Medina and Mecca Revisited

The Manuscripts of the Dalā'il al-Khayrāt by al-Ġazūlī and Their Ornamental Addition

Jan Just Witkam | ORCID: 0000-0002-6563-4288

Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), Leiden, The Netherlands

j.j.witkam@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Abstract

The illustrations of Medina and Mecca in al-Ġazūlī's prayer book *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* have drawn the attention of many scholars, who have come up with different interpretations. In the present article, a subgroup within the *Maghribī* manuscripts of that text is defined for the first time: luxury manuscripts that date from the 11–12th/17–18th centuries and that were mostly produced for important owners, certainly in Morocco, possibly in other parts of the Magrib. The manuscripts in this subgroup have an illustrated and illuminated addition that physically precedes the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, but that does not belong to the text of the prayer book. In the present article that addition is for the first time identified as such and described. A small corpus has been assembled and, by way of example, the article contains a detailed description of two manuscripts belonging to that newly defined subgroup: ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6983, and ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. oct. 240.

Keywords

Medina – Mecca – *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* – al-Jazuli – illustrations – miniatures – holy places – Morocco – Maghreb – Sufism – pilgrimage – Islamic manuscripts

1 Introduction^{1,2}

The great number of manuscripts that exist of al-Ġazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the popular prayer book by the Moroccan mystic and activist Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ġazūlī (d. 870/1465),³ shows that many pious copyists, miniaturists, illuminators, readers, teachers, commentators, glossators, and patrons have been active in producing and transmitting what has become one of the most popular prayer books of the Sunni world. There does not exist a critical edition of the text, and for practical reasons I consider the text that is included in *Maṭālī' al-Masarrāt bi-Ġalā' Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the running commentary by al-Fāsi (d. 1109/1697–1698) as the vulgate version.⁴ While preparing my contribution to the symposium 'Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts', to be held in Istanbul in March 28–30, 2001,⁵ I had assembled all manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, that I could find in the collections of Leiden University Library. I do not think that ever before or since, such a great number from so many different origins of the manuscripts of this text had been together on one table. In all, they were thirty-four volumes that originated from most regions of the Sunni Islamic world, from the Maghrib and West Africa to as far away as Indonesia. The dated manuscripts

1 Submitted in an earlier version on 23 June 2020. Accepted for publication on 6 October 2020.

2 Acknowledgment. I am grateful to the organizers of the al-Ġazūlī conference in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17–18 May 2019, for inviting me to participate.

3 This is the commonly accepted year of demise of al-Ġazūlī.

4 I am grateful to Prof. Léon Buskens, Rabat, for providing me at short notice with a copy of an edition of al-Fāsi's *Maṭālī' al-Masarrāt*.

5 My presentation appeared in the symposium's proceedings: 'The Battle of the Images. Mecca vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*', in Judith Pfeiffer & Manfred Kropp (eds.), *Technical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts* = Beirut Texts and Studies, No. 111 (Beirut: Orient Institut, 2007), pp. 67–82 (text), 295–300 (illustrations). I had submitted it in 2002 but it was only published five years later. My monograph in Dutch, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek. De geschiedenis van de Dalā'il al-Khayrāt van al-Ġazūlī*. Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, appeared in 2002.

I am most grateful to Dr. Hiba Abid, who, on December 3, 2019, and on March 5, 2020, placed two (out of four) volumes of her as yet unpublished PhD thesis of 2017 at my disposal: École Pratique des Hautes Études. *Les Dalā'il al-Khayrāt d'al-Jazūlī (m. 869/1465). La tradition manuscrite d'un livre de prières soufi au Maghreb du x^e/xvi^e au xiii^e/xix^e siècles*. Thèse de doctorat de Codicologie et d'Histoire de l'art islamiques. Sous la direction de M. François Déroche, Professeur au Collège de France. Soutenue le 12 mai 2017. I received from her copies of vol. I (Texte) and vol. II (Catalogue des manuscrits). A third volume containing illustrations apparently exists, as well as a fourth volume, but I have not seen these.

in that corpus were of the period 1704–1888. Primarily, I wanted to study the book's illustrations. While thirty-four is quite a formidable number, it is in no way a representative sample for such a popular work as al-Ğazūlī's.⁶ They were a good start, however, and the ideas that I developed with them are still largely uncontested. Now, some twenty years later, after having seen hundreds of manuscripts of al-Ğazūlī's prayer book more, I feel able to elaborate further, on much larger samples, with an even more compelling argument about the shifts in the imagery in the manuscripts.

2 The Illustration Schemes

Already with my first sample of thirty-four manuscripts, it was clear to me that I could assume that there had been an historical development in the iconographic programme in the section of *ṣifat al-rawḍa al-mubāraka*, 'the Description of the Blessed Garden', as the grave of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Great Mosque of Medina is called. I summarize my earlier findings, both based on assumptions, and on facts. It is a development in four stages:

1. The oldest manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were not illustrated. This is hypothetical. It is possible that the earliest copies already featured an image of the 'Blessed Garden', but we just do not know.

2. The Medinan single image of the burial chamber. This is the pictorial extension of the text in the introduction, *ṣifat al-rawḍa al-mubāraka*. It is the beginning of the pictorial tradition in the manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. The first five manuscripts in Abid's corpus, dated between 955–1035/1548–1628, are with the single illustration.⁷ It has remained in use for a long time, also outside the Maghrib, MS Leiden Or. 7057a, for instance, dates from the 18th century and was copied in Banten, West Java; MS Leiden Or. 22.958 originates from India and possibly dates from the 19th century. The commentary by al-Fāsī, which

6 As several friends were kind enough to point out. P.Sj. van Koningsveld (1943–2021) made this clear in a review of my *Vroomheid*: P.Sj. van Koningsveld, 'Puriteinen niet wars van plaatjes profet. Studie naar afbeeldingen van Mohammed in gebedenboek', in: *Mare di Libri*, December 4, 2003, p. 6. Of course, with a popular text as the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, any sample of manuscripts can hardly be representative.

7 Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. 11, pp. 7–15 (her Nos. D1–D5): MSS Rabat, Ḥasaniyya (Bibliothèque Royale) 3227 (dated 955/1548), see Abid, 'The Birth of a Successful Prayer Book. The Manuscript Tradition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in North Africa', in the present volume, fig. 3; Paris, BnF, Arabe 1181 (dated 1007/1599), see Abid, 'Birth', fig. 4; New York, Public Library, Arabic 5 (dated 1025/1616), see Abid, 'Birth', fig. 5; Paris, BnF, Arabe 1270 (dated 1029/1620); Paris, BnF, Arabe 1185 (dated 1035/1626).

was written before 1109/1697–1698 (the year of its author's demise), shows this stage of the illustration programme of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*: the single Medinan image.⁸ The illustrations and text of the *Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt* have sometimes been included in copies of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (figure 1).⁹

3. The Medinan double image of the burial chamber and the *minbar*. This is an expression of the *ḥadīth* 'Whatever is between my grave and my pulpit, is a garden of Paradise'.

Sometimes the two images are combined into one illustration (as in figure 2),¹⁰ but usually the double image is given on two opposite pages (figure 3).

The simple heuristic principle that I developed in order to find the reason for the occurrence of the Medinan double image is this: an illustration refers to a passage in the text; if an illustration is not caused by a passage *in* the text, it is caused by a passage *outside* the text. In the case of the Medinan double illustration, this passage *outside* the text was the *ḥadīth*: *mā bayna qabrī wa-minbarī rawḍa min riyaḍ al-ġanna*.¹¹ In a small number of manuscripts this

8 See on this commentary now also Guy Burak, 'Collating *The Signs of Benevolent Deeds*. Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Fāsi's Commentary on Muḥammad al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and Its Ottoman Readers', in: *Philological Encounters* 4 (2018), pp. 135–157.

9 For inclusion of images, see MS Doha, Qaṭar National Library, No. 30003, a manuscript possibly from India, not dated, on f. 18a (figure 1). For inclusion of information from *Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt*, see MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 7170, a bilingual (Arabic and Persian) manuscript of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from Gujarat, India, dated Muḥarram 1188 (1774), on ff. 3b–12a (*Dibā-ġat Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*). That manuscript has a Mecca-Medina double image added to it, before the beginning of the *Dibā-ġa*. Visual echos from al-Fāsi's commentary and also of al-Samḥūdī's (d. 911/1506) description of the *Rawḍa*, can be seen in glosses in MS New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library Or. 117, which is an annotated copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (ff. 20b–21a) https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0032/html/ms_or_117.html (accessed on 9 May 2021).

10 A North African manuscript dating from 1185 (1771–1772) with the two features combined into one image is MS Philadelphia, US, Library Company 69097 D, f. 13b https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0012/html/69097_d.html (accessed on 9 May 2021). It was originally purchased in 1876–1877 in Algiers.

