same four strategies. In addition to leafing through the book as illustrated above, a reader can also use the table of contents as a device for quick navigation. For example, say you are about to get married and hence consider the twelve topics found on the seventh line of each group in the table of contents, since the seventh celestial house is associated with women. Skipping over possible concerns regarding whether the marriage will actually take place (topic $7, z a \bar{y}$ ) and whether your wife-to-be is chaste (topic 31, lām-alif), you wish instead to know whether she is pretty (topic 67, sīn-zāy). Undertaking the khatṭ procedure, you draw fifteen lines on the ground,
which yields $c(3)$. Within the table of contents, you count three sections down from section 67 to section 70 ('ayn), where you find the divination on $1(1+c)$, that is, line 4: "Ugly yet resolute and steadfast." You may be happy with the outcome-or regret not having drawn twenty lines instead of fifteen, for that would have yielded the divination "A beautiful and obedient spouse."

As in the case of the first qur'a, the mechanism underpinning the divinations here can be summarized in a formula that constitutes an ahistorical but functional strategy to secure a divination:

$$
\text { for any } \mathrm{t}(\mathrm{x}) \text { and khatt } \mathrm{c}, \mathrm{~s}(\mathrm{x}+\mathrm{c}) \text { and } \mathrm{l}(1+\mathrm{c})
$$

In the example concerning the coming year's rainfall, $\mathrm{t}(141)$, when the khattt yields a chance number of 8 , the correct divination is found in section $5(141+8=149$, i.e., 5 sections past 144$)$, on line $9(1+8=9)$ : "There will be a lot of rain in the middle of the year."

The fourth and final strategy involves using a table, of which Table 3 shows a section. Obviously, tabulating this second qur'a is more complicated than tabulating the first one, since the first qur'a provided twenty divinations each for twenty topics, whereas this qur'a provides twelve divinations for each topic in a set of twelve, and there are twelve sets in total. The underlying system, however, is the same-a rotating set of topics in an order that is fixed but the reverse of the order in which the topics appear in the table of contents, with the set moving down by one position per section. So in $s(1), t(1)$ is found on on $1(1), t(2)$ on $1(12)$, $t(3)$ on $1(11)$, and $t(12)$ on $1(2)$; in $s(2)$, $t(1)$ is found on $1(2)$, $t(2)$ on $l(1), t(3)$ on $1(12)$, and $\mathrm{t}(12)$ on $\mathrm{l}(3)$; and so forth.

For example, you wish to know whether your ill daughter will recover, and your khatt yields $c(3)$. Scanning the row of $t(6)$, you find that this topic is addressed on $1(1)$ in $s(6)$. You then move three positions to the right from the $s(6)$ column, which leads you to the ninth column, and you see that the divination for $\mathrm{t}(6)$ in $\mathrm{s}(9)$ is found on $\mathrm{l}(4)$ : "Your daughter will recover, by God's permission!"

As in the first qur $\mathfrak{c}$, the first line in a section always provides an apposite divination; however, in contrast to the first qur $a$, in this one the divination on the first line is never the correct one. Since we are dealing with a third power $\left(12^{3}\right)$ instead of a second power $\left(20^{2}\right)$, no change number will ever lead the user to $1(1)$ in the section on his topic of choice.

As already discussed earlier, the only reasonable explanation for the scattering of the divinations relating to a particular topic across twelve sections is that the purpose of the design is to make the outcome seem more random than it is-that is, to give the impression that both the section and the line are independently determined by chance.

Let us now consider the third and final qur'a, Ayasofya 1999/3. Since it is closely related to Ayasofya 1999/2 and differs only in its much longer introduction, we can omit detailed discussion of the strategies and mechanisms involved and instead focus on the book's author, title, and sources.

Table 3. The line positions of divination topics in selected sections of Ayasofya 1999/2.

(3) Ayasofya 1999/3: al-Qur`a al-mubāraka al-ma’mūniyya (fols. 59r-137v)


Fig. 7. The title page of the third qur'a (Ayasofya 1999/3, fol. 59r)

On its title page (fol. 59r, Fig. 7), the third lot book carries the title "the Blessed Ma’mūnian Qur'a, written by the most learned shaykh and imam Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāāq al-Kindī, may God-exalted is He above all-cover him with His grace" (al-Qur'a al-mubāraka al-ma'mūniyya, ta'līf al-shaykh al-imām al-‘allāma Jamāl al-Dīn Abī Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī, taghammadu Allāh taçālā birahmatihi). Further down in the introduction, however (fol. 62r), the work is referred to as the Twelve Zodiacal Signs (al-Ithnā 'ashar burj). Following the nondescript basmala and na't, not quoted here, the philosopher al-Kindī (d. 256/873) describes himself as living in the golden age of an unnamed caliph ${ }^{32}$ (fol. 59v):

قال أبو يوسف ابن يعقوب بن اسحق الكنـدي رحمه لله تعالي اني ذَكّرْتُ في عظيم النعمة علي الأمـة بخلافِة أمير المؤمنين فرأيتهم في أيامه قد عدّتهم العافية والأمن وفشّا فيهم الخير وغابِ وناب عنهم الخنوف وصاروا
 كل رَذِيلة ععفوفا بكل فضيلة عحبّا لأهل العلم والفضل والأدب

Abū Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī, may God-exalted is He above all-have mercy on him, has stated the following: I vividly remember the great prosperity that the community enjoyed during the caliphate of the commander of the faithful. I have seen that the people in his day knew nothing but well-being, safety and good, that evil was entirely absent from among them, that they all found favor both in this world and

[^11]in the next, and that they all got to live a carefree life during the caliphate of this commander, may God-exalted is He above all-grant him a long life that is free from all that is despicable and full of all that is virtuous, a life in which he is loved by all wise, gracious, and refined people.

The author-best described as (Pseudo-)al-Kindī-then describes the genesis of the book, recounting that he had decided to present the caliph with a divinatory book based on his extensive knowledge of Greek, Indian, and Persian astrological literature. Addressing another topos typical of qur'as, he stresses the work's user-friendliness compared to other techniques, such as tracking (qiyāfa), physiognomy (firāsa), and the interpretation of a bird's flight (zajr):


Emboldening me, my zeal has commissioned me to disclose to him a particular type of subtle wisdom and kind of delicate science, given my knowledge of the Greek, Indian, and Persian astrological books and in light of my intensive and independent engagement with them. I have composed this comprehensive and complete book on the knowledge of matters yet to transpire and conditions yet to occur. I hope that this book will prove more accessible than all books on astrological rulings and on the interpretation of a bird's flight, both its flight when scared off and its spontaneous flight, and easier to follow than all that has been written on wondrous omens of fate, astrological computation, and any secrets of tracking and subtle physiognomy that the Arabs may have used to pass verdict.
(Pseudo-)al-Kindī was particularly impressed by Indian divinatory literature, especially a work called al-Hashta burḥ (sic):


I had discovered that the Indians had founded a science derived from the secrets of day computation, including al-Hashta burh, of which I know neither the nature nor the source.

For a long time, the distorted title al-Hashta burh eluded identification. All that Kunitzsch could do in his 1968 article "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol"" was list the textual variants-al-humarj, al-hsmrkh, al-hashta brh, and, in one of the Latin translations, alhestemeragi-and point out the nonsensical and hence false similarity between the third variant and the Persian
word hasht, "eight," and the Arabic word burj, "zodiacal sign." However, in his 1984 article, "Eine neue Alfadhol-Handschrift," Kunitzsch identified an eighth Arabic manuscript, which allowed him to solve the riddle. This eighth manuscript (MS Tehran, Malik 844/3, non vidi) reads:


I have called it the Book of the Twelve Fields, just as the Indians called it the Seven Fields, [since] it was based on the seven planets. [The reason I have called it the Twelve Fields instead is that] I have based it on the twelve zodiacal signs, in which the houses of the seven planets are located.

From this crucial section, missing from the copy under discussion, we learn that the title of the Indic work must be emended to (al-)Haft(a) marj, or "The seven fields," and that we should understand the title of Ayasofya 1999/2, Qur'at al-Dawāzdahmarj, as "The twelve fields. ${ }^{133}$ Furthermore, we are informed that the author has reworked his Indic model on the principle of the twelve zodiacal signs, in their capacity as the houses of the seven planets. The moon's house is Cancer and the sun's house is Leo, and the remaining five planets are assigned two houses each. ${ }^{34}$

Somewhat confusingly, further down in the introduction of Ayasofya 1999/3 (fol. 62r), the work is said to be "known as the Twelve Zodiacal Signs" (ma'rūf bi-l-Ithnā 'ashar burj). It thus seems that the copyists of the available copies ${ }^{35}$ of the present qur'a had a hard time keeping burj and marj apart. Perhaps this should not surprise us, since it appears that these copyists were not too interested in the astrological basis of the qur ${ }^{\text {fa }} .{ }^{36}$ In Ayasofya $1999 / 2$, for example, the only remaining trace of this basis is found in the distorted title and in the tacit correlation of the houses with the order of topics in the table of contents. In retrospect, is possible that its $12 \times 12$ table of contents is informed not only by the twelve houses but also-again tacitly-by the twelve signs of the zodiac. If so, this would mean that the rows correspond to the twelve houses and the columns (or sections) correspond to the twelve signs. However, it is difficult to determine whether this is truly the case. Whereas the link between rows and houses is fairly evident (questions on sickness and travel, for example, are found on the sixth and ninth lines, just as one would expect), it is much less

[^12]clear how the signs might have informed the questions posed in the columns. In Ayasofya 1999/3 the astrological backdrop is somewhat more visible: the Indic title is named, albeit in a distorted form (fol. 60r); the word burūj occurs twice in the introduction (fols. 60 v and 62 r ); and there is a list of the qualities of the twelve houses (fol. 61r). However, here as well, the fact that the houses-and possibly also the signs-have informed the arrangement of the table of contents goes unmentioned.

After listing his sources, the author of Ayasofya 1999/3 reports that he found the Indian books most difficult to understand, but luckily an Indian informant came to his aid and helped him transpose the Indian wisdom into the present Arabic qur ${ }^{\text {a }} .{ }^{37}$ He dismisses other translated books on the subject as amounting to no more than "fictitious talk and diversion" (ka-l-khurāfa wa-l-li' $\mathfrak{b}$ ), hermetic works without a key, and contrasts them with the information he obtained from the Indian, which was "a story like Khurāfa's" (hadïth ka-l-Khurāfa)-that is, a story that may look fictitious but was declared true by the Prophet: ${ }^{38}$


I found their books on this type [of knowledge] to be learned and difficult, incomparable and impenetrable, until I found myself an Indian [to guide me] through them. He explained to me whatever word I pointed out, until I had worked through this wonderful and exceptional book. After that, I transmitted from [other] books written on this topic, and these I found to be nothing but fictitious talk and diversion, encoded works that lacked any description of their code and any explanation of their words by the knowledgeable ones. Compared to those books, the one that the Indian disclosed to me was no less than a story like Khurāfa's!

Once this wondrous secret has been unlocked, the author declares, the reader can dispense with other, more cumbersome tools of divination. Through increasingly abstruse syntax, it would seem that the author explains that he has made the work most accessible by using the familiar format of the twelve zodiacal signs and the twelve fields used when casting lots:

[^13]

I learned from him how to unlock this wondrous secret, through which one can do without ephemeris and astrolabe, taking [measures] of the shadow and the moment when it disappears, observance of clocks, [geomantic] casting, division, amulets, toilsome numbers, and erroneous analogies. Verily, it is child's play, allowing the most wondrous use and the best of results without any mental exhaustion or hard labor. I have made it extremely easy for the one looking into this [by rendering it in a format] that the eye is accustomed to, with twelve indications [per section] to be grasped, [the number twelve being] based on the number of zodiacal signs, [which combine] with the seven planets that rule them, their exaltations, opposition, aspects, detriments, and injurious effects, as well as on the number of fields used when casting lots for the astrologers to base their verdict on. They have called these the celestial natures, and these are what now follows in this commentary.
(Pseudo-)al-Kindī's introduction continues with a list of the twelve celestial houses (fol. 61r) and the "natures" (țabāyi ${ }^{\text {i }}$ ) commonly ascribed to them. ${ }^{39}$ Although this piece of information is not given explicitly in the second lot book, also there it very much informs the sequential order of the 144 topics in the table of contents, as shown earlier.

| بيت النفس والخسد والمآرب وأول العمر | الطالع |
| :---: | :---: |
| بيت المال والأعوان والمكاسب والدخاير | الثاين |
| بيت الإخوة والحوات والأقارب والدين | اللالث |
| بيت الابآء والعقار والعواقب والدفاينا | الرابع |
| بيت الأولاد والأفراح والكسْوات والما والماعب | خلخس |
| بيت الأمراض والسجون والديون والعبيد | السادس |
| بيت النسآء والأضداد والأوهام والمقاصد | السابع |

[^14]| بيت الموت والحوف والنكبات والذاهبِ | الثامن |
| :---: | :---: |
| بيت السفر والأذيّات والمِّاهِب والكتب | التاسع |
| بيت السلطان والعز والقهر والغلبة | العاشر |
| بيت الرجا والسعادة والصديق والأعوان | الحادي عشر |
| بيت الأعداء والدواب والحزن والشقاء | الثاني عشر |

## The twelve celestial natures

| Ascendant | The house of the soul, envy, desires, and the beginnings of matters |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2nd | The house of movable property, sources of aid, gains, and treasures |
| 3rd | The house of siblings, relatives, and religion |
| 4th | The house of parents, real property, consequences, and hidden treasures |
| 5th | The house of children, festivities, clothing, and ruses |
| 6th | The house of diseases, prisons, debts, and slaves |
| 7th | The house of omens, opposites, delusions, and goals |
| 8th | The house of death, fear, disasters, and the one leaving |
| 9th | The house of travel, troubles, roads, and books ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| 10th | The house of power, might, subdual, and victory |
| 11th | The house of hope, happiness, friends, and allies |
| 12th | The house of enemies, riding animals, grief, and misery |

The author then appears to say that he was bold enough to present the work only after he had mastered its delicate science and had worked on its user-friendliness. In a clear parallel to the introduction of Ayasofya 1999/2, the author informs the ruler (caliph?) that when using this book, he should have the right mindset and observe appropriate timing, and that he should seek no more than three divinations a day:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ولمَ يَسَعْنِ بشْجْعتِ علي الإقدام علي من كان قبلي مِنْ العلمآء الذين كانوا أطول أعمارا وأعظم اخلاقا }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { اليد إلا ما عُرِف من دقيق السر فُ إدراك علم هذا الكتـاب وتخغيف الموونة علي الناظر فيه فُمتى أراد الملك }
\end{aligned}
$$

[^15]I was bold enough to go against the scholars who had preceded me-scholars older than me, of a nobler nature, more knowledgeable and in better command of the sciences, and with a much better understanding of how to choose [the field] in which to excel, all combined with strong willpower and a capable hand-only after securing the delicate secret required for mastering the science enclosed in this book and [only after figuring out a way to] make it easier for the one looking into it. When the ruler-may God allow him to follow the right course-seeks knowledge of something yet to transpire by way of this book, let him fine-tune his opinion on whatever he desires; let him not fatigue his heart and his determination; and let him not put it to the test, mock it, or make fun of it, for that would obscure the scholars' knowledge. This is a condition to be met for all spiritual books that contain wondrous hidden secrets. Anyone who uses them in a way that contravenes the terms that we have laid out is bound to run into abundant error and disgrace. The most proper and correct time for posing questions is between sunrise and sunset. Whoever wants to use [this book] should not consider more than three questions a day, [three being the limit for] frequent use of the secret of this wondrous book, whose reports are correct and whose effects demonstrate its effectiveness.

Next, the author provides instructions, which are mostly familiar by now (fols. 61v-62r):


The way to use this book, known as the Twelve Zodiacal Signs, is that you draw a large number of lines on the ground without either counting or thinking. Then you subtract [sets of] twelve lines, one after the other, until [the number of lines] left is twelve or less than twelve. Next, you count from there-that is, from the page that has the topic of your concern-[by the remaining number], page by page, until the page where you are done counting, and there you stop. Then you count down on that page by the same number of lines, and on the particular line [where you are done counting] you will find explained what you seek, imparting to you [the divination], be it good or bad. If the topic of concern that you have chosen is [one of the] last topics, [so that the sum of] its number and the number that you already have-that is, the remainder of the number of lines drawn on the ground, twelve or less than twelve-is left [undepleted by the
time you reach the end of the book], then you count from [the page that has] the topic of your concern, page by page, [until the end of the book], and as for the remaining number, you keep that and [continue] counting from the first topic in the book by that remaining number, until the page where you are done counting. Next, you count the lines on the page down to the line where you are done counting, and on that particular line you will find what you seek, [divined] in the right manner, be it good or bad.

The introduction continues with an additional (defective) word of warning (fols. 62r-63v) regarding particularly inauspicious moments to seek a divination:


The scholars have reached the consensus that when the moon is conjunct Mars close to [?] any of the four cardines ${ }^{41}$-that is, the eastern horizon, the upper meridian, the western horizon, and the lower meridian-falsehood overrules the questions, words, deeds, and all sorts of taking care of business to such an extent that falsehood comes to resemble truth and truth comes to resemble falsehood. Understand this well!

The introduction concludes by once again highlighting the user-friendliness of the qur'a as an important asset (fol. 63v):

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { وقد وضعتُ هذه الجلداول علي هذه الصفحات وذكرتُ فيها من الحاجات ما دحتاج اليه وضمّنت هـنـه }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ليسهُل عليلك مأخذها بغير تعب وللّ تعالي المستعان }
\end{aligned}
$$

I have written these tables on the following pages [of table of contents], mentioning therein the topics of concern that one may have, and I have supplemented the tables that come next with a[nother] mention of the topics of concern. When you have chosen the topic of your concern, you can then look for it in these tables, thus facilitating its easy retrieval. God-exalted is He above all-is the One turned to for help.

After the introduction comes a six-page table of contents, which also serves as a navigating device. Each page displays twenty-four topics in a four-by-six (or rather $2 \times 4$ $\times 3$ ) grid, yielding a total of 144 topics to choose from (fols. 63r-65v; Fig. 8). The following sample illustrates the range of topics addressed:

[^16]| الحج في هذه السنة صالح ام لا | الاول |
| :---: | :---: |
| اصيب المال باقي عمري ام لا | الثاين |
| الاخوة والاخوات كيف حالمها | اللالث |
| الوالدان كيف حالمما | لرابع |
| هل أرزق أولادا أم لا | الحامس |
| المريض يَبرا من مرضه أم لا | السادس |
| التزويج يصح أم لا يتمشا | السابع |
| الموت من اي سبب يكونا | الثامن |
| السفر تم الخروج فيه أم لا | لتاسع |
| اصيب الامل من السلطان أم لا | العاشر |
| الأصدقآ قليلون أم كسرونا | الحادي عشر |
| الاعدا كف حالهم وكيف الحال معهما | كثاني عشر |
| العمر طويل أم قصير | لالث عشر |
| أصيب المال سريعا أم فيه بطاءة | الرابع عشر |
| اصيب من الأحوه منفعة او مضرة | الخامس عشر |
| اصيب من الوالدين منفعة ام مضره | السادس عشر |
| العايب الذي سالت عنه حي هو ام ميت | الخامس والعشرون |
| التجارة جيدة ارحح فيها ام لا | السادس والعشرون |
| هذا المولود فيه شبهة ام لا | التاسع والعشرون |
| هذه المرأه حرمة ام فيها فساد | الحادى واللثون |
| الغايب يرجع من سفره ام لا | اللالث واللثون |
| هذه الحامل تلد ذكرا ام انثي | الحادى والاربعون |
| هذا العلا | الثاني والاربعون |
| ينتفع المري هنذا الطبيب أم لا | الرابع والحمسون |

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| هذا الرجل صحيح القول أو منافق | السابع والحمون |
| :---: | :---: |
| الزرع في هذه السنة حيد ام لا | السابع والثمانون |
| اعيش باقي عمري في راحة وطيب قلب أم لا | السابع والتسعون |
| هذا الانسان حافظ سر كتوم له أم بوح به | المايه |
| هذه العمارة لما بقا طويل أو ترب | السابع بعد المايه |
| هذ الانسان عنده شى من علم السِحر أم لا | ماية وأحد عشر |
|  | ماية وثلابه عشر |
| هذا السر ينكتم أم ينكشف | ماهه واربعه وعشرون |
| اصيب المال من التعب أو الراحة | مابة واربعه وللون |
| هذه الحبلى تخلص من هذه المولود ام لا | مابة وسبعه ولثون |
| توخذ المدينة والقلعة وتحل الظفر هِما ها أم لا | مابة واربعون |
| وقوع الغيث يكون في اول هلده السنة ام فين إنره | مابة وأحد واربعون |
|  | ماية وانين واربعون |
| السعر في هذه السنة يرحص ام يغلو | ماة وثلاثة واربعون |
|  | مابة واربعه واربعون |

Is the Hajj this year appropriate or not? Will I acquire property for the rest of my life or not?
How are my siblings doing?
How are my parents doing?
Will I beget children or not?
Will the ill person recover from his illness or not?
Will the marriage be firm or not hold?
What will be the cause of death?
Travel: will there be a departure or not?
May I expect to see my hope fulfilled by the ruler or not?
Friends: do they number few or many?

How are the enemies doing?
Will life be long or short?
Will I acquire good quickly or slowly?
Will my brothers prove useful or detrimental?
Will my parents prove useful or detrimental?
The absent one whom you have mentioned: is he dead or alive?
Trade: good in terms of the winds or not?
Is there room for suspicion regarding ther newborn or not?
Is the wife chaste or immoral?
Will the absent one return from his trip or not?
Will the pregnant woman give birth to a boy or a girl?
Is this medicine and treatment wholesome or not?
Will the ill person benefit from seeing this doctor or not?
Does this man speak the truth or is he a hypocrite?
Will cultivation this year go well or not?
Will I spend the rest of my life at ease and in high spirits or not?
Can this person keep a secret entrusted to him or will he disclose it?
Will this building stand for a long time or fall to ruin?
Does this person know some sorcery or not?
Will I take a bird down with a bullet during this trip or not?
Will this secret be kept or will it be disclosed?
Will I obtain property through hard work or easily?
Will this pregnant woman die in childbirth or not?
Will the city and the fortress be taken and will a victory be gained there?
Will the rain fall at the beginning of the year or at the end?
Will the advice that I give be heeded and acted upon or not?
Will the prices this year go down or up?
While in office, will the ruler prove harmful and a source of anxiety?


Fig. 8. The first page of the table of contents, tabulating $2 \times 3 \times 4$ topics (Ayasofya 1999/3, fol. 63r)


Fig. 9. Section 1, with twelve divinations (Ayasofya 1999/3, fol. 66r)

Folios $66 \mathrm{r}-137 \mathrm{v}$ then present the divinations for the 144 topics in 144 sections (Fig. 9), numbered numerically, with one section per page and twelve alphabetically numbered divinations per section. For example, section 143 (fol. 137r) contains the following divinations:

الثالث والاربعون والمايه السعر في هذه السنة يرخص ام يغلو

| السعر في هذه السنة يرخص ويكثر فيها الخير وينتع به الخلق | 1 |
| :---: | :---: |
| هذه النصيحة التي ترفهها لا تسمع منك ولا تُظظي هنها إلا بالقبيح | ب |
| وقوع المطر في هذه السنة يكون في وسطها وينمو فيها الخير والله اعلم | T |
| المدينة تؤخذ سريعا والقلعة دجري عليها حصارٌ كثير ولا تؤخذ | 2 |


| الحرب والحصومة نيب فيهما الخير والبركة والمنفة الكثيرة | $\otimes$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| هذا الشخص ليس فيه محاربة وهو جري وقح وفيه رحله وفيه توقيع والله أعلم | 9 |
| المرأة التي تُصِر لها تعسُر عليها الولادة وتلقي مشقة وتحلُص والله أعلم | j |
| السلطان الذي تسال عنه فيه ظلم وتعاٍ وجور وأخلذ أموال النّاسِ | $\tau$ |
| هذا الشخص ما هو مسحور لكن غَرَض له مرض غيَّر عقلَه والله تعالي أعلم | b |
| تصيب مالا كثيرا تدفع به وقتك وانت في راحة وطيْب قلب والله أعلم | ي |
| اخلِص نيتك فيما تعمله من العبادات لُحظيَ منها بثواب كثير في الآخرة | ی |
|  | يب |

[Topic] 143: Will the prices this year go down or up?

| Alif | The pric thereof. |
| :---: | :---: |
| $B \bar{a}$ | This advice that you have given will not be heeded and will gain you only disgrace. |
| Jim | The rainfall this year will occur in the middle of the year, and all that is good will flourish. |
| Dāl | The city will be taken swiftly; the fortress will not be taken in spite of a prolonged siege. |
| Hā | Good, blessing, and much profit will ensue from the war and the feud. |
| Wāw | This person lacks a warring nature in spite of being bold, impudent, and manly. |
| Zāy | The pregnancy will be difficult for the woman in question; she will have complications and die in childbirth. |
| Hā ${ }^{\text {J }}$ | The ruler in question is prone to tyranny, aggression, oppression, and the appropriation of people's belongings. |
| Tā ${ }^{\text {ºn }}$ | This person has not been enchanted but rather was struck by a disease that has compromised his reason. |
| $Y \bar{a}^{\prime}$ | You will acquire property that allows you to spend your time in leisure and high spirits. |
| Y $\bar{a}^{3}$-alif | Be of sincere intent in each of your acts of worship, so you may gain much reward in the next world. |
| $Y \bar{a}^{\prime}-b \bar{a}^{\prime}$ | Those you appointed as your agents are good-natured and live lives of plenty, and things are proceeding as they order. |

As already noted earlier, despite their considerable differences, the second and third qur'as basically represent the same lot book. There is consequently no need to discuss the instructions or underlying mechanism of the third qur`a in detail beyond the following brief observations. First, in line with its lengthier introduction, the instructions in this qur'a are a
bit more elaborate than those in the preceding one. One difference is that whereas Ayasofya 1999/2 requires the chance number to be smaller than twelve, the current text specifies, more correctly, that it must be either smaller than or equal to twelve. In another departure, the current text, unlike the previous one, explains-though in a somewhat garbled waywhat to do when the sum of the topic number and the chance number is greater than the number of sections in the book-that is, 144. A notable similarity is that although both texts lead the reader to the correct section, they seem to point to the incorrect line: $1(\mathrm{c})$ instead of $1(1+c)$. The fact that the same mistake is found in both texts makes it unlikely that it reflects a copyist error. Did I misinterpret the abstruse Arabic? Was the procedure such common knowledge that accurate directions were unnecessary? Or was the author perhaps satisfied with guiding the reader to merely the proximity of the correct divination?

It goes without saying that the four strategies available for the second qur ${ }^{〔}$ are applicable here as well: to identify the correct divination, you can leaf through the book, navigate the table of contents, apply the underlying formula, or use my $12 \times(12 \times 12)$ table. It should be noted, however, that the second strategy, which relies on the table of contents, works slightly differently in this lot book because of its different layout. In the second qur'a, topics relating to the same celestial house are always found on the same line in the twelve lists of topics that make up the table of contents. By contrast, in the third qur'a's table of contents, the twenty-four cells into which each page is divided should be seen as constituting two sets of twelve cells in a $3 \times 4$ arrangement, with the cells of each set representing the twelve houses and the topics relating to the same celestial house located in the same field of each set. Accordingly, topics associated with the first house are found in the first cell of each $3 \times 4$ set, while questions relating to the seventh house are found in the seventh cell of each set. The layout of the first page of the table of contents can thus be tabulated as in Table 4.

Table 4. The celestial houses related to each topic in in the table of contents in Ayasofya 1999/3

| $\mathrm{t}(4)=\mathrm{h}(4)$ | $\mathrm{t}(3)=\mathrm{h}(3)$ | $\mathrm{t}(2)=\mathrm{h}(2)$ | $\mathrm{t}(1)=\mathrm{h}(1)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathrm{t}(8)=\mathrm{h}(8)$ | $\mathrm{t}(7)=\mathrm{h}(7)$ | $\mathrm{t}(6)=\mathrm{h}(6)$ | $\mathrm{t}(5)=\mathrm{h}(5)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(12)=\mathrm{h}(12)$ | $\mathrm{t}(11)=\mathrm{h}(11)$ | $\mathrm{t}(10)=\mathrm{h}(10)$ | $\mathrm{t}(9)=\mathrm{h}(9)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(16)=\mathrm{h}(4)$ | $\mathrm{t}(15)=\mathrm{h}(3)$ | $\mathrm{t}(14)=\mathrm{h}(2)$ | $\mathrm{t}(13)=\mathrm{h}(1)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(20)=\mathrm{h}(8)$ | $\mathrm{t}(19)=\mathrm{h}(7)$ | $\mathrm{t}(18)=\mathrm{h}(6)$ | $\mathrm{t}(17)=\mathrm{h}(5)$ |
| $\mathrm{t}(24)=\mathrm{h}(12)$ | $\mathrm{t}(23)=\mathrm{h}(11)$ | $\mathrm{t}(22)=\mathrm{h}(10)$ | $\mathrm{t}(21)=\mathrm{h}(9)$ |

In the discussion of Ayasofya 1999/2, I raised the question whether each column in its table of contents might represesent a zodiacal sign, just as each row represents a house. The same question can be posed here: could each $3 \times 4$ set in itself represent a zodiacal sign? As the introduction provides no answers, this question must remain unanswered.

On the one hand, Ayasofya 1999/2 and 1999/3, Qur'at al-Dawāzdahmarj and al-Qur'a al-mubāraka al-ma'mūniyya, cover roughly the same 144 topics, organized according to celestial houses, and offer roughly the same twelve possible divinations for each topic. But on the other hand, their titles and introductions differ, and their topics and divinations
are not always identical or given in the same order. Consequently, opinions differ on how, exactly, these two qur'as relate to one another. For Kunitzsch, the similarities outweighed the differences. In spite of multiple textual variations and the two works' different titles, authors, and dedicatees, and notwithstanding the fact that the inclusion of both items in Ayasofya 1999 suggests that at least the copyist considered them two different texts, ${ }^{42}$ Kunitzsch deemed Ayasofya 1999/2 and 1999/3, together with six additional Arabic manuscripts, to represent basically one and the same lot book. For Fuat Sezgin, the dissimilarities weighed more heavily, and he cataloged Ayasofya 1999/2, Ayasofya 1999/3, and the six other Arabic manuscripts not as one but as many as six different texts. ${ }^{43}$

This is essentially a nonresolvable debate, as it boils down to just how much textual variation one is willing to accept for a single text. On the whole, I am inclined to side with Kunitzsch on this issue, first and foremost because the basic format of $12 \times 12$ questions and $12 \times 12 \times 12$ answers and the procedure used to produce a chance number are exactly the same in the two texts. As the present article has nothing to add to the learned discussions of Kunitzsch and Sezgin beyond an additional manuscript, I will merely summarize the evidence that we have.