11 A corroboration of my heuristic principle can be seen in an illustration in MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 1180, f. 1a (which is a single leaf which may have been added to that manuscript), that has the text that I had guessed: *قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم | ما بين قبري ومنبري روضة | الجنة | الجنة | من رياض | الجنة |*. This *mā bayna ...* tradition is also found in MS New York, TMM 2017.131, f. 22a; MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 6983 [Réserve 1517], f. 16a; MS Rabat, Bibliothèque Hasaniya 12301, f. 29a, and possibly more. All these instances occur, however, in the 'ornamental addition', not in the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* itself. An expanded text in MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 1192, f. 16a, makes explicit the occurrence of the image of the *minbar*, which usually is not mentioned in the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, but it does not refer to the *mā bayna ...* tradition.

FIGURE 1 The possible positions of the graves in the Medinan burial chamber in the Prophet's mosque, as part of the description of the 'Blessed Garden'. Illustrated passage taken from a copy of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which was apparently influenced by a manuscript of al-Fāsī's *Maṭālī' al-Masarrāt*
MS DOHA, QATAR NATIONAL LIBRARY, 30003, F. 18A (MODERN FOLIATION), POSSIBLY FROM INDIA, NOT DATED

FIGURE 2

The *rawḍa* and the *minbar* combined into one miniature of the Prophet's mosque in Medina. The fourth tomb, that of Fāṭima, is also featured. In the background is a minaret in Bukhāran style. Illustration in a manuscript from Central Asia (13/19th century?) of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*

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implicit text has been made explicit, as I discovered when I was describing the Paris manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.¹²

Hiba Abid, in the meantime, has come with a narrative of her own about the development of iconographical elements in the *Maghribī* manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, that only partly overlaps mine, and in which my hypothesis, which was verified by the evidence of at least three manuscripts, was downgraded to a mere suggestion.¹³

4. The shift to the Mecca-Medina double image. The same heuristic principle that I developed to better comprehend the Medinan double image can be used for a better understanding of the shift from the Medinan double image (*rawḍa* and *minbar*) to the Mecca-Medina image. Unfortunately, we do not

¹² In March 2005, while in Paris as an invited professor at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), I described the manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. These Parisian travel notes of 2005 are now in an advanced stage of editing. Hiba Abid has somehow been able to use an early version of my unpublished notes of 2005 for her thesis of 2017, at least she refers to them in her *Dalā'il*, volume 2, *Catalogue de manuscrits* several times: p. 10 (footnote 1), p. 123 (footnote 20).

¹³ Hiba Abid, 'Material Images and Mental *Ziyāra*: Depicting the Prophet's Grave in North African Devotional Books (*Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*)', in: *Journal of Material Cultures in the Muslim World* 1 (2020), pp. 331–354, pp. 336–337.

FIGURE 3 Double-page illustration of the Medinan sanctuary. On the right (f. 14b), the burial chamber with the three graves in a niche with a lamp. On the left, the *minbar* in a niche with lamp (f. 15a). Dated 1199 (1784–1785). From a manuscript of Ottoman origin
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have a well-studied corpus of non-*Maghribī* manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. It is my impression, that from about the mid-12th/18th century, the Medinan double image in the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* shifted to another combination of images: the Great Mosque of Mecca and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina in numerous different styles.

This is more than just a thematic shift. The Medinan double image suggested the burial chamber and the *minbar* to be within reach of hand, but in the Mecca-Medina double image the distance between the objects depicted and the believer has become much greater. Searching for an external explanation for the Meccan-Medinan double image, I came up with no less a text than the *shahāda*, the Muslim creed itself, the 'Two Words' in which both God and the Prophet are mentioned, reflecting Mecca with the Ka'ba as the House of God,

and the Medinan mosque as 'the House of the Prophet'. That this is the case is evident and can easily be attested in numerous manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, but *why* it happened at the time it did, is less evident. Of course, the *shahāda* is always a relevant text, but why would it be depicted as the Mecca-Medina double image only from about the mid-18th century onwards? Twenty years ago, I came up with a possible connection with the tenets of the Wahhabi movement, which for lack of a better theory is still a valid assumption. There may be other and more suitable explanations. To explore that road, we first need to have a corpus of relevant material. Indeed, as I have shown in the present article, with my definition of a group of luxury manuscripts within the *Maghribī* group containing an ornamental addition in no way challenges my earlier theories.

3 The Ornamental Addition

Writing in 2002, I was unaware of the existence of a subgroup of luxury manuscripts within the *Maghribī* manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.¹⁴ This group consists of luxury manuscripts made for important personalities. Except for their sumptuous execution throughout, textually speaking they are identical to the 'normal' manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, but with one exception. Their text is preceded by a number of features of text, calligraphy, illumination and illustration, all in line with the devotion of the Prophet Muḥammad. That ornamental addition is *not* part of the vulgate text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, it was only added to it in a limited number of cases. The ornamental addition consists of the following four features, not all of which are preserved in all manuscripts of the group:

- The pedigree of the Prophet Muḥammad to Adam, combined with an enumeration of *al-ʿAshara al-Mubashshara*, the ten Companions who had been promised Paradise during their lifetime.
 - A list of the twenty-one expeditions of the Prophet Muḥammad.
 - Topographical illustrations of the mosques of Mecca and Medina. Whether or not these two images together are meant as a pictorial expression of the *shahāda* is not indicated.
 - Drawing of the sandal, *naʿl*, of the Prophet, usually placed on a double-page.
- Hiba Abid's unpublished catalogue gives a few references to manuscripts that

14 I simply had never seen one, and therefore none was represented in the corpus that I described in my *Vroomheid* of 2002.

have this additional part.¹⁵ Van Koningsveld has come up with a few more,¹⁶ but neither scholar has identified the ornamental addition as a separate unit, that is *as being not part* of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* proper. Abid connects the additional Mecca-Medina double image in this ornamental addition with the pilgrimage. As possible as that may seem, that does not explain the presence of the other elements in the additional pages, to wit the Prophet's pedigree, the enumeration of *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara*, the image of his sandal and the list of his expeditions. Their common denominator and their connection with the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* is, of course, the devotion of the Prophet Muḥammad, and none of these have a direct link with the pilgrimage.¹⁷ Below follows a preliminary list of the manuscripts which are provided with the ornamental addition or elements thereof.

3.1 *Dated 1035 (1625–1626)*

MS New York, Metropolitan Museum, 2017.301. The manuscript is incomplete at the beginning and only two leaves (now ff. 14–15) show elements of the ornamental addition, Mecca and Medina, with captions. The leaves are presently in disorder, it would seem. It is even possible that the volume is made-up from fragments coming from more than one codex. In the colophon (f. 124a) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Riyāḥī is mentioned copyist and Aḥmad b. Dirham al-Mālikī as patron.¹⁸ Paleographically speaking, the person who wrote the colophon cannot have written the main text. Al-Riyāḥī is apparently the head of the workshop in which this manuscript was produced. We may assume that the other special elements, to wit the calligraphies, illustrations and illuminations were made by others as well. The manuscript may have been produced by a team, the members of which divided their labour under the responsibility of 'copyist' al-Riyāḥī. The physical architecture of the manuscript has not been investigated.¹⁹ Its red full-leather binding with flap is meant to make an Islamic

15 Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. 1, p. 259 and *passim*. The number may grow when more data on a corpus are collected. In a review of my *Vroomheid*, P.Sj. van Koningsveld in 'Puriteinen niet was van plaatjes profet' already mentions three more manuscripts that seem to belong to this same subgroup of luxury manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.

16 The scant details of the three manuscripts mentioned by Van Koningsveld are repeated here without elaboration, except MS Paris, Musée Quai Branly 74.1962.o.

17 Medina is not a destination of the obligatory pilgrimage, *ḥaǧǧ*, but only the object of a recommended visit, *ziyāra*.

18 Reproduced as the frontispiece to my preface of the present volume. The contrast between the hands is clearly visible.

19 So far the basic data of the manuscript and its text are unknown. Philological, palaeographical and codicological surveys have not been made. The manuscript is the sub-

impression, but the cross-shaped ornament on the boards makes Islamic manufacture improbable. The usual Medinan double image, which is part of the vulgate text, is on f. 21b–22a. I inspected it by autopsy and photographed it on May 22, 2019, in the stacks of the Museum (my field notes FN 132, ff. 84–87, and my photographic survey). The date in the colophon, 1035/1625–1626, is written partly in *ghubār* numerals and partly in text. The copyist could be a relative (father?) of the person who also copied MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 4223 (dated 1048/1638–1639). Other al-Riyāḥī manuscripts of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* are MS Paris BnF Arabe 1184 (undated) and MS Cambridge, University Library Dd. 6. 22 (undated). The al-Riyāḥī workshop not surprisingly also produced *Qurʾān* manuscripts.²⁰ Teamwork is evident in all its products. None of the manuscripts known to come from this workshop has an explicit indication of a Tunisian origin.