- Apart from the two present items, Ayasofya 1999/2 and 1999/3, thus far seven Arabic manuscripts of this lot book have been identified. The following six were already listed by Kunitzsch:
(1) MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, ḥurūf 15 (non vidi)
(2) MS Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Arapça 6292 (non vidi)
(3) MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2685/2 (vidi)
(4) MS London, British Library, Or. 1004 (= Add. 9607) (non vidi)
(5) MS Rome, Bibliotheca Vittorio Emmanuele, no. 35 (non vidi)
(6) MS Tehran, Malik 844/3 (non vidi)

These can now be supplemented with a seventh:
(7) MS Bursa, İnebey Kütüphanesi, H. Çelebi 233/2 (non vidi) ${ }^{44}$

In addition to the Arabic manuscripts, there are also four Latin translations and a German translation. ${ }^{45}$

[^17]- The text is variously ascribed to an anonymous author (as in Ayasofya 1999/2), to al-Kindī (as in Ayasofya 1999/3 and H. Çelebi 233/2), to al-Faḍl b. Sahl (as in Malik 844/3 and in the Latin translations, where the name is Latinicized as Alfadhol), or to "al-Ansi" or "al-Asni" (as in Ayasofya 2685).
- The various titles given for the text include al-Dawāzdahmarj (as in Ayasofya 1999/2, Malik 844/3, and H. Çelebi 233/2), al-Qur'a al-mubāraka al-ma’mūniyya (as in Ayasofya 1999/3), Kitāb al-Fāl al-mu'tabar waḍa'a al-ḥukamā’ li-ajl al-khalīfa Hārūn al-Rashīd (as in Ayasofya 2685), and Liber Alfadhol (as in the Latin translations). ${ }^{46}$
- The text either has no dedicatee or commissioner (as in Ayasofya 1999/2), is dedicated to an unnamed caliph (as in Ayasofya 1999/3), or was allegedly commissioned by Hārūn al-Rashīd (as in Ayasofya 2685, Malik 844/3, and the Latin translations). Hārūn al-Rashīd's son Caliph al-Ma'mūn is also potentially involved, given the alternative title al-Qur'a al-mubāraka al-ma'mūniyya in Ayasofya 1999/3.
- The oldest dated Arabic manuscript, Ayasofya $2685 / 2$, dates from $764 / 1363$, while the first Latin Liber Alfadhol goes back to the twelfth century CE.
- The different manuscripts contain multiple variant readings, both in their introductions and in their main parts.
- Where a source is given, it is either the unidentified (Perso-)Indic work al-Hafta marj (as in Malik 844/3 and Ayasofya 1999/3, albeit in a garbled way) or the currently unidentified Kitāb Ghawāmiḍ al-asrār by the third/ninth-century astrologer Abū Ma'shar (as in İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Arapça 6292).

To complicate matters even further, it should be noted that just as more than one qur'a is associated with Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, various qur'as are associated with Caliph al-Ma’mūn. Toufic Fahd lists two other qur'a texts linked to him, and Kunitzsch lists two more. ${ }^{47}$ In addition, at the least the following should also be considered: MSS Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 3925; Berlin, Ms. or. quart 466/11; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Taymūr Ghaybiyyāt 140; Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 300; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 2640; and Tübingen, Ma VI 146 (all non vidi). In short, there are still a lot of qur'a manuscripts to be sorted out.

[^18]One of the additional manuscripts listed above, Ayasofya $2685 / 2,{ }^{48}$ shows traces of use, both in its table of contents and in the main body of the text (Figs. 10 and 11), that confirm that two of the strategies discussed above-leafing through the book and navigating the table of contents-were in fact historically used.


Fig. 10. The table of contents in Ayasofya 2685/2, Fig. 11. Section 20 in Ayasofya 2685/2, with four with a set of pencil lines and markers in the sets of pencil lines margin

We thus know, for example, that this particular lot book was used at least four times to seek a divination concerning topic 20 (whether some person will die abroad or in his homeland), because the divination-seeker carried out the khatt procedure by drawing lines not on the ground but in pencil on the page itself. Other topics that display pencil lines on their pages include topic 31, "Will this pregnant woman bear a daughter or a son

[^19]and will the mother be all right or not?" (hādhihi al-mar'a al-hāmila talid bintan aw ibnan wa-taslam ummuhā am lā?), and topic 41, "Is the news that I have heard true or false?" (hādhā al-khabar alladhī sami'tu ḥaqq am bāṭil?). Unfortunately, none of the qur'as included in Ayasofya 1999 shows any traces of use, so there is no way of telling on which topics Qāniṣawh al-Muḥammadī might have sought a divination. However, while leafing through the manuscript, one can well guess those that must have appealed to him in his capacity as a husband, a son, a father, a Muslim, a governor, and an iqtat ${ }^{-}$c holder. Surely, he must have been curious about his wife-to-be, keen on having his first son, and wary of volatile Cairo politics, and he must have thought of his parents in far-off Georgia, considered going on Hajj, and hoped for ample rains and a rich harvest. For all we know, a divination might have predicted his alleged poisoning by Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī, and another one might have foretold the fascinating career of his son Maḥmūd.

Indeed, the 308 topics dealt with in Qur'at al-Imām Ja'far, Qur'at al-Dawāzdahmarj, and al-Qur'a al-mubāraka al-ma'mūniyya constitute a representative and timeless snapshot of the kinds of questions people ask themselves, and their 3,856 divinations offer an equally representative and timeless glimpse of their deepest wishes and greatest fears. Whether these divinations are informed by the Quran or go back to a (Perso-)Indic model and whether they are selected through a finger game or through lines on the ground, ultimately the verdict is determined by c , short for chance number. But perhaps, instead of c , I should have opted for the letter q as a more appropriate abbreviation, for isn't this number produced by al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar ("the divine decree and predestination"), rather than by chance? However, the debate of $c$ versus $q$, chance verses fate, is not taken up here, so I conclude by leaving the options open:

> Navigating the qur'a for any $\mathrm{t}(\mathrm{x})$ and muqāra'ac/q, $\mathrm{s}(\mathrm{x}-\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{q})$ and $\mathrm{l}(21-\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{q})$ of (Pseudo-)Ja‘far:
> Navigating the qur'a for any $\mathrm{t}(\mathrm{x})$ and khatt $\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{q}, \mathrm{s}(\mathrm{x}+\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{q})$ and $\mathrm{l}(1+\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{q})$ of (Pseudo-)al-Kindī:

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## Postscript to Footnote 16

Since completing this article, I have identified three copies of a Turkish translation of the first qur`a (all vidi): Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4988/5 (18th cent.?); Istanbul, Milli Kütüphane 06 Mil Yz 5335/2 (18th cent.); Istanbul, Hacı Selim Ağa Kütüphanesi, Hüdai Efendi 1728 (a lithograph in 23 pp., n.p. [Istanbul], n.d. [1289 AH?]). Especially the lithograph is interesting, as it confirms the work's popularity well into the 19th century.

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## Appendix: Transcription and Translation of the Qur'at al-Imām Ja far

This appendix provides a full transcription and translation of the first qur'a for use in a classroom context. ${ }^{49}$ The text can be harnessed for a number of learning objectives, including for practice in Quranic and plain Classical Arabic and as an introduction to the occult sciences in general and to bibliomancy and qur'as in particular. First, you have the students build their own divinatory devices using two copies of the diagram below (Fig. 12). The outer circle is cut from one copy along the golden outer line and the intermediate and innermost circles are cut from the second copy along the red intermediate line. The two circles are then perforated in their centers, placed on top of one another, and held together with a brad pin. Next, you guide the students through the list of topics in the intermediate circle of the device, explain the game of muqāra`a (YouTube!), and demonstrate how to operate the diagram. Divided into groups of two, the students are now set to contemplate their futures while practicing their Arabic.


[^20]امـا بعد فـان اولي الاشياء بالتفاول التفاول بكتاب الله عز وجل الذي نطق بالحق وإن رسول الله صلي الله









 او تحذير وهذه صورة الدايرة المذكورة


Fig. 12. The wheel diagram concluding the introduction (Ayasofya 1999/1, fol. 3v )

## 1 سورة البقرة

| يدل علي الملك والسلطان | 1 وآتيناهم ملكا |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي رخص الاسعار والحيرات | Y بريد الله بكم اليسر |
| يدل علي عدل السلطان | + |
| يدل علي رد الضالة | ع قالوا بشرناك بالحق |
| يدل علي وقوع ما سئل عنه | ه انما توعدون لآت |
| يدل علي وجود مال | 7 7 واتيناه من الكّ |
| يدل علي بركة التجارة وريها | V |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب | 人 |
| يدل على السفر وحسن العاقبة | 9 9 قل سيروا في الارض فانظروا |
| يدل علي ادراك المأمول | - |
| يدل علي الغبة والمودة | 1 ا 1 وألقيت عليك حبة مني |
| يدل علي النجاة من الغم والشدة | r |
| يدل علي صحة الحبر المسؤل عنه | 「 |
| يدل علي ان التهمه صحيحة | ٪1 |
| يدل علي النصر علي الأعدا | 0 |
| يدل علي السخاء وحسن الوفاء | 7 77 الذين ينفقون الموالهم بالليل والنهار |
| يدل علي الامن والعلم | و V |
| يدل على صدق الوعد والوفاء |  |
| يدل علي التزويج والحير فيه | 19 19 وزوجناهم بحور عين |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وولدا |  |

r سورة T

| يدل علي انه برز من اولاده وخدمه | 1 و وجعل لكم من ازواجكم بنين |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل على انه لا ينال ما يطلبه | r |
| يدل علي غلا الاسعار وجذب | r |
| يدل على جور السلطان وقبح سيرته | ع ان الملوك اذا دخلوا قرية افسدوها |
| يدل علي ان ما يطلبه لا يمجه | ه وللبسنا عليهم ما يلبسون |
| يدل علي ان هذا الامر لا يكون | 77 |
| يدل علي الضيقة والافلاس | V |
| يدل علي التعب والحسارة |  |
| يدل علي الغيبة والابطاء | 9 9 فما استطاعوا هضيا ولا يرجعون |
| يدل علي ترك السفر | - 1 اذا قيل لكم انفروا في سبيل الله |
| يدل علي انه لا يدرك حاك حاجته | 11 11 |
| يدل علي البغض والعداوة | IT |
| يدل علي هم وغم ورجاء الفرج | T |
| يدل علي ان المتهوم بريء | § \| |
| يدل علي بطلان الهبر |  |
| يدل علي العجز والحدلان | 17 فغلبوا هنالك وانقلبوا صاغرين |
| يلد علي البخل والشح والدين | و ومن يبخل فانما يبخل عن نفسه |
| يدل علي انه يرزق علما | 1 1 1 |
| يدل علي انه لا يويفي بالعها | 9 |
| يدل علي حسن القسمة |  |

## ب سورة النساء

| يدل على انه لا يرزق اولادا | 1 ان من ازواجكم واولادهم عدوا |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي قلة الحظ من الولد | r آي يكون لي غالام وقد بلغني الكبر |
| يدل علي انه ينال ملكا وجاها | r و وجعلكم ملوكا وآتاكم |
| يدل علي كثرة الخير والرزق | ع ان الله ييسط الرزق لمن يشاء |
| يدل علي اصلاح ولي الامر وحسن سيرته | ه لا يضركم كيدهم شيئا |
| يدل علي رجوع الدابة وعودها | 7 |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر المسؤل عنه | V |
| يدل علي يسار صاحبه وغنايه |  |
| يدل علي بركة التجارة وريها | 9 فاستشروا ببيعكم الذي بايعتم به |
| يدل علي قدوم غايب او عود شي | - |
| يدل علي السفر وينال خيرا | 11 الم 1 المر الي الذين خرجوا من ديارهم |
| يدل علي تاخير الظفر بالحاجة | r Y Y ل |
| يدل علي الالفة والغبة |  |
| يدل علي الحلاص من الشدة | § ا |
| يدل علي صدق الامر وصحته | 1 1 واتيناك باك |
| يدل علي ان المهتوم بريء | 717 ا وقالوا هذا افك قدير |
| يدل عي انه لا يظفر بحاجته | , V V V V |
| يدل علي الجود والسخا | 人1 1 1 بل يداه مبسوطتان |
| يدل علي الجهل وقلة العلم | 19 |
| يدل علي منع المطلوب | . |

ع سورة المآيدة

| يدل علي الوفاء بالعهد | 1 والذين هم لأماناقم وعدهم |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي تاخير التزويج | r و وليستغف الذين لا يجدون |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مولودا | r |
| يدل علي انه يرزق جاهِ | £ واجعل لي من لدنك سلطانـ |
| يدل علي كثرة الخير والرزق | ه اولآيك هم رزق معلوم |
| يدل علي جور يلحقه من ولي امره | 7 7 ان يثقفوكم يكونوا لكم |
| يدل علي بطلان الامر الذي له | V |
| يدل علي ذهاب الضالة | ^1 فضلوا فلا يستطيعون سبيلا |
| يدل علي ضيق اليد وتعذر السعة | 9 9 اني لما انزلت الي من خير فقير |
| يدل علي خسران التجارة | - |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب ورجوعه | 11 |
| يدل علي السفر وحسن عاقبته | I T فسيحوا في الارض اربعة اشهر |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة والمأمول | 「 |
| يدل علي الألفة والصداقة | §1 و ولكن الله الف بينهم |
| يدل علي الفرج والنجاة من الشدة | 0 0 0 ونجيناهم من عذاب غليظ |
| يدل على ان لا أصل ملا قيل | ا 17 ما هذا الا افك افن مفترى |
| يدل علي برآة المهتم مكا اتمل به | IV |
| يدل علي الهزيكة وانه لا ينصر |  |
| يدل على السخاء وسعة الصدر | 919 و 1 ويطمون الطعام علي حبه |
| يدل علي العلم وتحيق المعرفة | Y . |

- سورة الانعام

| يدل علي انه يفّجّج كربه | 1 الم نشرح لك صدرك |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي خلف العهد والوعد | r |
| يل علي مفارقة الزوجه والشريك | r قال هذا فراق بيني وبينك |
| يدل علي انه يرزق ولدا ذكرا | ع ع |
| يل علي انه لا لا يكلك ولا يلا يتسلط | O |
| يدل علي الرخص والحيرات |  |
| يدل على عدل السلطان وخير0 | V V امة يهاون بالحق وبه يعدلون |
| يدل علي النصر من الغلبة | $\wedge$ ^ 1 وينصركم عليهم |
| يدل علي بطلان لان ما سأل عنه | 9 9 وحيل بينهم و بين با ما يشتهون |
| يدل على انه لا يرزق هذا | . 1 مسّتّهم الباساء والضراء |
| يدل علي قلة الريح والمنغّة | 11 |
| يدل علي سرعة قدوم الغايب |  |
| يدل علي تأخير السفر |  |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة |  |
| يدل علي البغضة وقلة المودّة |  |
|  |  |
| يدل على صحة الحبر | IV |
| يدل علي ان التههة صحيحة |  |
| يدل علي الظفر بالاعداء |  |
| يدل علي البغض والشدة | بr. بوانه لـب الخير لشديد |

## 7 سورة الاعراف

| يدل علي البخل والشح | 1 والذين يوتون ما آتوا وقلوبكم وجلة |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي قلة العلم والمعرفة | 「 Y وجعلنا علي قلوكم اكنة ان يفقهوه |
| يدل علي نجاز الوعد وقضا الحاجة | r فهل وجلتم ما وعد ربكم حقا |
| يدل علي التزويج والحير فيه | 乏 هن لباس لكم وانتم لباس لـ |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مولودا ذكرا | ه فبشرناه بغلام حليم |
| يدل علي انه لا يكلك ما با يريده | 7 فلن تملك له من الله شيئا |
| يدل على | V |
| يدل علي العدل والوفاء باء بالقول | 人 1 بل هم قوم يعدلون |
| يدل علي انه لا يمد | 9 9 و |
| يدل علي بطلان الامر الذي يريده | －1 ان الهّ سيبطله |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وولدا | 11 |
| يدل علي الريح في التجارة | H Y 1 والله يضاعف لمن يشاء |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب | r |
| يدل علي السغر والانزعاج | ¢ ¢ يوم يسمعون الصيحة بالحق |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة والمأمول | 10 |
| يدل علي الغبة والمودّة | 7 ا 1 واذا لاتحخوك خليالا |
| يدل علي الفرج والحلاص من الشدة | V V |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر | 11 1 و وجاءك في هذه الحق |
| يدل علي صحة التهمة وحقيقتها |  |
| يدل على الغبة والنصر والظفر | r r． |

سورة الانفال V

| يدل علي خذلان العدو | 1 ما لكم من الله من ولي ولا نصير |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي البخل والضيق | r |
| يدل علي تفريج الهم | r |
| يدل علي انه لا يفي بالوعد | ع كبر مقتا عند الله ان تِ تقولو ما لا |
| يدل علي تاخير الامر المطلوب | 0 يا ليت بيني وبينك بعد المشرقين |
| يدل علي انه لا يرزق ولدا | 7 ا الحمد لله الذي لم |
| يدل على انه لا يملك الا بتعب | V V |
| يدل علي الرخص وسعة الحيرات | ^1 فتحنا عليهم ابواب كل شيء |
| يدل علي جور السلطان و قبح سيرته | 9 9 اغهم ان يظهروا عليكم يرجموكم |
| يدل علي ذهاب السرقة | - |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر وصحته | 11 |
| يدل على انه لا يبلغ ما يط إلب |  |
| يدل علي الحسران في التجارة | r\|r إوليك هم الخاسرون |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب | ع |
| يدل على السفر والخير فيه | 0 |
| يدل علي تعذر ادراك المأمول | 77 ا انا لمردودون في الحافرة |
| يدل علي البغضة وقلة الغبة | (V |
| يدل علي شدة وبقية | 1 1 و و |
| يدل على انه لا | 9 19 ويكلفون علي الكذب وهم يعلمون |
| يدل علي ان المهتم بريء | ¢ ب. |

^ سورة برآة

| يدل علي ان المهتم بريء من التهمة | 1 سبحانك هذا بهتان عظيك |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي النصر والظفر | r اذا جاء نصر الله والفتح |
| يدل علي البخل وضعف التعين | r فلما آتاهم من فضله بخلوا به |
| يدل علي الجهل وقلة المعرفة | ¢ وطبع الله علي قلوبكم |
| يدل على انجاز الوعد وقضآ الحاجه | - |
| يدل علي التزويج والحير فيه | 7 مثني وثلاث ورباع |
| يدل علي انه لا يولد له ولد | و و |
| يدل علي انه ينال رفعة | 1 1 جعلنا لكم عليهم سلطانا مبينا |
| يدل علي خصب السنة والرخاء | 9 9 واسبغ عليكم نعمه ظاهرة وباطن |
| يدل علي عدل السلطان وصاحه | -1 ان الله يغفر الذنوب جميعا |
| يدل علي ذهاب السرقة | \ 1 كرماد اشتدت به الريح |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر المسؤل عنه | I |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا كثيرا | r |
| يدل علي انه خاسر في التجارة | ٪ \ فقدر عليه رزقه |
| يدل علي تاخير قدوم الغايب |  |
| يدل علي السفر والحير فيه | 717 فانتشروا في الارض وابتغوا |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة | V V V |
| يدل علي قلة المبة والمداهنة | \1 1 ی يرضونكم بافواههم |
| يدل علي الحلاص والنجاة من الشدة | 19 19 إيجعل الله بعد عسر يسرا |
| يدل علي كذب الخبر | r. |

9 سورة يونس

| يدل علي صحة الحبر | ( ويستنبئونك احق هو إو لا (ي وربي |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل على صحة التهمة | r r ما كا كان حديثّا يفتري |
| يدل علي النصر والظفر | r ${ }^{\text {r }}$ + |
| يدل علي الجود وسعة الصدر | ٪ فاما من اعطي واتقي وصدق |
| يدل على صدق الوعد وقضآ الـاجة | ه انه كان صادق الوعد |
| يدل علي تام العقل والخير | 7 ليتنقهوا فِ الدين |
|  | V $V$ وان يتغرقا يغني الهّ كالا من سعته |
| يدل علي انه يرزق رزقا | 人 1 قالت رب اني وضعنها انتي |
| يدل على الولاية والجاه |  |
| يدل علي جلي لِب السنة |  |
| يدل علي عدل السلطان وصاحلاحه | 11 |
| يدل علي فوات الاهر المطلوب | r 1 I قد |
| يدل علي ان الامر الذى نواه لا لا مكا |  |
| يدل على انه يرزق مالا ورولدا |  |
| يدل علي الريح في التجارة |  |
| يدل علي بط بطاء قدوم الغايب | 7 ا 7 ولو ارادوا الخروج لأعدوا |
| يدل على السفر والير فيه | ا انغروا خ ا V |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة |  |
| يدل علي البغضة وقلة الغبة | 9 19 قد بد |
| يدل علي الشدة وقلة الهير |  |

- 

| يدل على الفرج والنجاة من الشدة | ا 1 ولو رمناهم وكشفناما بهم من ضر |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي صحة الحبر الذي نواه | Y الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه |
| يدل علي ان التهمة باطلة | r |
| يدل علي خلف الوعد | ع يوم لا يغنى عنهم كيدهم شيئا |
| يدل علي البخل وضيق الصدر | 0 ومن يبخل فانما يبخل عن نفسه |
| يدل علي الجهل وقلة العلم | 7 7 7 ولكن تعمي القلوب التي في الصدور |
| يدل علي تاخير التزويج | V |
| يدل علي انجاز الوعد وقضا لحا الحاجة | 人 |
| يدل علي انه لا يرزق اولادا | 9 9 قالت يا ويلتى الد |
| يدل علي الملك والسلطان | . 1 انا ارسلنا رسلنا بالحق |
| يدل علي افساد النية والغلا | 11 |
| يدل علي المادعة والغبن | r |
| يدل علي عود الضالة | r |
| يدل علي تغير الامر المسؤل عنه |  |
| يدل علي انه يززق مالا جزيلا | 0 |
| يدل علي الريح في التجارة | 717 ا 17 وان تك حسنة يضاعفها |
| يدل علي تاخير قدوم الغايب | IV |
| يدل علي السفر والحير فيه |  |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة | 19 19 فان لكم ما سألتم |
| يدل علي الالفة والغبة والمودة | , Y. |

1 ( سورة يوسف

| يدل علي المصافاة واغيبة | 1 والقيت عليك حبة مني |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي تاخير الخلاص | r ولن تفلحوا اذا ابدا |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر وصدور القول | r |
| يدل علي بطلان التهمة | ₹ فبراءه الله ما قالوا |
| يدل علي النصر بعد الغبة | ه اغهم لمم المنصورون |
| يدل علي البخل وضيق الصدر | 7 7 ولا يكسبّ الذين يبخلون |
| يدل علي الجهل وقلة العلم | V $V$ ثم قست قلوبكم من بعد ذلك |
| يدل علي انجاز الوعد وقضآ الحاجه | 人 |
| يدل علي وقوع التزويج وصاحها | 9 وقد اقضي بعضكم الي بعض |
| يدل علي انه يرزق انثي او يتزج | -1 يهب لمن يشاء اناثا ويهب لمن يشاء |
| يدل علي انه لا يرزق مالا | 11 |
| يدل علي الخصب والرخاء | (Y |
| يدل علي عدل السلطان | rr |
| يدل علي وجود السرقة والابق |  |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي نواه | 0 1 ان هذا لو حق اليقين |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وخيرا | 717 ا ووجدك عايلا فأغني |
| يدل علي قلة الريح في التجارة | ( ${ }^{\text {I V V }}$ |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب | 11 1 ایى منقلب ينقلبون |
| يدل علي تاخير السفر | 9 19 انكم 1 1ضيتم بالقعود اول مرة |
| يدل علي ادراك ما نوي وبلوغه |  |

Y Y Y

| يدل علي تاخير الحاجة المطلوبة | 1 1 |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي الريا والنفاق | r |
| يدل علي الفرح والنجاة من الشدة | r |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر ووقوع الاهر | ع انه |
| يدل علي الفرح والنجاة من الشدة | ه تنزل علي كل افاك اك اثيم |
| يدل علي وهن يصيبه وقوه العدو | 7 7 انه لقول فصل ولا |
| يدل علي الجود والسخا | V |
| يدل علي العلم والمعرفة | 人 1 الرمن علّم القرّن |
| يدل علي انه لا ينجز بالوعد | 9 والذين ينضضون عهند الله من بعد |
| يدل علي اصلاح حال النساء | -1 واصلحنا له زوجه |
| يدل علي انه يرزق اولادا كثيرة | 11 |
| يدل علي الملك والسلطان | \| Y |
| يدل علي الغلا وقلة الخصب |  |
| يدل على عدل السلطان | § ا فاصلح بينهم فلا اثم عليه |
| يدل علي وجود السرقة | 10 |
| يدل علي بطلان الامر المسؤل عنه | 7 |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا كثيرا | V V V الله ييسط الرزق لمن يشاء ويقدر |
| يدل علي خلاصه في التجارة | 1 1 \ فلكم رؤس اموالكم |
| يدل علي تاخير قدوم الغايب | 19 1 1 |
| يدل علي سرعة الانتقال | 俍 |

## T سورة ابرهيم

| يدل علي ان الحير في تاخير السفر | 1 فتربصوا حتي ياتي الله بامره |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي تاخير الحاجة | r و ولا يجدون في صدورهم حاجة |
| يدل علي الغبة ويخالطة الصديق | r |
| يدل علي النجاة من الشدة |  |
| يدل علي بطلان الخبر | ه ان يقولون الا كذبا |
| يدل علي المهتم بريء | 7 7 ولا يغتب بعضكم بیضا |
| يدل علي الظفر والنصر | V |
| يدل على البخل وضيق النفس | 人 1 |
| يدل علي الجهل وقلة العلم | 9 9 وجعلنا علي قلوبكم اكنّة |
| يدل علي انجاز الوعد | . |
| يدل علي فساد امر النساء | 11 |
| يدل علي انه يرزق اولاد كثيرة |  |
| يدل علي انه لا ينال ما يطلب | r\| |
| يدل علي الرخاء وخصب السنة | £ |
| يدل علي عدل السلطان وصلاحه | 0 |
| يدل علي ان الضالة لا توجد | 77 17 قد ضلوا من قبل واضلوا |
| يدل علي تعذر الامر الذي طلبه | IV |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا كثيرا | 1 1 1 الذي جمع مالا وعدّده |
| يدل علي الريح في التجارة | 9 9 9 وباركنا عليه وعلي اسحق |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب |  |

§ ا سورة الحجر

| يدل علي بطوء الغايب | 1 |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي الحير في ترك السفر | ف r |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة | r |
| يدل علي الغبة وحسن المودّة | ع مودّة بينكم في الحيوة الدنيا |
| يدل علي شدة وبقية | 0 يضاعف لها العذاب ضعفين |
| يدل علي ان بعضه حق وبعضه باطل | 7 7 ويقولون نؤمن ببعض |
| يدل علي ان صاحب التهمة مرتاب | V |
| يدل علي وهن يلحقه من عدوه | 1 |
| يدل علي الامساك والبخل | 9 |
| يدل علي العلم والمعفة بالامر | -1 إي اعلم ما لا تعلمون |
| يدل علي وفاء الوفد وقضاء الحاجة | 11 |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي يطلبه | Y Y |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وبنين | r\| |
| يدل علي انه لا ينال ما يطلب | ๕ |
| يدل علي الرخاء وكثرة الخيرات | 1 1 يريد الله ان يكفف عنكم. |
| يدل علي جور السلطان | 17 ا اغهم كانوا قوما فاسقين |
| يدل علي ذهاب الخوف والحزن |  |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي نواه | ^1 |
| يدل علي انه لا يرزق مالا | 91 1 يا ايها العزيز مسّنا واهلنا |
| يدل علي الخسارة في التجارة |  |

## 1 1 سورة النحل

| يدل علي الريح في التجارة | \| ليوفيهم اجورهم ويزيدهم |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي سرعة قدوم الغايب | r |
| يدل علي السفر والخير فيه | r |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة والمامول | ع ¢ |
| يدل علي البغضة وقلة المودة | ه قد بدت البغضاء من افواههم |
| يدل علي الفرح والنجاه من الشدة | 7 7 فنجيناه واهله من الكرب العضيم |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر وتاكيده | V |
| يدل على ان المهتم بريء الساحة | 入 1 |
| يدل عل النصر والظفر والشجاعية | q |
| يدل علي العطاء والكرم | . |
| يدل علي قلة العلم والمعرفة | 11 |
| يدل علي قلة الوفاء وكثرة الحلاف | Y Y |
| يدل علي فساد امر النساء | r\| |
| يدل علي انه يرزق ولد ذكر |  |
| يدل علي انه ينال جاهِا | 10 والله يوتي ملكه من يشاء |
| يدل علي الرخاء وخصب العام | 17 17 يستبشرون بنعمة من الله وفضل |
| يدل علي جور السان | V1v |
| يدل علي الضالة لا توجد |  |
| يدل علي ان هذا الاهر لا يقع ابدا | 19 |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا جزيلا | r r. |

## 7 1 سورة الاسراء

| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا واسعا | 1 قد احسن الله له رزقا |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي قلة الريح في التجارة | Y و وكان عاقبة امرها خسرا |
| يدل علي قدوم الغايب | ¢ |
| يدل علي السفر والخير فيه | § الم تر الي الذين خرجوا من دياههم |
| يدل علي قضاء الحاجة وبلوغها | ه وقضينا اليه ذلك الامر |
| يدل علي المبة والمودّة | 7 7 7 شدفهها حبّا |
| يدل علي شدة وبقية منة | ( ما لنا من حيص |
| يدل علي بطلان الخبر وكذبه | 1 |
| يدل علي صحة التهمة واثباهًا | 9 ان يسرق فقد سرق اخ له |
| يدل علي خذلان العدو واغزامه | . |
| يدل علي البخل وضيق النفس | 11 ا 1 ان الانسان خلق هلوعا |
| يدل علي انه يرزق علما ومعرفة | T Y و و |
| يدل علي الوفاء وصدق الوعد | 「 1 ¢ انما توعدون لصادق |
| يدل علي انه يرزق من النساء |  |
| يدل علي انه يرزق من اولاد | ه 1 وجعلنا ذريته هم الباقين |
| يدل علي انه لا يرزق سلطانا | 717 ان عبادي ليس لك عليهم سلطان |
| يدل علي الغلا وقلة الخير | سأرهنه صعودا V |
| يدل علي جور السلطان | 11 1 يسومونكم سوء العذاب |
| يدل علي ان الضالة لا ترتّ | 919 |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي نواه | ( Y ¢ . |