3.2 Dated 1048 (1638–1639)

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 4223. Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 5, p. 70.²¹ Abid, *Dalāʾil*, vol. 11, pp. 17–21, mentions that the ornamental addition in the manuscript contains the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, apparently with the names of *al-ʾAshara al-Mubashshara*, the sandal of the Prophet (ff. 2b–3a), and topographical views of the mosques of Mecca and Medina on ff. 3b–4a.²² Abid, following Arberry, mentions the copyist as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Riyāḥī, according to the colophon on f. 93a. He could be family of the ‘copyist’ of MS New York, Metropolitan Museum, 2017.301 and of MS Paris BnF Arabe 1184. Abid has published images of the double car-

ject of the contributions by Deniz Beyazit and Yana van Dyke to the present volume. See for images <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/752280> (accessed on 27 April 2021). It was purchased for GBP 15,000 from Christie’s London, Auction 27 April 2017, No. 99. https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-muhammad-bin-sulayman-al-jazuli-d1465-ad-dalail-6068029/?from=salesummary&intObjectID=6068029&lid=1&ldp_breadcrumb=back (accessed on 9 May 2021).

20 MS Paris, BnF Arabe 7253 (dated 10 Muḥarram 1044 (1634)). <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427177p/f2.item.r=Arabe-7253#>; MS Leipzig, University Library Volders 65 (undated, part 4 of a 4-volume set) https://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook_islamhs_00002405

21 Arthur J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*. Volume V. MSS. 4001–4500. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1962.

22 The Mecca-Medina double image is illustrated in Simon O’Meara, *The Ka’ba Orientations. Readings in Islam’s Ancient House*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020, p. 122, illustration 5.5. The image of the sandal in this manuscript on ff. 2b–3a is reproduced in Hiba Abid, ‘Material Images’, p. 343.

pet page (ff. 4b–5a) and the beginning of the text (ff. 5b–6a).²³ Beyazit, in the present volume, reproduces several pages, all from the ornamental addition in this manuscript (ff. 1b–5b).

3.3 *Dated 1057/1647*

MS Rabat, Ḥasaniyya 12301. Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 21–24, mentions two elements of the ornamental addition in the manuscript: the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad and the topographic views of Mecca and Medina. Abid does not mention the sandal of the Prophet in relation to this manuscript, nor, it would seem, the list of the Prophet's expeditions. The double Medinan image in this manuscript is reproduced in Abid, 'Material Images', p. 337; Abid has published images of the genealogy of the Prophet with the lives of *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* (ff. 3b–4a), the images of Mecca and Medina (ff. 9b–10a). Abid also reproduced the Medinan double image, which is not part of the ornamental addition (ff. 28b–29a).²⁴ Beyazit does not mention this manuscript.

3.4 *Dated 1655*

MS Paris, Musée Quai Branly 74.1962.0. Said to date from 1066/1655–1656 and to have been copied in Algiers, as van Koningsveld mentions.²⁵ From the images that the Museum has placed on the internet one gets the impression that only loose unnumbered leaves are preserved (https://photo.rmn.fr/CS.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=2CMFCI2K0FJ_0&SMLS=1&RW=1872&RH=969). The ornamental addition shows the following elements: the Mecca-Medina double image, the labyrinthic image of the pedigree of the Prophet Muḥammad with the names of *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara*, but no information about the sandal nor about the expeditions. Of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* proper the Medinan double-image is shown.

3.5 *Dated 1695*

MS London, British Library, unspecified. A manuscript that as ornamental addition at least seems to feature images of Mecca and Medina, and of the sandal of the Prophet. No further information available.²⁶

23 Abid, 'Birth', fig. 9.

24 Abid, 'Birth', fig. 6.

25 Koningsveld, 'Puriteinen'.

26 Thus mentioned by van Koningsveld, 'Puriteinen'. The catalogues by Cureton (1846), pp. 75–78, and Rieu (1894), p. 165, do not refer to a manuscript that would match van Koningsveld's reference.

3.6 *Dated Dhū al-Qaʿda 110 (1699)*

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 4240. Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 5, p. 75. Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. 11, pp. 43–47, mentions that the ornamental addition to the manuscript contains the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, possibly with *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara*, topographic views of the mosques of Mecca and Medina (ff. 15b–16a), and the sandal of the Prophet (ff. 17b–18a). No word about the list of expeditions, but it could be there nevertheless. Inside the text is the Medinan double image.

3.7 *Dated 17 Shawwāl 116 (1705)*

MS Paris, BnF 6983 (Réserve 1517), Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. 11, pp. 47–51. See my detailed description, below (with figures 4–7).²⁷ The ornamental addition shows half a carpet page (f. 2b), the genealogy of the Prophet with *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* (ff. 4b–12b), the twenty-one expeditions of the Prophet Muḥammad (f. 14a), topographical views of Mecca (f. 14b), and of Medina (f. 16a), the sandal (ff. 16b–17a), and double-page illumination (ff. 17b, 19a). The text of the *Dalā'il* begins on f. 19b. Inside the text is the Medinan double image (ff. 36b, 38a). Full facsimile: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84061483.r=Arabe-6983?rk=21459;2>

3.8 *Copied before 1 Ġumādā 1 1213 (1798)*

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. oct. 240, dating from before 1213/1798.²⁸ Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. 11, pp. 192–196. A convolute volume. All text in the volume is preceded by a *waqfiyya*, dated 1213/1798. The ornamental addition consists of the following elements: genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad with *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* (ff. 1b–4a), the expeditions of the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 4b–5a), the Mecca-Medina double illustration (ff. 5b–6a). No mention of the sandal. The text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* is on ff. 6b–87b. The Medinan double illustration is in the text, on ff. 17b–18a.

The Mecca-Medina double image in this manuscript is very similar to that in MS Toronto, Aga Khan Museum AKM 535, ff. 16b–17a. See my detailed description, below, of the Berlin manuscript (with figures 8–11).²⁹ Full facsimile:

27 The volume is digitally on view: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84061483.r=arabe%206983?rk=21459;2> (accessed on June 15, 2020).

28 A *waqfiyya* for the deposition of the manuscript in *al-ḥuġra al-nabawiyya* (in Medina), which is dated 1 Ġumādā 1 1213 (1798), can be seen on f. 1a of the Berlin manuscript. The manuscript itself must therefore be at least somewhat older.

29 The link that Abid gives at the end of her description (<http://goo.gl/G2qkQx>) does not refer to this manuscript but to MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann 11 Nachtrag 12. The

(ff. 316b, 318a). The ornamental addition contains Qur'ānic calligraphies (ff. 3b, 5a), the genealogy of the Prophet with the names of *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* (ff. 7b–13b), the sandal of the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 15b, 17a), the expeditions of the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 17b, 19a), the Mecca-Medina double image (ff. 19b, 21a). On f. 21b begins the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* which ends on f. 110a. The text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* seems to be incomplete in that it lacks the section on *al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* with the double Medinan illustration.

3.12 *Undated, Estimated 12/18th Century (Arberry), or 13/19th Century (Abid)*

MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 5459. Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 7 (1964), p. 154.³³ Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 200–203, mentions that the ornamental addition in the manuscript contains the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, possibly with *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara*, the sandal of the Prophet, and topographic views of the mosques of Mecca and Medina. No mentions of the expeditions.

3.13 *Undated, Said To Be from the 12/18th Century*

A manuscript in P.S. van Koningsveld's private collection, containing at least images of the sandal of the Prophet and the Meccan and Medinan sanctuaries. The Mecca-Medina double page with the sanctuaries appears to be an unauthentic collage.³⁴

3.14 *Undated, without Estimate*

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann II Nachtrag 12. The ornamental addition in this manuscript consists of the following elements: genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad with mention of *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* (ff. 1b–2a) and two images of the sandal of the Prophet Muḥammad (ff. 4b–5a, 5b–6a). No mention of the expeditions, nor the Mecca-Medina double illustration. The text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (ff. 8b–133a) has the *Ṣifat al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* (ff. 25a–29a), which shows the Medinan double illustration (ff. 26b–27a). Full facsimile: <http://goo.gl/G2qkQx>.

33 Arthur J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library. A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts*. Volume VII. MSS. 5001–5500. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1964.

34 Illustrations in van Koningsveld, 'Puriteinen'. The sandal image of the same manuscript is shown in P.S. van Koningsveld, *The Tomb of the Prophet. Attitudes and Discussions around a Major Religious Symbol in Islam*. Leiden: Leiden University, 2007. [with Arabic translation by Mohammed Ghaly, and a selective autobibliography of the author], p. 18, figure 6.

3.15 *Undated, Estimated 13/19th Century*

MS Fes, Qarawiyyīn 3226.³⁵ Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 206–209, mentions that the ornamental addition in the manuscript contains the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, possibly with the *ʿAshara*, the sandals of the Prophet, and topographic views of Mecca and Medina. Abid does not mention the expeditions.

3.16 *Undated, Estimated 13/19th Century*

MS Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale G 356. Acephalous copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, preceded by the ornamental addition, in a convolute volume comprising 44 texts in all, whereas at the end there must have been another 11 texts that are now lost. The ornamental addition contains the genealogy (12 pp.) and the list of expeditions (1 p.). There exists a facsimile edition of this manuscript.³⁶ Also see Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 198–200.

3.17 *Undated, Estimated 13/19th Century*

MS Kuala Lumpur, Islamic Art Museum Malaysia (IAMM) 2011.1.23, a *Maghribī* manuscript. See Nurul Iman Rusli, Heba Nayel Barakat and Amira Salleh (eds.), *Dalā'il al-Khayrat. Prayer Manuscripts from the 16th–19th Centuries*. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Art Museum Malaysia, 2016, 36–39 (Catalogue 5). The ornamental addition consists of illustrations of the sandal, the topographic views of Mecca and Medina (same style as MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. oct. 240), the Prophet's genealogy, and the Prophet's 21 *ghazawāt*.

3.18 *Undated, Estimated 13/19th Century*

MS Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, AKM 535, seems to belong to the group of luxury *Maghribī* manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* with the ornamental addition.³⁷ The Mecca-Medina double image (ff. 16b–17a) is very similar to those in

35 Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. I, pp. 259, 266, 267, 272 also refers to this manuscript as MS Rabat, Ḥasaniyya 3226, but this seems to be a mix-up.

36 Ahmed Toufiq & M.-G. Guesdon (eds.), *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wā Shawāriq al-Anwār fī aṣ-Ṣalāt 'alā an-Nabī al-Mukhtār et autres textes panégyriques et d'invocation*. Facsimilé du manuscrit n° G 356 de la Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (ancienne Bibliothèque Générale et Archives). Introduction et commentaire, Rabat, Royaume du Maroc, Ministère des Habous et des Affaires Islamiques, 2003.

37 Margaret S. Graves, Benoît Junod, Gérard Friedli, Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Aga Khan Museum, *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*. Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011 pp. 46–47, cat. No. 3. See also the digital collection catalogue entry of the Aga Khan Museum by Deniz Beyazit: <https://www.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/dala-il-al-khayrat-prayer-book-akm535> (accessed on 25 April 2021), where the Mecca/Medina double image is reproduced.

the other manuscripts in this subgroup, especially to that in MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. oct. 240 of before 1213/1798.

3.19 *Undated, Estimated 13/19th Century*

MS Tunis, Bibliothèque nationale 3630. Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 174–177, who describes the exceptional set of illustrations in this manuscript: the *Rawḍa* is illustrated eight times (ff. 24a–28b, 38b–39a, 41b–43a). The elements that are usually part of the ornamental addition are: genealogy (ff. 29a–35a), the sandals (ff. 36b–37a, 37b–38a), the Mecca-Medina double image (ff. 40b–41a).

4 Detailed Descriptions

Below, I describe two manuscripts with the additional ornament in greater detail. I selected them for pragmatical reasons only, being easily available in an electronic format.

4.1 *MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6983 (Réserve 1517)*³⁸

This is a luxury copy from the Maghreb of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (ff. 19b–135a), and shows the ornamental addition that I have just defined. All features of the luxury copies can be seen (ff. 2b–19a). It measures 22 × 16.5 cm. The volume was commissioned by *al-Qā'id* Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ashqar. It is dated Thursday, 17 Shawwāl 1116 (1705). The lavishly executed calligraphy and illumination is similar to that of a *Qur'ān* manuscript. The *tahlīl* is coloured, usually in gold, but also red and blue, and includes the name of Muḥammad and references to him.

ff. 1a–2a. Preliminaries from the owners, not the copyist:

f. 1a. *Fā'ida* against the evil eye, written in a common *Maghribī* hand. F. 1b. Blank.

f. 2a. Readers' notes of familial nature, in three different common *Maghribī* hands. Birth of Muḥammad al-Mufaḍḍal, Monday, 26 Rabi' Nabawī in the year

38 See Guesdon & Vernay-Nouri, *L'art du livre arabe*. No. 68 (pp. 100–101, with the description by Marie-Geneviève Guesdon). The manuscript entered the BnF in 1975. It was part of the collection of Maréchal Hubert Lyautey (1854–1934). The description that follows here is based on my autopsy of the volume in March 2005 and on the presentation in Gallica <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84061483.r=Arabe-6983?rk=21459;2>. A detailed description is also in Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 47–51, her *siglum* D20.

19 (= ? 1119/1707); birth of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashqar, on Monday, 19 Ġumādā I 1123 (1711), while the moon was in Pisces and Leo with Leo as ascendant.³⁹ The third note contains an instruction on the authority of Sīdī Muḥammad al-‘Ayyāsh about how to perform the *dhikr Allāh*.

Thereafter, there is only work of the copyist, miniaturist, and illuminator, whose names are not given.

(1) ff. 2b–19a. The ornamental addition shows the following features:

f. 2b. Single carpet page, filled with a geometrical illumination based on the division of the circle into twelve (centre piece) and sixteen (corner pieces). The illuminated title-page of the genealogy (f. 4a) may be the counterpart to this page. Ff. 3a–b are original protective leaves between ff. 2b and 4a, showing some offset of their opposite pages.

ff. 4a–12b. The pedigree of the Prophet Muḥammad. The illuminated pages are separated from each another by protective leaves and give the following genealogy, written in *Maghribī thuluth* script in gold ink with black outline. The text is continuous, the pages being interconnected with the word *bin*, ‘son of’, written in an elongated style:

شجرة خير | الانام الى ادم | عليه السلام || محمد | صلى الله عليه وسلم | ابن عبد الله ب || سن عبد
المطلب بن هاشم بن عبد مناف بن قصي ب || سن كلاب بن مرة ب || سن كعب بن لؤي بن
غالب بن فهر بن مالك ب || سن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمة بن مدركة ب || سن الياس بن مضر بن
نزار بن معد بن عدنان بن اد ب || سن ادد بن مشلح بن يعرب بن الهيميسع بن نابت بن سلمان
بن جمال بن قidar بن اسماعيل ب || سن ابراهيم بن تارخ وهو ازر بن ناحور بن ساروح بن راغو
بن فالج بن عابر ب || سن شالح بن ارغشدد بن سام بن نوح بن لامك بن متوشلخ بن خنوخ
وهو ادريس فيما يزعمون بن يرد بن مهليل بن قيس بن يانش بن شيث بن ادم وحواء عليهما
|| السلام ||

On the last page (f. 12b), the genealogy takes the form of a centripetal spiral, or maybe a labyrinth.

On ff. 6a, 6b and 8a the names of the *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* have been written in *Maghribī thuluth* script in gold ink, inside illuminated circles in the

39 Written by or on behalf of the person who commissioned the volume and whose name is given in the calligraphic inscription on f. 133a, preceding the colophon. It shows that the manuscript remained in the personal possession of that person.

corners of the page. Added to each of these is a further genealogy in minute *Maghribī* script in red ink, given hereunder between square brackets:

على رضى الله عنه [بن ابى طالب] - عثمان رضى الله عنه [بن عفان بن ابى العاصى بن امية
بن عبد شمس بن] - الزبير رضى الله عنه [بن العوام بن خويلد بن اسد بن عبد العزى بن] ||
ابو بكر رضى الله عنه [بن عثمان بن عامر بن عمرو بن كعب بن سعد بن تيم] - طلحة رضى
الله عنه [بن عبيد الله بن عثمان بن] - سعد رضى الله عنه [بن مالك بن اهييب بن عبد مناف
بن زهر] - عبد الرحمن رضى الله عنه [بن عوف بن عبد عوف بن عبد بن الحارث بن] ||
عمر رضى الله عنه [بن الخطاب بن] - سعيد رضى الله عنه [بن زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل بن عبد
العزى بن عبد الله بن قرط بن رباح بن رزاح بن عبد بن] - ابو عبيدة رضى الله عنه [بن عامر
بن عبد الله ||

On f. 14a mention is made of the twenty-one expeditions of the Prophet Muḥammad:

غزوات النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم | وهى احدى وعشرين غزوة غزوة ودان | غزوة بنى
قينقاع - غزوة اثمان - غزوة ذات الرقاع - غزوة الخندق | غزوة الغابة - غزوة حنين -
غزوة عين قريش - غزوة السويق | غزوة احد - غزوة دومة الجندل - غزوة بنى قريظة -
غزوة خسر | غزوة الطائف - غزوة بدر - غزوة بنى سليم - غزوة بنى النضير | غزوة بنى
المصطلق - غزوة بنى لحيان - غزوة الفتح - غزوة تبوك |

On f. 14b is a topographical drawing of the Great Mosque in Mecca (figure 4).