IV

| يدل علي بطلان الامر الذي نواه | \| كسراب بقيعة يكسبه الظمآن ماء |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي انه يززق خيرا ونعمة | r و وتبون المال حبا جما |
| يدل علي الريح وقلة الخسارة | r |
| يدل علي بطلان الامر المسؤل عنه | § اوليك عنها مبعودون |
| يدل علي تاخير السفر | O فضربنا علي آذاغم في الكهف |
| يدل علي تاخير قضاء الحاجة | 7 ج هيهات هيهات لما توعدون |
| يدل علي مفارقة الصديق | V $V$ |
| يدل علي النجاة من الشدة | 人 1 قل الله ينجيكم منها ومن كا كا كرب |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر الذي سال عنه | 9 وي大ق الله الحق بكلماته |
| يدل علي ان المهتم بريء من التهمة | - ا اولايك مبروون ما يقولون |
| يدل علي النصر والظفر بالعدو | 1 1 وينصرك الله نصرا عزيزا |
| يدل علي الكرم والسخاء |  |
| يدل علي قلة العلم والمعرفة | r\|r |
| يدل علي الخنل وقلة الوفاء | £ 1 فبما نقضهم ميثاقهم |
| يدل علي انجاز الوعد وقضا الحاجة | 1 1 ذلك وعد غير مكذوب |
| يدل علي وفور الحظ من النساء | 17 و لا جناح عليكم ان تنكحوهن |
| يدل علي انه يرزق ولدا ذكرا | ' V |
| يدل علي انه ينال ملكا وسلطانا |  |
| يدل علي انه لا يملك الا بلا بعا |  |
| يدل علي جذب السنة وغلايها | r. |
| يدل علي جور السلطان وظلمه | ا Y يدعو لمن ضا |
| يدل علي وجود الضالة | rr |

＾ 1 سورة مريم

| يدل علي وجود الضالة | ا ولا تئسوا من روح الله |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي نواه | r |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وخيرا | 「 「 و يرزقه من حيث لا |
| يدل علي قلة النفع من التجارة | § انكم اذا لخاسرون |
| يدل علي تاخير قدوم الغايب | ه لا بثين فيها احقابا |
| يدل علي وقوع السفر والحير فيه | 7 7 ومن يخزج من بيته مهاجرا |
| يدل علي تاخير الحاجة | V |
| يدل علي المودّة والغبة | 人 |
| يدل علي شدة وبقية حـنة | 9 9 زدناهم عذابا فوق العذاب |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر | － |
| يدل علي ان المهتم بريء ما | 11 |
| يدل علي وهن المبة ويلحقه مكروه | Y ¢ |
| يدل علي البخل وضيق النفس | r |
| يدل علي العلم والمعرفة | \＆ |
| يدل علي الخلف ونض | 0 0 1 ولقد عهدنا الي آدم من قبل فنسى |
| يدل علي صلاح امر النساء | 717 ا 17 نساءكم حرث لكم فاتوا |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وولدا | IV |
| يدل علي انه يرزق جاهِ |  |
| يدل علي جذب السنة وعلها | 9 1 9 ¢هر الفساد |
| يدل علي عدل السلطان وحسن سيرته | \％「． |

9 9 سورة طه

| يدل علي جور السلطان وظلمه | 1 واذا اردنا ان هلك قرية |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي ان السرقة لا تعود | r ب |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي نواه | r |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا ونعمة |  |
| يدل علي الريح في التجارة | - فيضاعفه له اضعافا كثيرة |
| يدل علي تاخير قدوم الغايب | 7 7 وافهم الينا لا يرجعون |
| يدل علي تاخير السفر | V |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة | 人 |
| يدل علي البغض والعداوة | 9 9 ان يثقفوكم يكونوا لكم اعداء |
|  | . |
| يدل علي صحة الخبر وصدقه | 11 ¢ 1 |
| يدل علي ان المهتم بريء الساحة | Y Y |
| يدل علي الغلبة والقهر | T ¢ فريقا تقتلون وتاسرون فريقا |
| يدل علي الشح والبخل | ¢ ¢ واذا لا يؤتون الناس نـيرا |
| يدل علي انه يرزق علما وحمكة | 0 |
| يدل علي الخيانة وقلة الامانة | 717 ا 17 وان يريدوا خيانتك فن |
| يدل علي فساد امر النساء | V V V |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا وخيرا | 1 1 1 انما نمدهم به من مال |
| يدل علي انه بيلك عزا ونا وسلطانا | 9 ¢ 1 انا جعلناك |
| يدل علي تمام النعمة وكثرة الحير | r. |

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| يدل علي رخاء الاسعار | 1 وهو الذي ينزل الغيث من بعد ما قنطوا |
| :---: | :---: |
| يدل علي جور السلطان | r الا اغهم هم المفسدون |
| يدل علي وجود السرقة | r r الا يسجدوا له الذي يزرج الخبأ |
| يدل علي وقوع الامر الذي سال عنه | ع ان هذا الشيء يراد |
| يدل علي انه يرزق مالا ونعمة | ه فرحين بما آتاهم الله من فضله |
| يدل علي قلة الريح في التجارة | 7 7 ذلك هو الخسران المبين |
| يدل علي قدوم الغابي | V |
| يدل علي السفر والخير فيه | 人 فاسلكي لـ |
| يدل علي ادراك الحاجة وبلوغها | 9 |
| يدل علي الوفاء والمودّة | ． |
| يدل علي شدة وبقية | 1 1 وقذف في قلوبكم الرعب |
| يدل علي بطلان الحبر المسؤل عنه | Tr |
| يدل علي صحة التهمة وانه غير برى | 「 ${ }^{1}$ ¢ وجحدوا بها واستيقنتها انفسهم |
| يدل على النصر والظفر والغبة | §1 |
| يدل علي البخل وضيق النغس | 0 |
| يدل علي انه يرزق علما وحكمة | 17 ا 17 يوتي الحكمة من يشاء |
| يدل علي الخيانة والغدر | ان ان لله لا يهدي كيد الخاينين |
| يدل علي اصلاح اهر النساء | 111 1 خلق لكم من انفسكم ازواجا |
| يدل علي انه يرزق ولدا صالحا | 9 19 لأهب لك غلا 1 ¢ 1 |
| يدل علي انه لا يمد ما يطلب | 俍． |

تحت بحد الله وعونه وحسن توفيقه

Al－＇Ușūr al－Wusțā 32 （2024）

# The Qur'a of Imam Ja'far, <br> that is, the revered imam and sayyid Ja'far, son of the great imam and sayyid Muhammad al-Bāqir and descendant of the revered, brave, and triumphant imam and commander of the faithful 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, may God be pleased with him 

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Universe, and God bless our master, Muḥammad, and all of his family and his companions!

Now, the worthiest form of bibliomancy is the bibliomancy based on the Book of Godgreat and exalted is He above all-[for it is this book] that has pronounced the Truth. The Envoy of God-God bless him and grant him salvation-liked bibliomancy, whereas he detested interpretation of the bird's flight [as another form of divination]. As for Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq-may God be pleased with him-not one of the occult sciences did he leave undivulged, not a single hermetic text did he leave undisclosed and not a single wonder did he fail to spread. It is he who has written this qur'a, based on [verses] extracted from the Quran.

Whoever wishes to [learn something] regarding some matter in his [life]-be it a matter existing already or one not [yet] existing-should read what is [written] around the smallest circle, twenty chapters in total, with each of these chapters denoting a particular topic of concern. This is the most laudable, the most correct, the best, and the most veracious of all qur'as [available], because its proof texts and their indications are taken from the Noble Quran. Facing each chapter there is a Quranic sura. There are two circles, one enclosed in the other, and the chapters on the topics of concern are found in the outer circle, facing the Quranic suras and encircling these. Let the one with a concern point out the concern of his choice from those detailed in the aforesaid circle to disclose it. Let him then perform a muqāra‘a with someone else, the two of them using both hands. Next, let him count all fingers raised by the both of them and add these up. Let him then move backward from the sura that faces his topic of concern by that [same] number [of positions], stopping at the sura at which this number is completed. Next, let him look at the tables containing the suras and count down from the first line under the sura [title] the same number of lines as the number yielded by the muqāra`a. Let him then consider the line at which this number is completed. There, he will find [the indication], be it good news or an admonition, something appeasing or a word of warning. This is the shape of the aforesaid circle:

|  | Inner circle | Outer <br> circle |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Innermost circle (sura) | Intermediate circle (topic) |  |
| The Heifer | Power and standing |  |
| The Family of 'Imrān | Children, male and female | 1 |
| The Women | Marriage: appropriate or not? | 2 |

The Table Spread
The Cattle
The Heights
Spoils of War
Immunity
Jonah
Hūd
Joseph
Thunder
Abraham
The Rocky Tract
The Bee
The Night Journey
The Cave
Mary
$T \bar{a}-H \bar{a}{ }^{\prime}$
The Prophets

| Loyalty, sincerity, and promises | 4 |
| :--- | :--- |

Knowledge, intelligence, and learning
Presents and greed and what they mean
Victory and triumph and their opposites
Suspicion: justified or not?
Reports: true or false?
Deliverance from fear and adversity
Love, friendship, and hatred
Seeing one's need and hope fulfilled
Travel: proper or not?
The absent one: on his way back or delayed?
Trade, wind, and losses
Will I obtain this property or not?
Will this matter transpire or not?
Stolen goods and runaway slaves: will they return or not?
The ruler's justice and injustice
Will the year be unproductive or productive?


Fig. 13. The wheel diagram (Ayasofya 1999/1, fol. 3v) in translation

## 1. Sura The Heifer

1. "And conferred upon them a great kingdom" indicates (Q 4:54)
2. "Allah intends every facility for you"
(Q 2:185)
3. "I only desire [your] betterment to the best of my power" (Q 11:88)
4. "We give thee glad tidings in truth"
(Q 15:55)
5. "All that hath been promised unto you will come to pass" (Q 6:134)
6. "Such were the treasures We had bestowed on him" (Q 28:76)
7. "For He will pay them their meed, nay, He will given them even more out of His bounty" (Q 35:30)
8. "For to Us will be their return"
(Q 88:25)
9. "Say, 'Go ye through the earth and see""
(Q 27:69)
10. "Allah said, 'Granted is thy prayer, 0 Moses!"" (Q 20:36)
11. "But I cast the garment of love over thee from Me" (Q 20:39)
12. "Fear thou not: well hast thou escaped from unjust people" (Q 28:25)
13. "It is not a tale invented, but a confirmation"
(Q 12:111)
14. "Verily, this the Very Truth and Certainty" (Q 56:95)
15. "And so that Allah will help you tremendously" (Q 48:3)
16. "Those who in charity spend of their goods by night and by day" (Q 2:274)
17. "We have sent thee a Message from Our own Presence" (Q 20:99)
18. "To fulfil the contracts which ye have made" (Q 2:177)
19. "And We shall join them to fair women with beautiful, big and lustrous eyes" (Q 44:54) 20. "Yet says: 'I shall certainly be given wealth and children?"" (Q 19:77)
power and dominion. cheap prices and resources. the ruler's justice. the return of the stray beast.
the occurrence of is the matter inquired about.
the finding of money.
that the trade and its wind are blessed.
the arrival of the absent one.
travel and a good outcome.
the attainment of what is hoped for.
love and friendship.
deliverance from affliction and adversity.
the soundness of the news inquired about.
that the suspicion is justified.
victory over the enemies.
generosity and strong loyalty.
safety and knowledge.
sincerity in one's promise and loyalty.
marriage and benefit from it.
that one will be allotted property and children.

## 2. Sura The Family of Imrān

1. "And made for you, out of them, sons and daughters" (Q 16:72)
2. "Have not the least power"
(Q 35:13)
3. "Close and constricted, as if they had to climb up to the skies" (Q 6:125)
4. "Kings, when they enter a country, despoil it" (Q 27:34)
5. "And We should certainly have caused them confusion in a matter which they have" (Q 6:9)
6. "Allah will surely make it of no effect"
(Q 10:81)
7. "Be sure we shall test you with something of fear and hunger" (Q 2:155)
8. "But their traffic is profitless, and they have lost true direction" (Q 2:16)
9. "Then should they have been unable to move about, nor could they have returned after error" (Q 36:67)
10. "When ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah" (Q 9:38)
11. "And they should then be turned back, frustrated of their purpose" (Q 3:127)
12. "So we estranged them, with enmity and hatred between the one and the other" (Q 5:14)
13. "And cast terror into their hearts"
(Q 33:26)
14. "And those who stir up sedition in the city" (Q 33:60)
15. "With no certain knowledge, but only conjecture to follow" (Q 4:157)
16. "So the great ones were vanquished there and then, and were made to look small" (Q 7:119)
17. "Some that are niggardly. But any who are niggardly are so at the expense of (...)" (Q 47:38) 18. "Of knowledge it is only a little that is communicated to you, O men" (Q 17:85)
18. "In a Believer they respect not the ties either of kinship or covenant" (Q 9:10)
19. "And they have therein companions pure and holy" (Q 2:25)
that one will be allotted children and servants.
that one will not attain what one seeks.
high prices and a barren year.
the ruler's injustice and foul comportment.
that one will not find what one seeks.
that this matter is not happening.
straitened circumstances and insolvency.
difficulty and loss.
absence and delay.
refraining from travel.
that one will not attain what one needs.
hatred and enmity.
worry, affliction, and hope for relief.
that the suspect is innocent.
that the news is untrue.
failure and setback.
avarice, stinginess, and debt.
that one will be allotted knowledge.
that one will not keep one's promise.
a beautiful lot.

## 3. Sura The Women

1. "Truly, among your wives and your children indicates are some that are enemies" (Q 64:14)
2. "How shall I have a son, seeing I am very old?" (Q 3:40)
3. "Made you kings, and gave you"
(Q 5:20)
4. "That Allah enlarges the provision, for any He pleases" (Q 39:52)
5. "Not the least harm will their cunning do to you"
(Q 3:120)
6. "That her eye might be comforted, that she might not grieve" (Q 28:13)
7. "Indeed, what you are promised is true"
(Q 51:5)
8. "And granted him abundant wealth"
(Q 74:12)
9. "Then rejoice in the bargain which ye have concluded" (Q 9:111)
10. "Then there came running, from the farthest part of the City, a man" (Q 36:20)
11. "Didst thou not Turn by vision to those who abandoned their homes" (Q 2:243)
12. "By no means shall ye attain righteousness unless ye give freely of that which ye love" (Q 3:92)
13. "And moreover He hath put affection between their hearts" (Q 8:63)
14. "If thou couldst but seen when they will quake with terror" (Q 34:51)
15. "We have brought to thee that which is inevitably due, and assuredly we tell the truth" (Q 15:64)
16. "And say, 'This charge is an obvious lie'?"
(Q 24:12)
17. "Nor shall intercession profit her nor shall anyone" (Q 2:123)
18. "Nay, both His hands are widely outstretched" (Q 5:64)
19. "They have hearts wherewith they understand not" (Q 7:179)
20. "I too promised, but I failed in my promise to you" (Q 14:22)
that one will not be allotted children.
little luck when it comes to children.
that one will attain wealth and standing.
plenty of good and blessing.
the restoration of order by the commander and his good comportment.
the coming back of the riding animal and its return.
the occurrence of the matter inquired about.
the wealth and riches of one's companion.
the blessedness of the trade and of its wind.
the arrival of the absent one or the return of something.
travel and the attainment of something good.
a delay in the attainment of one's need.
affection and love.
deliverance from hardship.
the truth and correctness of the matter.
that the suspect is innocent.
that one will not attain one's need.
generosity and munificence.
ignorance and poor knowledge.
the withholding of what is sought.

## 4. Sura The Table Spread

1. "And those who [respect] their trusts and covenants" (Q 70:32)
2. "Let those who find not [the wherewithal for marriage] keep themselves chaste" (Q 24:33)
3. "Indeed, We give you the good news of the birth of a son, whose name will be John" (Q 19:17)
4. "And grant me from Thy presence an authority to aid me" (Q 17:80)
5. "For them is a Sustenance determined" (Q 37:41)
6. "If they gain the upper hand over you, they would be your open enemies" (Q 60:2)
7. "Then, do they believe in that which is vain?" (Q 29:67)
8. "But they have gone astray, and never a way will they be able to find" (Q 25:9)
9. "Truly am I in desperate need of any good that Thou dost send me" (Q 28:24)
10. "Surely humanity is in grave loss"
(Q 103:2)
11. "It will be said: 'Turn ye back to your rear! then seek'" (Q 57:13)
12. "You may travel freely through the land for four months" (Q 9:2)
13. "All that hath been promised unto you will come to pass" (Q 6:134)
14. "But Allah hath put affection between them" (Q 8:63)
15. "We saved them from a severe penalty"
(Q 11:58)
16. "This is only a falsehood invented"
(Q 34:43)
17. "I am free of responsibility for what ye do" (Q 26:216)
18. "Soon will their multitude be put to flight, and they will show their backs" (Q 54:45)
19. "And they feed, for the love of Allah"
(Q 76:8)
20. "And Allah will teach him the Book and Wisdom" (Q 3:48)
indicates the keeping of one's promise.
a delay in the marriage.
that one will be allotted a child.
that one will be allotted standing.
plenty of good and blessing.
injustice wrought to one by the commander.
the futility of what one has.
that the stray beast is gone.
destitution and the impossibility of affluence.
loss in trade.
the arrival of the absent one and his return.
travel and its good outcome.
the attainment of one's need and hope.
affection and friendship.
deliverance and liberation from hardship.
that what is said is unfounded.
the suspect's innocence of what he is suspected of.
defeat and that one will not triumph.
munificence and generosity.
knowledge and the achievement of wisdom.

## 5. Sura The Cattle

1. "Have We not uplifted your heart for you 0 Prophet" (Q 94:1)
2. "Most of them We found not men true to their covenant" (Q 7:102)
3. "He answered, 'This is the parting between me and thee"" (Q 18:78)
4. He said: "Ah there! Good news! Here is a fine young man!" (Q 12:19)
5. "But he had no authority over them"
(Q 34:21)
6. "Whatever mercy Allah opens up for people" (Q 35:2)
7. "People who direct others with truth. And dispense justice therewith" (Q 7:181)
8. "Allah will help you to victory over them"
(Q 9:14)
9. "And between them and their desires, is placed a barrier" (Q 34:54)
10."They encountered suffering and adversity" (Q 2:214)
10. "What then would ye add to my [portion] but perdition?" (Q 11:63)
11. "On account of journeys through deep and distant mountain highways" (Q 22:27)
12. "But never will they get out therefrom"
(Q 5:37)
13. "Although ye smote your enemies with one twice as great" (Q 3:165)
14. "To excite enmity and hatred between you" (Q 5:91)
15. "That day there will be no place of refuge nor will there be for you any room for denial" (Q 42:47)
16. "And I have come to thee from Saba with tidings true" (Q 27:22)
17. "Saying with their lips what was not in their hearts" (Q 3:167)
18. "It is the fellowship of Allah that must certainly triumph" (Q 5:56)
19. "And they are truly extreme in their love of worldly gains" (Q 100:8)
release from one's suffering. a breach of agreement and promise. the separation of the wife and the partner.
that one will be allotted a male child.
that one will not rule or hold sway.
cheap prices and blessings.
the ruler's justice and goodness.
that one is delivered from defeat.
that what is inquired about is untrue.
that one will not be allotted this property.
little wind or profit.
the swift arrival of the absent one.
a delay in travel.
the attainment of one's need.
hatred and lack of friendship.
hardship and prolonged trial.
the soundness of the news.
that the suspicion is justified.
triumph over one's enemies.
hatred and hardship.

## 6. Sura The Heights

1. "And those who dispense their charity with indicates their hearts full of fear" (Q 23:60)
2. "And we put coverings over their hearts and minds lest they should understand the Qur'an" (Q 17:46)
3. "Have you also found Your Lord's promises true?" (Q 7:44)
4. "They are your garments and ye are their garments" (Q 2:187)
5. "So we gave him the good news of a boy ready to suffer and forbear" (Q 37:101)
6. "Thou hast no authority in the least for him against Allah" (Q 5:41)
7. "They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah" (Q 3:170)
8. "Nay, they are a people who swerve from justice" (Q 27:60)
9. "And pursue not that of which thou hast no knowledge" (Q 17:36)
10. "Allah will surely make it of no effect"
(Q 10:81)
11. "And aid you with wealth and offspring"
(Q 17:6)
12. "Allah giveth manifold increase to whom He pleaseth" (Q 2:261)
13. "Will bring thee back to the Place of Return" (Q 28:85)
14. "The Day when they will hear a mighty Blast in very truth" (Q 50:42)
15. "But a necessity of Jacob's soul, which he discharged" (Q 12:68)
16. "Behold! they would certainly have made thee their friend" (Q 17:73)
17. "So we listened to him: and delivered him from distress" (Q 21:88)
18. "In them there cometh for thee the Truth" (Q 11:120)
19. "This is the very Truth, as much as the fact that ye can speak intelligently to each other" (Q 51:23)
20. "If there are twenty amongst you, patient and persevering" (Q 8:65)
avarice and stinginess. poor wisdom and knowledge.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed. marriage and benefit from it.
that one will be allotted a male child.
that one will not have what one wants.
cheap prices.
justice and truth to one's word.
that one will not find what one seeks.
the futility of what one wants.
that one will be allotted property and children.
wind for [seaborne] trade.
the arrival of the absent one.
travel and inconvenience.
the attainment of one's need and hope.
love and friendship.
deliverance and liberation from hardship.
that the news is true.
that the suspicion is justified and well founded.
victory, success, and triumph.

## 7. Sura The Spoils of War

1. "Nor have ye, besides Allah, any protector indicates or helper" (Q 29:22)
2. "And refuse to give even the simplest aid" (Q 107:7)
3. "O my Lord! expand me my breast" (Q 20:25)
4. "How despicable it is in the sight of Allah that you say what you do not" (Q 61:3)
5. "Would that between me and thee were the distance of East and West" (Q 43:38)
6. "Praise be to Allah, who begets no son" (Q 17:111)
7. "That have no control of hurt or good to themselves" (Q 25:3)
8. "We opened to them the gates of all good things" (Q 6:44)
9. "For if they should come upon you, they would stone you" (Q 18:20)
10. "But how could they receive Faith from a position so far off" (Q 34:52)
11. "The Hour will certainly come: Therein is no doubt" (Q 40:59)
12. "Now such were their houses,-in utter ruin,-because they practised wrong" (Q 27:52)
13. "It is they who will be in loss" (Q 39:63)
14. "With none but a brief delay"
(Q 33:14)
15. "They will issue from their sepulchres in sudden haste" (Q 70:43)
16. "What! shall we indeed be returned to our former state?" (Q 79:10)
17. "Saying with their lips what was not in" (Q 3:167)
18. "We put terror and warning into them, but it only increases their transgression" (Q 17:60)
19. "And they swear to falsehood knowingly" (Q 58:14)
20. "Who harbour evil thoughts of Allah" (Q 48:6)
the enemy's defeat.
stinginess and covetousness.
the relief of grief.
that one will not live up to one's promise.
a delay in what is sought.
that one will not be allotted a child.
that one will acquire [what is desired] only through hard work. cheap prices and the ampleness of blessings.
the ruler's injustice and his foul comportment.
that the theft will go away.
the occurrence of the matter and its genuineness.
that one will not attain what one seeks.
loss in trade.
the arrival of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
the unfeasibility of attaining one's hope.
hatred and lack of love.
hardship and prolonged trial.
that one will not find what one seeks.
that the suspect is innocent.

## 8. Sura Immunity

1. "Glory to Allah! this is a most serious indicates slander" (Q 24:16)
2. "When comes the Help of Allah, and Victory" (Q 110:1)
3. "But when He did bestow of His bounty, they became covetous" (Q 9:76)
4. "Allah hath sealed their hearts" (Q 9:93)
5. "There a promise not to be belied"
(Q 11:65)
6. "Two, three, or four" (Q 35:1)
7. "And He leaves barren whom He will" (Q 42:50)
8. "We have provided you with a clear argument against them" (Q 4:91)
9. "And has made his bounties flow to you in exceeding measure, both seen and unseen" (Q 31:20)
10. "For Allah forgives all sins"
(Q 39:53)
11. "As ashes, on which the wind blows furiously" (Q 14:18)
12. "But ye have indeed rejected Him, and soon will come the inevitable punishment" (Q 25:77)
13. "You will certainly have a never-ending reward" (Q 68:3)
14. "By limiting their provision"
(Q 89:16)
15. "So they stayed in their Cave three hundred years" (Q 18:25)
16. "Then may ye disperse through the land, and seek" (Q 62:10)
17. "Therein shall ye have all that your souls shall desire" (Q 41:31)
18. "With fair words from their mouths they entice you" (Q 9:8)
19. "After a difficulty, Allah will soon grant relief" (Q 65:7)
20. "This is nothing but a fabrication" (Q 38:7)
that the suspect is innocent of what he is suspected of. victory and triumph.
stinginess and poor allocation.
ignorance and little wisdom.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed. marriage and benefit from it. that one will not beget a child.
that one will attain high rank.
a fertile year and prosperity.
the ruler's justice and righteousness.
that the theft will go away.
the occurrence of the matter inquired about.
that one will be allotted much property.
that one will incur a loss in the trade.
a delay in the arrival of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
the attainment of one's need.
lack of love and flattery.
liberation and rescue from hardship.
the untruth of the news.

## 9. Sura Jonah

1. "They seek to be informed by thee: 'Is that indicates true?' Say: 'Aye! by my Lord!"' (Q 10:53)
2. "It is not a tale invented" (Q 12:111)
3. "If they come out to fight you, they will show you their backs" (Q 3:111)
4. "As for the one who is charitable, mindful of Allah, and firmly believes" (Q 92:5)
5. "He was strictly true to what he promised" (Q 19:54)
6. "They could devote themselves to studies in religion" (Q 9:122)
7. "But if they disagree and must part, Allah will provide abundance for all from His (...)" (4:130)
8. "She said: 'O my Lord! Behold! I am delivered of a female child!"" (Q 3:36)
9. "Then we made you heirs in the land" (Q 10:14)
10. "How shall Allah bring it ever to life, after its death?" (Q 2:259)
11. "We admitted them to Our mercy" (Q 21:86)
12. "Of the Hereafter they are already in despair" (Q 60:13)
13. "Nothing yet worth mentioning"
(Q 76:1)
14. "That because We have granted them abundance of wealth and sons" (Q 23:55)
15. "That of a grain of corn: it growth seven ears" (Q 2:261)
16. "If they had intended to come out, they would certainly have made some preparation" (Q 9:46)
17. "Go ye forth, whether equipped lightly or heavily" (Q 9:41)
18. "When the reading was finished, they returned to their people, to warn them of their sins" (Q 46:29)
19. "Rank hatred has already appeared from their mouths" (Q 3:118)
20. "So the deniers will be told, 'Taste the punishment, for all that you will get from Us is more"' (Q 78:30)
the truth of the news.
that the suspicion is justified. victory and triumph.
liberality and generosity.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed. perfect reason ${ }^{50}$ and the good.
the advisability of separation from one's wife.
one will be allotted female offspring.
rule and standing.
a barren year.
the ruler's justice and righteousness. that the matter sought is lost and gone.
that what one has in mind is impossible.
one will be allotted property and children.
wind for [seaborne] trade.
a delay in the arrival of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
the attainment of one's need.
hatred and lack of love.
hardship and little good.
21. Tamām al-‘aql seems hard to connect to the topic of "loyalty, sincerity, and promises." In light of the variegated interpretations of Q 9:122, one could argue that the meaning intended here is that one can learn from one's friends.

## 10. Sura Hūd

1. "If we had mercy on them and removed the distress which is on them" (Q 23:75)
2. "Alif-Lām-Mīm. This is the Book! There is no doubt about it" (Q 2:1-2)
3. "And conjecture avails nothing against Truth" (Q 53:28)
4. "The day when their plotting will avail them nothing" (Q 52:46)
5. "But any who are niggardly are so at the expense of their own souls" (Q 47:38)
6. "But blind are their hearts which are in their breasts" (Q 22:46)
7. "And between them and their desires, is placed a barrier" (Q 34:54)
8. "Those who fulfil the covenant of Allah and not" (Q 13:20)
9. "She said: 'Alas for me! shall I bear a child, seeing I am an old woman"" (Q 11:72)
10. "Then sent We our messengers" "In truth"
(Q 23:44 + Q 35:24)
11. "Allah does not change a people's lot unless"
(Q 13:11)
12. "Fain would they deceive Allah and those who believe" (Q 2:9)
13. "When ye yourselves would not receive it except with closed eyes" (Q 2:267)
14. "Again, ye shall see it with certainty of sight" (Q 102:7)
15. "Soon will Allah enrich you out of His bounty" (Q 9:28)
16. "If there is any good done, He doubleth it"
(Q 4:40)
17. "Wait and have patience with him for a time" (Q 23:25)
18. "He Who has made the earth manageable for you" (Q 67:15)
19. "And ye shall find what ye want"
(Q 2:61)
20. "And He has put love and mercy between your hearts" (Q 30:21)
deliverance and liberation from hardship. the truth of the news referred to.
that the suspicion is unfounded.
the breach of a promise.
avarice and stinginess.
ignorance and little wisdom.
a delay in the marriage.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed.
that one will not be allotted children.
that one will rule and hold sway.
undermining of the purpose ${ }^{51}$ and high prices.
deception and deceit.
the return of the stray beast.
a change in the matter inquired about.
that one will be allotted abundant wealth.
wind for [seaborne] trade.
a delay in the arrival of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
the attainment of one's need.
affection, love, and friendship.
[^21]
## 11. Sura Joseph

1. "But I cast the garment of lover over thee indicates from Me" (Q 20:39)
2. "And in that case ye would never attain prosperity" (Q 18:20)
3. "Then they will say, 'what is it that your Lord commanded?' they will say, 'That (...)"' (Q 34:23)
4. "But Allah cleared him of the calumnies they had uttered" (Q 33:69)
5. "That they would certainly be assisted"
(Q 37:172)
6. "And let not those who covetously withhold think" (Q 3:180)
7. "Thenceforth were your hearts hardened" (Q 2:74)
8. "They perform their vows, and they fear" (Q 76:7)
9. "When ye have gone in unto each other"
(Q 4:21)
10. "He bestows children male or female according to His will and Plan" (Q 42:49)
11. "With no power of any sort; a wearisome burden is he to his master" (Q 17:76)
12. "In which the people will have abundant water, and in which they will press wine and oil" (Q 12:49)
13. "Allah commands justice, the doing of good" (Q 16:90)
14. "But no! There will be no refuge. On that day all will end up before your lord" (Q 75:1112)
15. "Verily, this the Very Truth and Certainty" (Q 56:95)
16. "And did He not find you needy then satisfied your needs?" (Q 93:8)
17. "And vile was the price for which they did sell their souls" (Q 2:102)
18. "What vicissitudes their affairs will take" (Q 26:227)
19. "For ye preferred to sit inactive on the first occasion" (Q 9:83)
20. "Well within reach of your hands and your lances" (Q 5:94)
cordiality and love.
a delay in the liberation.
the truth of the news and of what is going around.
that the suspicion is unfounded.
victory following the defeat.
avarice and stinginess.
ignorance and little wisdom.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed.
that the marriage will take place and that it will be good.
that one will be allotted a daughter or get married.
that one will not be allotted property.
fertility and prosperity.
the ruler's justice.
the occurrence of stealing and runaway slaves.
the occurrence of the matter one has in mind.
that one will be allotted property and good [things].
little wind for [seaborne] trade.
the arrival of the absent one.
a delay in travel.
the attainment of one's goal and its achievement.