The text of the legends is written in *Maghribī thuluth* script in gold ink with black outline, against backgrounds filled with floral motifs. Above and below the illustration of the mosque are horizontal bands with text that reads (a *Ta'wīdh* followed by part of Qur'ān 5:97):

اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم جعل الله | الكعبة البيت الحرام قياما للناس والشهر الحرام |

With the exception of the word *ma'dhana*, minaret, the legends are all presented as part of the illuminated drawing, written in *Maghribī thuluth* script in gold ink with black outline. The centre piece, the Ka'ba, is damaged, possibly as a result of the oxidation of copper in coloured ink, but maybe also from frequent touching.

FIGURE 4 The Mecca image as it occurs in the ornamental addition to a luxury manuscript, preceding the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, from the Maghrib, dated 1116/1705
MS PARIS, BNF, ARABE 6983, F. 14B

The inner court of the mosque is an approximate square. Inside the court, details are described with legends, hereunder quoted in *italics*. The orientation is with the East on top, the West at the bottom, the South to the right, and the North to the left. There are no legends for the directions of the compass. All seven minarets are depicted and have the legend *ma'dhana* (two against the East wall, five against the West wall). A central circle contains the Ka'ba. Its entrance is in the North-East wall, called *Bāb al-Ka'ba*. To the North-East is the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, to the South-East is the black stone, *al-Ḥaḡar al-Aswad*, indicated as a black dot inside the structure of the Ka'ba. To the South-West is a secluded area, '*Mustahāz*, which in former times was a gate'. To the West is a section, the legend of which cannot longer be read. To the North-West is the *Mizāb al-Raḡma*. On the circle surrounding the Ka'ba are four blue circles

with white floral motifs that carry the names of the four Law schools written in gold: *Shāfi'ī* (North-East); *Ḥanbalī* (South-East); *Mālikī* (South-West); and *Hanafī* (North-West). Pointing eastward is the *Qubbat Zamzam*. Slightly to the South of that is a location called *siqāyat al-ḥāḡḡ*, 'water supply for the pilgrims'. Between *Zamzam* and *Shāfi'ī* is a golden enclosure with the legend *Bāb Banī Shayba fil-qadīm 'umila an yazdāda fil-masjid*, 'the Gate of the Banū Shayba in early times built as an extension to the mosque'. The *Banū Shayba* are the family of key keepers of the Ka'ba. From the *Bāb Banī Shayba*, the path goes to the *Bāb al-Salām*, towards the North-East. In the West wall are two drawings for gates, without legends. In the far South is a structure called *makhzan al-Ka'ba*, 'the treasury of the Ka'ba'. And to the far North is a pulpit with two steps, without a legend.

F. 16a features a topographical drawing of the Prophet's mosque in Medina (figure 5).

The centre piece is damaged, possibly as a result of the oxidation of copper in coloured ink. Most legends are written in *Maghribī thuluth* and also neo-Kufic script in gold ink with black outline, against backgrounds filled with floral motifs. Above and below the illustration of the mosque are horizontal bands with text that reads the sequel of the Qur'ānic verse of the previous page (*Qur'ān* 5:97):

والهدى والقلائد لك لتعلموا ان الله يعلم ما فى السموات وما فى الارض وان الله بكل شىء
 عليم

The orientation is 90° different from that in the Meccan image, with South on top, North at the bottom, West to the right, and East to the left. Only two directions are indicated with a legend: the eastern wall with *al-mashriq*; the western wall with *al-maghrib*. The inner court of the mosque is an approximate square. Inside the court, details are described with legends. In the centre of the court are two partly overlapping rectangles of different dimensions. The eastern rectangle is an enclosure that contains the burial chamber, here shown as a niche with a hanging lamp and three graves. These have non-calligraphic legends قبر المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم – قبر ابوبكر الصديق رضى الله عنه – قبر عمر رضى الله عنه 'the grave of the Chosen One, may God bless him and grant him peace; the grave of Abū Bakr the honest, may God be pleased with him; the grave of 'Umar, may God be pleased with him'. A triangular space North of the chamber (reading uncertain): *yūqāl min hunā ilā ḥā'it al-ḥuḡra al-nabawīyya ... '... (?) from here to the wall of the burial chamber of the Prophet'. Inside the western rectangle, near the South-West corner of the burial chamber is a small circle in gold. The leg-*

FIGURE 5 The Medina image as it occurs in the ornamental addition to a luxury manuscript, preceding the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, from the Maghrib, dated 1116/1705
MS PARIS, BNF, ARABE 6983, F. 16A

end indicates that this is *al-kawkab al-durrī*, 'the Brilliant Star'.⁴⁰ The rest of the western rectangle is filled with the text of the *mā bayna* Tradition:

40 The 'Brilliant Star' is usually an epithet associated with the Prophet Muḥammad. In this context, the gold circular shape in the wall of the burial chamber is a set of jewellery, set in a circular setting of gold and silver. Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥiḡāziyya li-Walī al-Ni'am al-Ḥāḡḡ 'Abbās Ḥilmī Bāshā al-Thānī Khidīw Miṣr*. Cairo²: Maṭba'at al-Ġamāliyya, 1329 (1911), p. 248, mentions it: 'Opposite the noble face [of the Prophet Muḥammad] on the wall of the enclosure is a brilliant as large as a small dove's egg. It is held in a setting of gold. The intrinsic value of it is estimated to be eight hundred thousand Egyptian pound, but because of the noble place where it is kept, its value is considered to be eight times as high. It is called *al-kawkab al-durrī* because of its strong

قال رسول الله | صلى الله عليه وسلم | ما بين قبري ومنبري | روضة من رياض | الجنة |

The western rectangle also contains the pulpit, *minbar*, seen from the side, with three steps. To the far South, in the centre, is the *mihrāb* 'Uthmān raḍīya Allāh 'anhu, the prayer niche ascribed to the third caliph, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. Within the frame in the North-East and the North-West wall are two minarets, *ma'dhana*. Gates are indicated in the upper and lower western and eastern corners: *Bāb Ġibril* (South-East); *Bāb al-Salām* (South-West); *Bāb al-Raḥma* (North-West); *Bāb al-Nisā'* (North-East). A palm is growing South of the enclosure of the burial chamber, *nakhla*. It indicates Fāṭima's garden.⁴¹

On ff. 16b–17a is an illustration of the sandal of the Prophet Muḥammad. Its outlines and borders feature calligraphic texts in *Maghribī thuluth* script written in gold ink with black outline. These are all poetry by al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1631), who is well-known for his work about the Prophet's sandal.⁴² In the outer border are six lines of his poetry:⁴³

مثال رائق في الطرس لا حـا * حكي نعل لمن فاق الملا حـا
وحاز المكرمات فلا مجار * وذاك اجل من وطئ البطاحـا
محمد الرسول المصطفى من * حوى العلياء والمجد الصراحـا
شفيع الخلق اسناهم محلا * وافضلهم واعظمهم سماحـا

sparkling properties and its great splendour and beauty. It is fixed on a board of gold, and around it are set two hundred and twenty-seven large pieces of precious stones. This 'Star' was given to the chamber by the Ottoman Sulṭān Aḥmad I [r. 1012–1026/1603–1617] in the beginning of the 11th (17th) century. Behind it hangs a hand made of gold in which precious stones are set. In its centre there is a diamond that is smaller than *al-kawkab al-durrī*, which was donated by Sulṭān Murād IV [r. 1032–1049/1623–1640] in the year 1047 (1637–1638). On older images and in previously made descriptions of the *maqṣūra*, we sometimes see 'the Nail', *al-mismār*, made of silver, mentioned at this spot. It seems that *al-kawkab al-durrī* replaced it.

41 *Bustān al-Sayyida Fāṭima*, as shown in a map by al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla*, between pp. 243–244.

42 Checked against two different editions: al-Maqqarī, *Wasf Ni'āl al-Nabī al-Musammā bi-Faṭḥ al-Muta'āl fi Madḥ al-Ni'āl*, edited by 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb & 'Abd al-Mun'im Faraḡ Darwish. Cairo: Dār al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ lil-Turāth, n.d.; al-Maqqarī, *Faṭḥ al-Muta'āl fi Madḥ al-Ni'āl*, edited by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, n.d. Al-Maqqarī's *Wasf* is often quoted in this context. See on the sandals of the Prophet also Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. 1, pp. 275–277, who provides partial transcriptions and translations.

43 Al-Maqqarī, *Wasf Ni'āl*, p. 241.

فضعه على المحاجر منك والتم * محاسنه فعرف والنفح فاحا
وصل على مشرفه وسلم * تنل من ذاك في القصد النجاحا

The border of the sandal itself is filled with five lines of poetry by al-Maqqarī:⁴⁴

تمثال نعل محمد خير الورى * مرغت خدا ضارعا اتقرب
باب لتبليغ السعادة موصل * ولكل قصد للنجاح مجرب
بركاته للطالبين توفرت * فلسان كل عن علاه يعرب
بالروح افدى نعله فلقد سنت * في القدر والامثال فيها تضرب
بترابها الغبراء باهت في العلا * وسما بذلك شرقها والمغرب

The central text inside the sandal consists of two lines of poetry by al-Maqqarī:⁴⁵

امرغ في المثال بياض وجهي * فقد جعل النبي لها قبلا
وما حبّ النعال شغفن قلبي * ولكن حبّ من لبس النعلا

(2) ff. 17b–135a. The text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by al-Ğazūlī.

ff. 17b, 19a. Both pages feature an identical niche filled with illumination, without legend. In the margin of f. 19a is an owner's note:⁴⁶

الحمد لله | ملك لله تعالى في يد عبيد | ربه بن داود بن العربي | بن المعطى بن صالح وفقه | الله
للعمل الصالح بمنه | ءامين تم |

f. 19b. At the beginning of the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, with the author's name in an illumination:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وءاله وصحبه وسلم | قال الشيخ الامام | العالم
ابو عبد الله سيدى | محمد بن سليمان الجزولى رحمه الله | الحمد لله الذى هدانا | للايمان والاسلام
والصلاة | والسلام على نبيه محمد الذى |

44 Ibid., pp. 228–229.

45 Al-Maqqarī, *Faṭḥ al-Muta'āl*, p. 240, where أُمَال is used instead of شَغْفَن. Romanization and translation of these two lines by Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, p. 49.

46 He is identified by Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, p. 51, as the grandson of the founder of al-Zāwiya al-Nāṣiriyya in Tamgrout, but her reading of his name is different from mine.

FIGURE 6 The Medinan double image as it occurs in a luxury manuscript of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the Maghrib, dated 1116/1705. MS Paris, BnF, Arabe 6983 (dated 1116/1705), f. 36b (burial chamber, right) and f. 38a (pulpit and prayer niche, left). In the original manuscript the individual images are separated by protecting leaves, which have been omitted here.

f. 36a. Illuminated page with a section title *ṣifāt al-rawḍa al-mubāraka*.

ff. 36b, 38a. The Medinan double image (figure 6).

f. 36b. Illuminated page showing the Medinan burial chamber, here shown as a niche, with a lamp hanging down and the three tombs. Above the image of the niche is a calligraphic band that reads *وما توفيقي إلا بالله*. The tombs have legends: *Qabr al-Muṣṭafā ʿallāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam*; *Qabr Abū Bakr raḍīya Allāh ʿanhu*; *Qabr ʿUmar raḍīya Allāh ʿanhu*.

f. 38a. Illuminated page showing part of the interior of the Prophet's mosque in Medina, here shown as a niche, with a lamp hanging down, and the *minbar* (3 steps) and *miḥrāb*. The latter carries the calligraphic text *miḥrāb* in neo-Kufic script. Above the image of the niche is a calligraphic band that reads *عليه توكلت*.

f. 38b. Description of the burial place of Jesus.⁴⁷

ff. 38b–39a. Anecdote of the dream of ʿĀ'isha. The first section of *taṣliya* begins at the end of f. 39a.

The text is divided into quarters, thirds, and halves, which are marked by illuminations (ff. 60a–b, 67b, 81b, 100b, 107b, 133a). The *ḥizbs* are indicated with circular illuminations in the margins.

47 This feature is mentioned as part of the text in most manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. It is not often shown in the miniatures, however. An exception is, for example, MS München,

FIGURE 7 The end of the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by al-Ġazūlī, fol-
lowed by the inscription that mentions the person who
commissioned the manuscript: *al-Qā'id* Abū Zayd 'Abd
al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ashqar.
Manuscript from the Maghrib
MS PARIS, BNF, ARABE 6983 (DATED 1116/1705),
F. 133A

f. 133a. End of the text, followed by an illuminated note, mentioning the
personality who commissioned the manuscript: *al-Qā'id* Abū Zayd 'Abd al-
Raḥmān b. Abī 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ashqar (figure 7):

كل بحمد لله تعالى كتاب دلائل الخيرات حسبما امر بنسخه القائد | الارفع الجامع الانفع
خديم آل البيت الشريف المعظم | المحترم العفيف ابو زيد السيد عبد الرحمن بن الرئيس |

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Arab. 2852, a manuscript from Kashmir dated 1223/1808,
in which the enclosure contains a modestly executed *Makān 'Isā 'alayhi al-Salām*.

الانغم الباشا الاعظم الماجد الانفخ الانبه الافلح يد | الدولة وساعدها وناصرها ومساعدتها
 ابو عبدالله | سيدى محمد بن الاشقر اللهم خلق عمله لوجهك الكريم انك انت السميع العليم |

ff. 133b, 135a. Two fully illuminated pages contain the colophon, which gives the date of completion of the volume as Thursday, 17 Shawwāl 1116 (1705):

اللهم اغفر لنا نكته ومستنسخه وقارئه ولمن سعى | فى شئء منه يا ارحم الراحمين وكان الفراغ
 منه || يوم الخميس السابع عشر من شوال عام ستة عشر | ومايه والف وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد
 وءاله وسلم تسليما |

Full-leather Oriental binding with flap with gilded ornamentation. The volume underwent restoration in the library in 1975 under No. 2601.

4.2 *Ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. oct. 240*

Another example of the lavishly executed copies of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* is MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. oct. 240.⁴⁸ The ornamental addition is on ff. 1b–6a, but there is no image or mention of the sandal. On ff. 6b–87b is the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. On ff. 88a–236a are texts that belong to the ritual context of al-Ġazūlī's prayer book. The text block, measuring 10×9.5 cm, is kept in a red full-leather Islamic binding with flap, showing intensely worked gilded ornamentation. The luxury binding is in traditional *Maghribī* style. It can be seen, for instance, on MS Leiden Or. 1335, MS Doha, Qaṭar National Library No. 10522, and many others, both for the *Qur'ān* and other texts.

The Berlin copy is a princely Moroccan manuscript. On 1 Ġumādā 1 1213 (1798), it was made into an endowment for the burial chamber in the Prophet's mosque in Medina (*al-ḥuġra al-nabawīyya*, a term synonymous with *al-rawḍa al-mubāraka*). Visitors to the Prophet's tomb in Medina would often leave beautiful copies of the *Qur'ān* and the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the chamber as endowments. Al-Batanūnī, who visited the mosque in 1327/1909, writes that many *Qur'ānic* manuscripts and printed editions were donated by visitors, 'and next to these there were many copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*'.⁴⁹ The particularly luxurious production of the Berlin manuscript attests to it being a socially important object. The founder of this endowment, the *wāqif* of the Berlin manuscript, is Mūsā, the son of the *Sharīf* Muḥammad 111 b. 'Abdallāh

48 A detailed description in Abid, *Dalā'il*, vol. II, pp. 192–196, her *siglum* ND50.

49 Al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla*, p. 241.

FIGURE 8

The *waqfiyya*, dated 1 Ġumādā I 1213 (11 October 1798), confirming the deposition of this manuscript of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Prophet's burial chamber in Medina. Lines 12–13 contain the signature of the Moroccan prince Mūsa, the son of Sultan Muḥammad III b. 'Abdallāh
MS BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, OR. OCT. 240, F. 1A

(Sulṭān on Morocco, who reigned 1171–1204/1757–1790).⁵⁰ The text of the *waqfiyya* (f. 1a) is written in a regular scholar's hand, is signed by one or more signatories and contains the following information (figure 8):

Arabic text:

الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما
هذا المكتوب المسمى بدلائل الخيرات حبس على الحجرة النبوية
حبسه مولانا الشريف الارضى الابن المرتضى مولانا موسى
ابن مولانا امير المؤمنين سيدى محمد بن مولانا عبدالله بن مولانا
اسماعيل واصل الله عليهم رحماته واسكن الجميع فسيح جناته
حبسا موبدا قاصدا بذلك وجه الله العظيم وتعظيم
ضريح نبيه سيدنا محمد عليه افضل الصلاة وازكى التسليم
والله لا يضيع اجر من احسن عملا ولا يخيب لراجيه املا
يشهد به عليه من اشهده به على نفسه حفظه الله وهو
باتمه اوائل جمادى الاولى من ثلاثة عشر ومائتين والف

⁵⁰ See the genealogy of the 'Alawī or Filālī Sharīfs, the ruling dynasty of present-day Morocco, in C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties. A Chronological and Genealogical Manual*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996, No. 21.