## 12. Sura Thunder

1. "But it reaches them not"
(Q 13:14)
2. "Thou wouldst think they were united, but their hearts are divided" (Q 59:14)
3. "Them we are certainly charged to save from harm" (Q 15:59)
4. "Surely this Quran is a decisive word and is not to be taken lightly" (Q 86:13-14)
5. "They descend on every lying, wicked person" (Q 26:222)
6. "Surely this Quran is a decisive word and is not to be taken lightly" (Q 86:13-14)
7. "But give them preference over themselves, even though" (Q 59:9)
8. "The Most Compassionate taught the Quran" (Q 55:1-2)
9. "But those who break the Covenant of Allah, after" (Q 13:25)
10. "We cured his wife's Barrenness for him" (Q 21:90)
11. "And appointed for them wives and children" (Q 13:38)
12. "Allah Granteth His authority to whom He pleaseth" (Q 2:247)
13. "Then We draw it towards Ourselves,-a contraction by easy stages" (Q 25:46)
14. "And makes peace between the parties concerned, there is no wrong in him" (Q 2:182)
15. "This our stock-in-trade has been returned to us" (Q 12:65)
16. "And falsehood neither creates anything new, nor restores anything" (Q 34:49)
17. "Allah enlarges the provision or restricts it, for any He pleases" (Q 39:52)
18. "Ye shall have your capital sums"
(Q 2:279)
19. "We will not abandon this cult, but we will devote ourselves to it until" (Q 20:91)
20. "But thou wast not a dweller among the people of Madyan" (Q 28:45)
hypocrisy and dissimulation.
deliverance and liberation from hardship.
the truth of the news and the occurrence of the matter.
deliverance and liberation from hardship.
a weakness that will strike and the enemy's strength.
generosity and munificence.
wisdom and knowledge.
that one will not keep one's promise.
that the women's affair will be settled.
that one will be allotted many children.
that one will rule and hold sway.
high prices and little fertility.
the ruler's justice.
the occurrence of theft.
the untruth of the matter inquired about.
that one will be allotted much property.
that one will be safe in the trade.
a delay in the arrival of the absent one.
a swiftness of movement.

## 13. Sura Abraham

1. "Then wait until Allah brings about His indicates decision" (Q 9:24)
2. "And entertain no desires in their hearts" (Q 59:9)
3. "Soon will Allah produce a people whim He will love" (Q 5:54)
4. "No fear shall be on you that Day, nor shall ye grieve" (Q 43:68)
5. "As a saying what they say is nothing but falsehood" (Q 18:5)
6. "And spy not on each other behind their back" (Q 49:12)
7. "And be sure we shall come to them with such hosts as they will never be able to meet" (Q 27:37)
8. "And as for the one who is stingy, indifferent to Allah" (Q 92:8)
9. "And We put coverings over their hearts and minds" (Q 17:46)
10. "Then We fulfilled Our promise to them" (Q 21:9)
11. "Truly, among your wives and your children are some that are enemies to yourselves" (Q 64:14)
12. "But remember how ye were little, and He gave you increase" (Q 7:86)
13. "Such as have no power either for good or for harm to themselves" (Q 13:16)
14. "So we shall get more food for our family; We shall take care of our brother" ( $\mathrm{Q} 12: 65$ )
15. "For He is onto them Most Kind, Most Merciful" (Q 9:117)
16. "Who went wrong in times gone by,-who misled many" (Q 5:77)
17. "Until the camel can pass through the eye of the needle" (Q 7:40)
18. "Who amasses wealth greedily and counts it repeatedly" (Q 104:2)
19. "We blessed him and Isaac"
(Q 37:113)
20. "And that they are to return to Him" (Q 2:46)
that it would be good to postpone the trip.
a delay in one's need.
love and a friend's company.
deliverance from hardship.
that the news is untrue.
that the suspect is innocent.
victory and triumph.
avarice and stinginess.
ignorance and little wisdom.
the keeping of a promise.
corruption in the women's affair.
that one will be allotted many children.
that one will not attain what one seeks.
prosperity and a fertile year.
the ruler's justice and righteousness.
that the stray beast will not be found.
the unfeasibility of the matter inquired about.
that one will be allotted much property.
wind for [seaborne] trade.
the arrival of the absent one.

## 14. Sura The Rocky Tract

1. "Nor to return to their own people"
(Q 36:50)
2. "Say: 'Never shall ye come out with me""
(Q 9:83)
3. "Allah will establish in strength those who believe" (Q 14:27)
4. "Out of mutual love and regard between yourselves in this life" (Q 29:25)
5. "The punishment will would be doubled for her" (Q 33:30)
6. "Saying: 'We believe in some but reject others'" (Q 4:150)
7. "And they swear to falsehood knowingly" (Q 58:14)
8. "A day when ye shall turn your backs and flee: Not shall ye have from Allah" (Q 40:33)
9. "And love to be praised for what they have not done" (Q 3:188)
10. "He said: "I know what ye know not""
(Q 2:30)
11. "And fulfil your covenant with Me as I fulfil My Covenant with you" (Q 2:40)
12. "Then when Zaid had dissolved his marriage with her, with the necessary formality, We (...)" (Q 33:37)
13. "And granted him abundant wealth"
(Q 74:12)
14. "How can he exercise authority over us" (Q 2:247)
15. "Allah doth wish to lighten your difficulties" (Q 4:28)
16. "Truly were they a people rebellious against Allah" (Q 43:54)
17. "But fear not nor grieve"
(Q 28:7)
18. "When the inevitable Event takes place" (Q 56:1)
19. "O exalted one! distress has seized us and our family" (Q 12:88)
20. "It is they who will be in loss" (Q 39:63)
indicates the absent one's tarrying.
that it would be good to abandon the trip.
the attainment of one's need.
love and a beautiful friendship.
hardship and prolonged trial.
that some of it is true and some of it is untrue.
that the one who raised suspicions about someone is suspicious himself.
one will grow feeble at the hands of one's enemy.
avarice and stinginess.
wisdom and knowledge of the matter.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed.
the occurrence of the matter inquired about.
that one will be allotted property and children.
that one will not attain what one seeks.
prosperity and plenty ofblessings.
the ruler's injustice.
that the fear and the sadness will go away.
the occurrence of the matter one has in mind.
that one will not be allotted property.
loss in trade.

## 15. Sura The Bee

1. "For He will pay them their meed, nay, He will give them even more out of His bounty" (Q 35:30)
2. "But the Hoopoe tarried not far"
(Q 27:22)
3. "Spacious is My earth" "Then fear Me and Me alone" (Q 29:56 + Q 16:51)
4. "There will be for them therein all that they wish,-and more besides in Our Presence" (Q 50:35)
5. "Rank hatred has already appeared from their mouths" (Q 3:118)
6. "And delivered him and his family from great distress" (Q 21:76)
7. "Then, by the Lord of heaven and earth, this is the very Truth" ( $\mathrm{Q} 51: 23$ )
8. "Then set them free"
(Q 9:5)
9. "We will, without doubt, help our messengers and those who believe" (Q 40:51)
10. "But give them preference over themselves, even though" (Q 59:9)
11. "Deaf, dumb, and blind, they will not return to the path" (Q 2:18)
12. "And that they say what they practice not" (Q 26:226)
13. "They are not lawful wives for the Unbelievers, nor are the Unbelievers lawful husbands" (Q 60:10)
14. "He said: 'O my Lord! How shall I have a son?"" (Q 3:40)
15. "Allah granteth His authority to whom He pleaseth" (Q 2:247)
16. "They glory in the Grace and the bounty from Allah" (Q 3:171)
17. "They will do you no harm, barring a trifling annoyance" (Q 3:111)
18. "With shame does he hide himself from his people, because of the bad news (...) " (Q 16:59)
19. "And because whatever else they invoke besides Him is Falsehood" (Q 31:30)
20. "Allah enlarges the provision or restricts it, for any He pleases" (Q 39:52)
wind for [seaborne] trade.
the swift arrival of the absent one. travel, as something positive.
the attainment of one's wish and hope.
hatred and lack of friendship.
deliverance and liberation from hardship.
the truth of the news and its confirmation.
that the suspect is innocent and to be acquitted.
victory, triumph, and bravery.
presents and magnanimity.
lack of wisdom and knowledge.
disloyalty and frequent offending.
corruption in the women's affair.
that one will be allotted a male child.
that one will attain standing.
prosperity and a fertile year.
the ruler's injustice.
that the stray beast will not be found.
that this matter will never occur.
that one will be allotted abundant
wealth.

## 16. Sura The Night Journey

1. "Allah has indeed granted for them a most excellent Provision" (Q 65:11)
2. "And the End of their conduct was Perdition" (Q 65:9)
3. "Then they turn aside: Allah hath turned their hearts from the light" (Q 9:127)
4. "Didst thou not Turn by vision to those who abandoned their homes" (Q 2:243)
5. "And We made known this decree to him" (Q 15:66)
6. "Truly hath he inspired her with violent love" (Q 12:30)
7. "For ourselves there is no way of escape" (Q 14:21)
8. "Nay, he is a liar, an insolent one"
(Q 54:25)
9. "If he steals, there was a brother of his who did steal" (Q 12:77)
10. "They turn on their backs, fleeing from the Truth" (Q 17:46)
11. "Truly man was created very impatient" (Q 70:19)
12. "But say, 'O my Lord! advance me in knowledge"" (Q 20:114)
13. "Indeed, what you are promised is true" (Q 51:5)
14. "Therein shall ye have all that your souls shall desire" (Q 41:31)
15. "And made his progeny to endure on this" earth (Q 37:77)
16. "For over My servants no authority shalt thou have" (Q 15:42)
17. "I will make his fate unbearable"
(Q 74:17)
18. "Who afflicted you with the worst of penalties" (Q 7:141)
19. "And We should certainly have caused them confusion in a matter which they have" (Q 6:9)
20. "Behold there a promise not to be belied!" (Q 11:65)
that one will be allotted copious wealth.
little wind for [seaborne] trade.
the arrival of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
the fulfillment and attainment of one's need.
love and friendship.
hardship and prolonged trial.
the untruth and falsehood of the news.
that the suspicion is well founded and valid.
the enemy's defeat and rout.
stinginess and avarice.
that one will be allotted wisdom and knowledge.
loyalty and the keeping of one's promise.
that one will be allotted a share of women.
that one will be allotted children.
that one will not be allotted power.
high prices and little good.
the ruler's injustice.
that the stray beast will not return.
the occurrence of the matter one has in mind.

## 17. Sura The Cave

1. "Like a mirage in sandy deserts, which the man parched with thirst mistakes for water" (Q 24:39) 2. "And love wealth fervently"
(Q 89:20)
2. "For his bounty is to thee indeed great" ( Q 17:87)
3. "Will be removed far therefrom"
(Q 21:101)
4. "Then We draw a veil over their ears in the Cave" (Q 18:11)
5. "Far, very far is that which ye are promised" (Q 23:36)
6. "Ah! ye are those who love them, but they love you not" (Q 3:119)
7. "Say "It is Allah that delivereth you from these and all other distresses"" (Q 6:64)
8. "And Allah by His words doth prove and establish His truth" (Q 10:82)
9. "These are not affected by what people say" (Q 24:26)
10. "And so that Allah will help you tremendously" (Q 48:3)
11. "Those who spend freely, whether in prosperity, or in adversity" (Q 3:134)
12. "Nay, but little do they understand such things" (Q 48:15)
13. "In that they broke their covenant"
(Q 4:155)
14. "Behold there a promise not to be belied!"
(Q 11:65)
15. "And there will be no blame on you if ye marry them" (Q 60:10)
16. "So We gave him the good news of a boy ready to suffer and forbear" (Q 37:101)
17. "Have they a share in dominion or power?"
(Q 4:53)
18. "Such as have no power either for good or for harm to themselves" (Q 13:16)
19. "And the man whose resources are restricted" (Q 65:7)
20. "Perhaps they call on one whose hurt is nearer than his profit" (Q 22:13)
21. "They said: 'We give thee glad tidings in truth"' (Q 15:55)
indicates
the abrogation of the matter one has in mind.
that one will be allotted blessing and boon.
wind and little loss.
the abrogation of the matter inquired about.
a delay in travel.
a delay in the fulfillment of one's need.
a separation from the friend.
liberation from hardship.
the truth of the news inquired about.
that the suspect is innocent of what he is suspected of.
victory and triumph over the enemy.
magnanimity and generosity.
lack of wisdom and knowledge.
the breach of a promise and disloyalty.
the keeping of a promise and the execution of what is needed.
much luck when it comes to women.
that one will be allotted a male child.
that one will rule and hold sway.
that one will acquire [what is desired] only through hard work.
a barren year and high prices.
the ruler's injustice and oppression.
that the stray beast will be found.

## 18. Sura Mary

1. "And never give up hope of Allah's indicates Soothing Mercy" (Q 12:87)
2. "Verily, this is the Very Truth and Certainty" (Q 56:95)
3. "And provide for them from sources they could never imagine" (Q 65:3)
4. "Behold, it is certain ye will be lost" (Q 23:34)
5. "Where they will remain for endless ages" (Q 78:23)
6. "As a refugee from home"
(Q 4:100)
7. "Those whom they invoke besides Allah"
"Is falsehood" (Q 43:86 + Q 31:30)
8. "Showing them affection" (Q 60:1)
9. "For them will We add Penalty to Penalty" (Q 16:88)
10. "Verily, this is the Very Truth and Certainty" (Q 56:95)
11. "Ye are free from responsibility for what I do, and I for what ye do" (Q 10:41)
12. "Shame is pitched over them Like a tent wherever they are found"
(Q 3:112)
13. "Nor could they spend anything for the cause-small or" (Q 9:121)
14. "Therein were ye taught that which ye knew not-neither ye nor your fathers" (Q 6:91)
15. "We have already, beforehand, taken the covenant of Adam, but he forgot" (Q 20:115)
16. "Your wives are as a tilth unto you, so approach" (Q 2:223)
17. "Give you increase in wealth and sons"
(Q 71:12)
18. "Does not the dominion of Egypt belong to me?" (Q 43:51)
19. "Mischief has appeared on land and sea" (Q 30:41)
20. "Who intend not high-handedness on earth" (Q 28:83)
that the stray beast will be found.
the occurrence of the matter one has in mind.
that one will be allotted property and good [things].
little profit from trade.
a delay in the arrival of the absent one.
the occurrence of travel, as something positive.
a delay when it comes to one's need.
friendship and love.
hardship and prolonged trial.
the truth of the news.
that the suspect is innocent of what he is linked to.
that the love is feeble and that something unpleasant will befall him.
stinginess and avarice.
wisdom and knowledge.
a breach and violation of the agreement.
that the women's affair is in good order.
that one will be allotted property and children.
that one will be allotted standing.
that the year will be barren and arid.
the ruler's justice and good comportment.