عبيد ربه تعالى محمد المدعو الحبيب بن عبد الهادي (؟) الحسنى الصد ... (؟) لطف الله به
امين

وشهد على نفسه بذلك عبد الله موسى
بن محمد بن عبد الله احسن الله عاقبته وسلم
اموره فى الدارين بمَنِّ ءامين

Translation:

'Praise be to God alone. May God bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family and his companions and grant them peace.

This manuscript, entitled *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, was deposited in the burial chamber of the Prophet. It was deposited by our noble, most gracious, most obedient, most content Lord, our Lord Mūsā the son of our Lord, the Prince of the Believers, Sidi Muḥammad, the son of our Lord 'Abdallāh, the son of our Lord Ismā'il, may God bring him His mercies and may He give all of them a dwelling in his spacious gardens. The deposition is of permanent nature, and is intended to be done for the sake of God, the Great, and in glorification of the mausoleum of His Prophet, our master Muḥammad, may he receive the best blessing and the purest wishes of peace. God does not let the reward⁵¹ for whom does the work well go lost, nor does he disappoint the one who puts his hope in Him. May He bear witness to this in the way I bear witness to this, as I do that myself, may God preserve him. Thus done on the first day of Ġumādā I of 1213 by the insignificant servant of his elevated Lord, Muḥammad, called the beloved, the son of 'Abd al-Hādī (?) al-Ḥasanī al-Ṣad ... (?), may God be kind to him. Amen.

Thus has witnessed to that concerning himself, the servant of God Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, may God make his end good and may He by His favour make his affairs in the two abodes faultless. Amen.'

All texts following the *waqfiyya* are luxuriously executed, both in terms of illuminations and calligraphy.

(1) ff. 1b–6a. The ornamental addition that precedes the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. It contains:

⁵¹ لا يضيع اجر الله is Qur'anic, the passage occurs four times in the *Qur'ān*.

ff. 1b, 3b–4a. The pedigree (*shağara*) of the Prophet Muḥammad, preceded by the ten names of *al-Ashara al-Mubashshara* written inside circles (ff. 2a–3a). The Prophet's pedigree on ff. 3b–4a is written in *Maghribi thuluth* script in *boustrophedon*:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على محمد وآله | شجرة خير الانام | آلى اينا آدم على نبينا |
 محمد وعليه افضل | الصلاة وازكى السلام هو نسبنا عليه السلام | سيدنا محمد بن عبد الله || سيدنا
 علي – سيدنا عثمان – سيدنا الزبير || سيدنا ابو بكر – سيدنا سعد – سيدنا عبد الرحمان – سيدنا
 طلحة || سيدنا عمر – سيدنا سعيد – سيدنا ابو عبيدة || ابن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن | خزيمة
 بن مدركة بن الياس بن مضر بن | نزار بن معد بن عدنان هذا هو المتفق | عليه وما فوق ذلك
 بن اد بن ادد بن | مسلح بن يعرب بن يسحن بن الهمسح | بن نابت بن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم عليهما
 || السلام بن تارح بن ناخور بن ساروح | بن ارغوب بن فالج بن يعقوب بن شالح بن | ارفخشذ بن
 سام بن نوح عليه السلام بن | لامك بن متوشلخ بن خنوخ وهو ادريس عليه | السلام بن ردد
 بن مهليل بن فنير بن | بالنش بن شيث بن ادم عليه السلام |

ff. 4b–5a. The twenty-one expeditions (*ghazawāt*) of the Prophet Muḥammad:

غزواته صلى الله احدى وعشرون | غزوة ودان – غزوة عين فريشة – غزوة بدر – غزوة
 بنى قينقاع – غزوة التوسو – غزوة بنى سليم – غزوة اعمار – غزوة احد – غزوة بنى النضير ||
 غزوة ذات الرقاع – غزوة دومة الجندل – غزوة بنى المصطلق – غزوة الخندق – غزوة بنى
 قريظة – غزوة بنى الحيان – غزوة المغادر – غزوة حشر – غزوة الفتح – غزوة حسين –
 غزوة الطائف – غزوة تبوك ||

ff. 5b–6a. The images of the sanctuaries of Mecca (f. 5b) and Medina (f. 6a), executed in topographical style combined with the flat projection of several of its details (figures 9 and 10), which are described in minute script. Both drawings are highly stylized.

f. 5b. Above the image of the mosque in Mecca (figure 9) is a cartouche with the Qur'ānic text (5:97): *جعل الله الكعبة البيت الحرام قياما للناس*: *جعل الله الكعبة البيت الحرام قياما للناس*. The inner court of the mosque is an approximate square. Inside the court, details are described with legends, indicated hereunder in italics. The orientation is East (*mashriq*) on top, West (*maghrib*) at the bottom, South (*ḡunūb*) to the right, and North (*shamāl*) to the left. All seven minarets are described as *ma'dhana*, with 'minaret' written here *مادنه*. A central circle contains the square of the Ka'ba

FIGURE 9

The Mecca image as it occurs in the ornamental addition to a luxury manuscript, in the part preceding the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, from the Maghrib, copied before 1213/1798

MS BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, OR. OCT. 240, F. 5B

with its four corners matching the cardinal points exactly, and its entrance in the North-East wall, called *Bāb Ġibrīl*. To the North-East is the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, to the South-East is the black stone, *al-Ḥaġar al-Aswad*, indicated as a black dot; to the North-West is the *Mizāb al-Raḥma*. The right angles of the corners of the square are divided into two and contain blue circles with white floral motifs that carry the names of the four Law schools written in gold: *Shāfi'ī* (North-East); *Ḥanbalī* (South-East); *Mālikī* (South-West); and *Ḥanafī* (North-West). Pointing eastward is the *Qubbat Zamzam*. Slightly South of that is a location called *siqāyat al-ḥāġġ*, the place for distributing water to the pilgrims. At three directions the word *Bāb*, gate, is written near the frame of the inner court. Each gate is indicated with a small pile of three golden rocks. The square of the court is divided into two by a horizontal line. To the far South is a niche called *makhzan al-Ka'ba*, the treasury of the Ka'ba. To the far North is a large drawing of a pulpit.

f. 6a. Above the image of the mosque Medina (f. 6a, figure 10) is a cartouche with the *ḥadīth* text: *ما بين قبري ومنبري روضة من رياض الجنة* 'Whatever is between my grave and my pulpit, is a garden of Paradise'. The inner court of the mosque is an approximate square. Inside the court, details are described with legends, here indicated in italics. The orientation is 90° different from that in the Meccan image, with South (*ġunūb*) on top, North (*shamāl*) at the bottom, West (*maghrib*) to the right, and East (*mashriq*) to the left. In the centre of the court are two partly overlapping rectangles of different dimensions. The eastern rectangle is a walled space that contains the burial chamber, here shown as a niche with a hanging lamp and the three tombs (the Prophet, Abū Bakr, 'Umar). These have legends: *Qabr al-Nabī al-Salām 'alayhi* (قبر النبي السعليه), *Qabr Abī Bakr raḍīya Allāh 'anhu*, *Qabr 'Umar raḍīya Allāh 'anhu*. Near the South-West corner of the

FIGURE 10

The Medina image as it occurs in the ornamental addition to a luxury manuscript, in the part preceding the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, from the Maghrib, copied before 1213/1798 MS BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, OR. OCT. 240, F. 6A

chamber is a small circle in gold with the legend *al-kawkab al-durrī*, 'the Brilliant Star'. West of the burial chamber, but within the enclosure is *Maqām Ġibrīl 'alayhi al-Salām*. The western rectangle contains the pulpit, *minbar*, seen from the side, with four steps. To the far South, in the centre, is *mihrāb Sayyidinā 'Uthmān raḍīya Allāh 'anhu*, the prayer niche ascribed to the third caliph, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. Within the frame around the courts are four minarets, *ma'dhana*, and next to each minaret is a gate: *Bāb al-Salām* (South-West); *Bāb al-Rahma* (North-West); *Bāb al-Nisā'* (North-East); and *Bāb Ġibrīl* (South-East). Any reference to Fāṭima is absent from the legends. A plant or tree is growing South of the enclosure of the burial chamber. It has no legend. It is evidently meant to be Fāṭima's garden.⁵²

(2) ff. 6b–87b. Text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by al-Ġazūlī.

f. 6b. Title-page with incipit, a full-page illumination with three cartouches:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم على الله | على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وعلى آله | قال الشيخ الامام | سيدى
محمد بن سليمان الجزولى | رحمه الله تعالى | الحمد لله

ff. 17a–19a. Description of the 'Blessed Garden', *ṣifat al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka*, with an introduction (f. 17a), the Medinan double image of the burial chamber (f. 17b) and the *minbar* (f. 18a), the two anecdotes concerning Jesus's burial place (f. 18b), and the dream of Ā'isha about the future occupants of the chamber (ff. 18b–19a). The two spaces in the Medinan mosque are depicted as single chambers.

52 *Bustān al-Sayyida Fāṭima*, as shown in a map by al-Batanūnī, *al-Rihla*, between pp. 243–244.

FIGURE 11

The Medinan double image as it also occurs in luxury manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the Maghrib. The burial chamber (f. 17b, right) and the *minbar* and *mihrāb* (f. 18a, left). MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. oct. 240, copied before 1213/1798. In the original manuscript the individual pages are separated by protecting leaves. These have been omitted here.

ff. 17b–18a. The Medinan double image (figure 11).

f. 17b. The burial chamber is drawn as a niche, set within a frame. In its centre a lamp hangs down. Under the niche one can see three tombs, each with legends: *Qabruhu ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-sallam* (the Prophet), *Qabr Sayyidinā Abī Bakr raḍiya Allāh 'anhu* (Abū Bakr, the first caliph), and *Qabr Sayyidinā 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiya Allāh 'anhu* ('Umar, the second caliph).

f. 18a. A niche set within a frame contains the *minbar*, which is shown from the side, without legend. Next to it is the prayer niche, described as *mihrāb al-ṣalāt*.

(3) On ff. 88a–235b, after the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, come the texts that belong to its ritual context, and that one often encounters in North African convolute manuscripts with the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.⁵³ All of these have been written by the same copyist and illuminated by the same illuminator, who also made the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. They are: the *Burda* by al-Būṣīrī (ff. 88a–105b); the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* by al-Shādhilī (ff. 106a–108b); *al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr* by al-Shādhilī (ff. 109a–120a); the *Ḥizb* by al-Nawawī (ff. 120a–122b); the *Ṣalāt* of Ibn Mashshish (ff. 123a–124b); the *Wazīfa* by Ibn Zarrūq (ff. 124b–130b); the *Ḥizb al-Falāḥ* by al-Ġazūlī himself (ff. 131a–132a); the *Ḥafīza* by Ibn Zarrūq (ff. 132b–133b); the *Ḥizb* by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī (ff. 134a–b); and, finally, the *Kiṭāb al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn* by al-Ġazarī (ff. 135b–235b). This is concluded with an illuminated page without text (f. 236a).

The Mecca-Medina double image of the ornamental additions to the subgroup of heavily illuminated manuscripts of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* that I have defined is not exclusive for manuscripts. The topographical representation of the sanctuaries, especially of that of Mecca, can also be seen on Iznik tiles that would be approximately as old as the oldest known manuscript of the illuminated subgroup of *Dalā'il* manuscripts.⁵⁴

53 MS Leiden, Ter Lugt Collection No. 245 is a convolute volume from Tunisia, with a significantly different set of texts accompanying the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.

54 MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 4223, dated 1048/1638–1639. An example of such a tile from Mecca, estimated to date from the 17th century, is shown in *Benaki Museum. A Guide*

5 Epilogue

The sheer popularity of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in space and time has given occasion to illustrations in manuscripts other than those described here as the 'ornamental addition'. A few may be mentioned here. In a 20th-century manuscript from India, now kept in Kuala Lumpur, we see a set of illustrations, some of which are well-known, others unusual: the Great Mosque of Mecca (f. 7a), the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (f. 8a), a view of Baqī' al-Gharqad, the Medinan cemetery (f. 8b), another image of a mosque possibly that in Kalyānī, India (f. 10b), and *al-Ḥuġra al-Maymūna*, the burial chamber in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (f. 11a). The latter shows the three moons that 'Ā'isha saw in her foretelling dream.⁵⁵

Another exceptional manuscript is the Malayo-Arabic convolute MS Leiden, University Library Or. 1751. It is lavishly illustrated. It was copied in Bandar Natal, Sumatra, on 29 Shawwāl 1229 (1814) and is now known as "the prayer book of Imam Bonjol", even if there is no documented connection between the manuscript and this historical personality, who lived 1772–1864. On pp. 127–128 the manuscript has a Mecca-Medina double image (ff. 68b–69a) outside the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. It has a detailed Medinan image inside the text of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, on f. 183a. It also has an image of Baqī' al-Gharqad, the cemetery outside Medina (f. 69b), and many more images that have a religious or magical dimension.

Yet another unusually illustrated manuscript of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* is MS Paris, BnF Arabe 6869. It is an incomplete undated sub-Saharan copy from the 19th century. Its earliest documented provenance is Abidjan, ca. 1921. In the BnF catalogues it does not seem to be recognized as an incomplete manuscript of al-Ġazūlī's prayer book.⁵⁶ Apart from a number of stunning calligraphic pages, the

to the Museum of Islamic Art. Athens: Benaki Museum, 2006, p. 156, No. 209, but there are many more images of such tiles available. More references in Abid, 'Birth', note 45. See also Deniz Beyazit, 'Paths of Prayer', in the present volume.

55 Jan Just Witkam, 'The Former ISTAC Library in Kuala Lumpur and its Islamic Manuscripts. Travel Notes', in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 8 (2017), pp. 281–339, pp. 298–302, figs. 2, 3. When I examined them, the ISTAC manuscripts had no proper class marks. This volume I gave the class mark 'Ar. Cat., vol. 1, p. 13, No. 61'.

56 Gallica <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8406156n.r=Arabe-6869?rk=21459;2#>; Guesdon & Vernay-Nouri, *L'art du livre arabe*, p. 69, No. 39 (described by Annie Vernay-Nouri). A detailed description will appear in my Paris travel notes of 2005. See Yvette Sauvan, M.-G. Balty-Guesdon, T. Tamari, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*. Index 6836–7214. Paris 1987, p. 29. See for these additional images Jan Just Witkam, *From codicology to the history of the Islamic book*. Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2021, pp. 18–20.

manuscript has a small collection of illustrations, mostly composed of geometrical elements. These show al-Burāq, the Prophet's riding animal (f. 84a), two images of the Prophet's footprint (ff. 84b, 85a), the Prophet's house in Mecca (f. 85b), a niche (meaning not clear, f. 86a), the grave of the Prophet, with mention of the names of the four angels, and the first four caliphs (f. 86b), the Ka'ba (f. 87a), the Great Mosque of Mecca (f. 87b), the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (f. 88a), the Prophet's house in Medina (f. 88b), the mountain of the bird in Shinnis, from where the copyist originates (f. 89a), and, finally, the weighing scales that will be used on the Day of Resurrection (f. 89b).

These three examples, that only have come to my knowledge accidentally, show that the illustration history of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* is far more complex than we think. It is evident that more research has to be done on this. One step in that research is the disconnection of the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the ornamental addition, that has been the subject of the present article.

Bibliography

Conspectus of Manuscripts

If provided with an asterisk, the manuscript has been illustrated in the article.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. oct. 240*	Leiden, Ter Lugt Collection No. 49*
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Petermann II	Leiden, Ter Lugt Collection No. 245
Nachtrag 12	Leipzig, University Library Vollers 65
Doha, Qaṭar National Library No. 10522	London, British Library, not specified
Doha, Qaṭar National Library No. 30003*	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 4223	Cod. Arab. 2852
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 4240	New York, Columbia University, Rare
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 5459	Book and Manuscript Library Or. 117
Fes, Qarawīyyīn Library 3226	New York, Metropolitan Museum,
Kuala Lumpur, Islamic Art Museum	2017.301
Malaysia (IAMM) 2011.1.23	New York, Public Library, Arabic 5
Kuala Lumpur, ISTAC, unspecified	Paris, BnF Arabe 1180
Istanbul, Collection Ömer Koçyiğit*	Paris, BnF Arabe 1181
Leiden, University Library Or. 1335	Paris, BnF Arabe 1185
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Paris, BnF Arabe 7170	Rabat, Ḥasaniyya 3227
Paris, BnF Arabe 7253	Rabat, Ḥasaniyya 12301
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