## 19. Sura $T \bar{a}^{\prime}-H \bar{a}{ }^{\prime}$

1. "When We decide to destroy a population" indicates $^{\text {the ruler's injustice and }}$ (Q 17:16)
2. "That is straying far indeed from the Way" (Q 22:12)
3. "Indeed, what you are promised is true" (Q 51:5)
4. "And bestow on you gardens and bestow on you rivers of flowing water" (Q 71:12)
5. "Which Allah will double unto his credit and multiply many times" (Q 2:245)
6. "That they would not have to return to Us" (Q 28:39)
7. "In which they will remain forever" ( Q 18:3)
8. "Therein shall ye have all that your souls shall desire" (Q 41:31)
9. "If they gain the upper hand over you, they would be your open enemies" (Q 60:2)
10. "If thou dost deliver us from this, we shall truly" (Q 10:22)
11. "And the sentence among the generations is proved against them" (Q 41:25)
12. "And ye conceived an evil thought, for ye are a people lost in wickedness" (Q 48:12)
13. "So that some ye slew, and some ye made prisoners" (Q 33:26)
14. "Behold, they give not a farthing to their fellow-man" (Q 4:53)
15. "And teach thee the interpretation of stories" (Q 12:6)
16. "But if they have treacherous designs against thee" (Q 8:71)
17. "Then content yourselves with one or those bondwomen in your possession" (Q 4:3)
18. "That because We have granted them abundance of wealth and sons" (Q 23:55)
19. "We did indeed make thee a viceregent on earth" (Q 38:26)
20. "Thus does He complete His favour on you" (Q 16:81)
the ruler's injustice and oppression.
that what was stolen will not return.
the occurrence of the matter one has in mind.
that one will be allotted property and benefit.
wind for [seaborne] trade.
a delay in the arrival of the absent one.
a delay in travel.
the attainment of one's need.
hatred and enmity.
liberation from grief and hardship.
the truth and veracity of the news.
that the suspect is to be acquitted.
victory and subjugation.
stinginess and avarice.
that one will be allotted wisdom and sagacity.
treachery and lack of loyalty.
corruption in the women's affair.
that one will be allotted property and good [things].
that one will acquire might and power.
abundant benefits and plenty of good [things].

## 20. Sura The Prophets

1. "He is the One that sends down rain even after men have given up all hope" (Q 42:28)
2. "Of a surety, they are the ones who make mischief" (Q 2:12)
3. "That they should not worship Allah, Who brings to light what is hidden" (Q 27:25)
4. "For this is truly a thing designed against you" (Q 38:6)
5. "They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah" (Q 3:170)
6. "That is indeed the real and evident Loss!" (Q 39:15)
7. "But in that case they would not have stayed therein after thee, except for a little while" (Q 17:76)
8. "And find with skill the spacious paths of its Lord" (Q 16:69)
9. "Verily in this Qur'an is a Message for people who would truly worship Allah" (Q 21:106)
10. "Allah Most Gracious will bestow love" ( Q 19:96)
11. "And cast horror into their hearts" (Q 33:26)
12. "This charge is an obvious lie"
(Q 24:12)
13. "And they rejected those Signs, though their souls were convinced thereof" (Q 27:14)
14. "And if there be one thousand, they will overcome two thousand" (Q 8:66)
15. "Gives a little, then hardens his heart"
(Q 53:34)
16. "He granteth wisdom to whom He pleaseth" (Q 2:269)
17. "That Allah will never guide the snares of the false ones" (Q 12:52)
18. "He created for you mates from among yourselves" (Q 30:21)
19. "To announce to thee the gift of a holy son" (Q 19:19)
20. "They have neither the power to remove your troubles from you" (Q 17:56)
low prices.
the ruler's injustice.
the occurrence of theft.
the occurrence of the matter inquired about.
that one will obtain property and favor.
little wind for trading.
the return of the absent one.
travel, as something positive.
fulfillment and attainment of one's need.
loyalty and friendship.
adversity and prolonged trial.
that the news inquired about is false.
that the suspicion is justified and that he is not innocent. victory, success, and triumph.
avarice and meanness.
that one will be granted knowledge and wisdom.
treachery and betrayal.
that the women's affair will be settled.
that one will beget a good son.
that one will not find what one seeks.

[^0]:    1. This is admittedly a rather bold statement. More prudently, one could also say that people in the past may have considered their fates much more concealed-rather than sealed-than we do nowadays. Today, much of what used to be concealed is no longer or less so today: the gender and chances of survival of an unborn child, the likelihood of rainfall or inflation, information about a loved one abroad, the effectiveness of a drug, etc.
    2. Recent research on the Mamluk occult has addressed the fields of astrology (Fien De Block), geomancy
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[^1]:    9. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, Durr al-ḥabab fî tārīkh a'yān Ḥalab, ed. M. Aḥmad al-Fākhūrī and Y. Zakariyyā ‘Abbāra (Damascus: Manshūrāt Wizārat al-Thaqāfa, 1973), 2:449-51.
    10. Al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā’ira bi-a'yān al-mi’a al-āshira, ed. Kh. al-Manșūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1997), 2:102. Further references, which add little to the Kawākib, include Ibn Țūlūn, $I$ Ilām al-warā, 2:223; Ibn al-'Imād, Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab, ed. 'A. al-Arnā’ūṭ and M. al-Arnā’ūṭ (Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1993), 10:337; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, al-Na't al-akmal li-aṣhāb al-imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ed. M. Muțī al-Ḥāfiz (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1982), 107; and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Najdī, al-Suḥub al-wābila ‘alā ḍarā’̄ị̣ al-Ḥanābila (n.p.: Maktabat al-Imām Aḥmad, n.d.), 97.
[^2]:    11. Twelve and twenty are such "potent" numbers that they sometimes even have their own special names, as in English (twelve is a "dozen," twenty is a "score," and 144 is a "gross"). Popular dodecads are numerous: signs of the zodiac, apostles, Shii imams, etc.
    12. MS Ayasofya 2658/2, discussed below (especially footnote 29).
[^3]:    17．As can be seen in Figure 3，it looks as if the diagram consists of three rather than two circles．However， since the innermost and intermediate circles cannot move independently of each other，they function as a single inner circle．

[^4]:    19. Dalla means "to indicate, point to, evince, denote, be indicative, furnish evidence of, prove," etc.
    20. The translation used here is The Holy Qur'an:Text, Translation and Commentary, trans. A. Y. Ali (Lahore: Shaykh Muhammad Ashraf, 1934).
[^5]:    21. Ḥāja means "need, desire, object of desire, request, concern," etc.
    22. "Mukhāradja," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 7:518. For more details on the game-recognized as intangible heritage in France (mourre), honored with a "Fingers Championship" in Italy (mora or morra), and known as huo chhüan (literally "fist quarrel") in China-see P. Colletta, La mourra bella: Histoire et histoires d'un jeu interdit (Nice: Serre, 2006). YouTube features numerous entertaining video clips of people engaged in
[^6]:    the finger game.
    23. One might also read the instructions as telling the reader to count c sections forward (rather than backward) from the selected topic and then ( $c+1$ ) lines down from the top of the section. However, although this alternative formula also leads to a suitable divination and has the distinct advantage of matching the underlying basic formula of the second and third qur'as, it comes with two problems: first, it still requires us to overrule an incorrect line formula, and second, it demands interpreting raja'a as simply "moving (clockwise)" instead of the more obvious "returning" or "moving counterclockwise." The divinations yielded by the two formulas-the first: $s(x-c)$ and $1(21-c)$; the second: $s(x+c)$ and $1(1+c)$-are both apposite, in the sense that they pertain to the topic at hand, but they are not identical to one another. Which of the two is not only apposite but also correct must remain an open question.

[^7]:    25. See Yahya, Magic and Divination, 146-47.
    26. In most cases, the connection between a dalāla and the topic it addresses is obvious; examples include all of the dalālas of sections $1,8,11,13-16,19$, and 20 . For roughly $5 \%$ of the divinations, however, the link is not entirely clear. In many instances the apparent disconnect is likely to have been caused by the copyist's inadvertently copying the wrong line. Sections 2 and 3, in particular, are rather messy in this regard. Furthermore, it should be noted that $s(17)$ includes two superfluous lines, $1(15)$ and $l(19)$, which distort an otherwise perfect section.
[^8]:    27. Alternatively, if using section titles (i.e., suras) instead of section numbers, deduct the chance number from the topic number and add 1 , since the sura numbers do not line up directly with the section numbers.
    28. It should be noted that $1(10)$ in $s(10), 1(3)$ in $s(15)$, and $l(7)$ in $s(18)$ are in fact blends of two Quranic verses (see the translation in the appendix), which suggests that the author wrote them from memory rather than copied them from a model Quran.
[^9]:    29. For the specific collocation of ikhrāj al-damīr, see A. Regourd, "Traditions and Practices in the Medieval Islamic World," in Heiduk et al., Prognostication in the Medieval World, 1:468-84, at 472. The introduction to MS Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2658/2 (folio 19r) is interesting in this context, as it states that Hārūn al-Rashīd wanted scholars to produce a book of divination that he could use without having to disclose his ḥāja (also referred to as sirr or ḍamīr) to anyone: "We have mentioned therein whatever concern or innermost wish the people may have, doing so on behalf of the commander of the faithful Hārūn al-Rashīd, so that he is no longer required to disclose his innermost wish and concern to anyone" (wa-qad dhakarnā fihā mā yaḥtāj al-nās ilayhi min al-fāl wa-l-ḍamīr li-ajl amīr al-mu'minīn Hārūn al-Rashīd ḥattā lā yaḥtāj an yaqūl ḍamīrahu wa-ḥājatahu li-aḥad).
[^10]:    31. As stated earlier, Lutz's dissertation ("Das Buch 'Alfadol"') was unavailable to me, so I do not know whether he dealt with the instructions in any detail.
[^11]:    32. In view of al-Kindī's biography, one is tempted to identify this Abbasid caliph as al-Ma’mūn or al-Mu'tașim. However, as Kunitzsch points out ("Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"" 305-6) and as discussed later, the identities of the author and-mutatis mutandis-of the caliph are not without their problems.
[^12]:    33. Kunitzsch, "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"" 306; idem, "Eine neue Alfadhol-Handschrift," 282-83, with references in footnote 16 to other attestations (hasthmarj in al-Bīrūnī and hasmīrj in al-Jāḥiz).
    34. See, e.g., Abū Ma'shar, The Great Introduction to Astrology, vol. 1, The Arabic Original and English Translation, ed. and trans. K. Yamamoto and C. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 443.
    35. A list is given below.
    36. So far, apart from MSS Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 1999/2 and 1999/3, six more copies of the qur'a have been identified (see below). The information provided by Kunitzsch ("Zum 'Liber Alfadhol"" and "Eine neue Alfadhol-Handschrift," passim) indicates that the astrological backdrop is utterly missing from the Ayasofya 2685 and London manuscripts and limited to a distorted title in the Cairo manuscript. The Rome and İstanbul Üniversitesi copies fare slightly better, since they link signs and planets. The Tehran copy stands out, for it contains a $12 \times 12$ table with the twelve houses in the columns and the twelve signs in the rows.
[^13]:    37. The Persian tinge of the Indic title-haft(a) rather than sapta, sāt, etc.-suggests that there may have been a Persian intermediary translation involved, but this cannot be confirmed.
    38. My interpretation of the final sentence is somewhat tentative. I assume that the author is playing with the meaning of khurāfa (for which see E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon [1863-93; repr., Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968], 2:726; C. Pellat, "Ḥikāya," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 3:367-73, 369), especially since he also seems to play with la'b/la'ib (first understood as "diversion," which is bad, and later as "easy as child's play," which is good). The same double entendre is discussed briefly in F. Bauden, "Maqriziana XIII: An Exchange of Correspondence between al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī," in Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni, ed. Y. Ben-Bassat, 201-29 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 223. Alternatively, one could understand the sentence as "[Those other books] were more than what the Indian had divulged to me, more than that, [mere] fictitious stories."
[^14]:    39. For the houses' associations, compare, e.g., with al-Bīrūnī, The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology, trans. R. R. Wright (London: Luzac, 1934), 461.
[^15]:    40. "The one leaving" of the eighth house and "troubles" of the ninth should probably switch places, hereby assuming an error by the copyist.
[^16]:    41. Compare to Kunitzsch, "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"" 309. As Kunitzsch points out on the basis of a comparison with another copy, the protasis is incomplete in MS Ayasofya 1999/3. It should read: "When the moon is conjunct Mars, opposite Mars, or square Mars while Mars is in one of the four cardines, then ..."
[^17]:    42. See Kunitzsch, "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"" and idem, "Eine neue Alfadhol-Handschrift." For more references on the Liber Alfadhol, see E. Savage-Smith and M. B. Smith, "Islamic Geomancy and a Thirteenth-Century Divinatory Device: Another Look," in Magic and Divination in Early Islam, ed. E. Savage-Smith, 211-76 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 218-19.
    43. Fuat Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, vol. 7, Astrologie, Meteorologie und Verwandtes bis ca. 430 H. (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 110, 115-16, 117-18, 132-33. See, in particular, 116 for Sezgin's critique of Kunitzsch.
    44. Since this newly discovered manuscript is not discussed by Kunitzsch, the following details taken from the online catalog ("Ed-Devâzdehemrec," Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, Yazma Eserler Veritabanı, accessed October 15, 2023, https://portal.yek.gov.tr/works/detail/31237) may be of use: ascribed to al-Kindi; title ostensibly vocalized as al-Dawāzdahamraj; folios 58-135 with thirteen lines per page; copied in 793/1391-92 by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad.
    45. For the shelf marks of the translations, see Kunitzsch, "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"" 305 . He has identified
[^18]:    two strands in the manuscripts: an al-Kindī strand and an "al-Ansī" strand. Savage-Smith and Smith ("Islamic Geomancy," 218, n. 35) briefly discuss a qur'a that involves the number 12, referencing three Turkish MSS (all non vidi). Their description of its instructions suggests that we are dealing with the same as the qur ${ }^{〔}$ under discussion: "Dots were made at random and then the number divided by twelve with the remainder giving the page and line where the answer to the inquiry would be given for any one of a list of 144 questions." See also Kunitzsch, "Eine neue Alfadhol-Handschrift," 285.
    46. See Kunitzsch, "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"' 304, 307.
    47. Fahd, in La divination arabe, 216, n. 3, mentions "ms. Cairo 7612," titled Qur'at al-Ikhrāj, and "ms. Cairo 7613," titled Qur'at al-Ma'mūn (both non vidi); Kunitzsch, in "Zum 'Liber Alfadhol,"' 306, n. 20, lists MSS Berlin, Wetzstein 1218/6 and Wetzstein 1217 (both non vidi).

[^19]:    48. I should add that another interesting divinatory text in the same volume, MS Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Ayasofya 2685/1, is based on the Chinese-Uyghur calendar (fāra, baqar, namir, arnab, timsāh, etc.) and once belonged to the famous Ottoman şeyhü'l-islam Muḥammad b. Farāmurz, also known as Molla Hüsrev (d. 885/1480; see F. Babinger, "Khosrew, Mollā," in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 5:32). It remains unclear whether Ayasofya 2685/1 and 2685/2 constituted a single volume already in Molla Hüsrev's library.
[^20]:    49. For the sake of convenience, the sections and lines have been numbered. In the transcription, superfluous diacritics have been retained, while missing diacritics are mostly tacitly added.
[^21]:    51. Perhaps ifsād al-niyya means here that "the intended [crops or profits] were spoiled"? Or should one connect niyya (vocalized thus in the text) to nawan ("date stones"), n $\bar{\imath}$ ("pure milk, uncooked meat, uncooked wine"), nuyu'("the state of being uncooked"), nay' ("fat"), or nawāh ("ounce of gold")?
