In Writing and in Sound

The Dalā'il al-Khayrāt in the Late Ottoman Empire

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Abstract

Copies of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Proofs of Good Deeds) by the Moroccan Sufi saint Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465) were in high demand in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. This required producing manuscripts in large numbers and, later, printing the text. These mostly lithographic copies and corpora of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, when combined with references to biographical dictionaries, inheritance records, inventories, library catalogues, and endowment deeds, reveal a great deal of information about the public and private prevalence of the text, within and beyond the empire. The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* appealed to many individuals, from Ottoman sultans to royal women, and from madrasa students to members of the learned class. Its copies were endowed to mosques and libraries, held in different book collections of the Topkapi palace, and were available from booksellers. Be it silently or aloud, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* could be read in private homes and in mosques from Istanbul to Medina, a feature of pious soundscapes across the empire.

Keywords

Muhammad b. Sulayman al-Jazuli – devotional texts – codicology – endowments – recitation – soundscape

1 Introduction¹

The numerous copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Proofs of Good Deeds) and various references to it in written sources, attest to the popularity of this devotional text in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.² Biographical dictionaries, inheritance records, inventories, library catalogues, and endowment deeds reveal a great deal about the public and private prevalence of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, including its presence in the soundscapes (sonic environment) of several major Ottoman cities.³ The brisk market for this collection of prayer blessings (*ṣalā*, pl. *ṣalawāt*) for the Prophet Muhammad is no surprise, as the text appealed to many individuals, from Ottoman sultans to royal women, and from madrasa students to members of the learned class. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were endowed to mosques and libraries, held in different book collections of the Topkapı palace, and were available at booksellers. Be it silently or aloud, in its entirety or in sections, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was read in private homes and in mosques from Istanbul to Medina. Most Ottoman copies of the

1 Submitted in an earlier version on 4 July 2020. Accepted for publication 18 May 2021.

This article arose from a paper I presented at the workshop “From West Africa to Southeast Asia: The History of Muhammad al-Jazuli’s *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* Prayer Book (15th–20th Centuries)” organized by Guy Burak and Deniz Beyazıt at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (17–18 May 2019). I would like to thank them as well as Lauren Nicole Davis, İrvin Cemil Schick, Zeren Tanındı, and Nazlı Vatansever for their feedback on the different drafts of this paper.

- 2 The full title of the text is *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabī al-mukhtār* (Proofs of Good Deeds and Brilliant Bursts of Light in the Remembrance of Blessings on the Chosen Prophet). For an English translation, see Al-Jazūlī, *Guide to Happiness: A Manual of Prayer*, trans. John B. Pearson (Oxford: Printed for private circulation, 1907). For a selection of publications on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, see Frederike-Wiebke Daub, *Formen und Funktionen des Layouts in arabischen Manuskripten anhand von Abschriften religiöser Texte. Al-Būṣīrīs Burda, al-Ġazūlīs Dalā'il und die Šifā' von Qāḍī 'Iyāq* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016); Nurul Iman Rusli, Heba Nayel Barakat, and Amira Salleh, eds., *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt: Prayer Manuscripts from the 16th–19th Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, 2016); and Jan Just Witkam; *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek. De geschiedenis van de Dalā'il al-Khayrāt van al-Ġazūlī* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 2002). For a selection of dissertations on the prayer book, see Sabiha Göloğlu, “Depicting the Holy: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Empire” (PhD thesis, Koç University, 2018); Hiba Abid, “Les *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* d'al-Jazūlī (m. 869/1465). La tradition manuscrite d'un livre de prières soufi au Maghreb du xe/xvie au xiii/xixe siècles” (PhD thesis, École doctorale de l'École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 2017); and Semra Güler, “Türkiye Kütüphaneleri'ndeki Delā'ilü'l-Hayratlar'da Minyatür” (PhD thesis, Uludağ University, 2017).
- 3 For a detailed definition of “soundscape,” see R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1977), 4–5, 274–275.

Dalā'il al-Khayrāt were either arranged in eight sections (sing. *ḥizb* or *ḥizip*) or eight, four, three, and two parts that were differentiated with illuminated headings, section markers (*ḥizip gülü*), and/or marginal inscriptions that guided the reading of the text in eight days (from Monday to Monday) and in halves, thirds, and quarters.⁴

Archival documents present a wealth of information regarding the buying and selling of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts and prints, their presence in libraries and book collections, and the auditory functioning of the text in public spheres. Furthermore, certificates (sing. *ijāza* or *icāzet*), dedicatory inscriptions, marginal notes, ownership records, and seal impressions in *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies unveil details about their endowers, institutions, owners, and users.⁵ Nevertheless, it is still difficult to assess how widely the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was read in people's homes and to what extent it was understood, because its copies may have been kept for talismanic purposes and as prestigious items as well.⁶

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), the author of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, linked the "competing traditions of Shadhili and Qadiri Sufism" and his Jazuliyya order with the Moroccan concept of sainthood.⁷ The popularity

4 For the division into halves, thirds, and quarters in North African *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies, see Hiba Abid, "Material Images and Mental Ziyāra: Depicting the Prophet's Grave in North African Devotional Books (*Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*)," *Journal of Material Cultures in the Muslim World* 1 (2020): 331–354, 334.

5 For reading practices in the Ottoman Empire, see Elif Sezer, *The Oral and the Written in Ottoman Literature: The Reader Notes on the Story of Fīrūzshāh* (Istanbul: Libra, 2015); Tülün Değirmenci, "Bir Kitabı Kaç Kişi Okur? Osmanlı'da Okurlar ve Okuma Biçimleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler," *Tarih ve Toplum. Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 13 (2011): 7–43; Christoph K. Neumann, "Üç Tarz-ı Mütala. Yeniçağ Osmanlı Dünyası'nda Kitap Yazmak ve Okumak," *Tarih ve Toplum. Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 1 (2005): 51–76; and Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th–20th Centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6 (2003): 39–76.

6 For talismanic uses of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, see Sabiha Göloğlu, "Linking, Printing, and Painting Sanctity and Protection: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in Late Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Books," in *The Ascension of the Prophet and the Stations of His Journey in the Ottoman Cultural Environment: The Miraj and the Three Sacred Cities of Islam in Literature, Music, and Illustrated Manuscripts*, eds. Ayşe Taşkent and Nicole Kançal-Ferrari (Istanbul: Klasik Publications, forthcoming), 485–505; and Hiba Abid, "La vénération du Prophète en Occident musulman à travers l'étude codicologique de livres de piété (xix/xviii–xiii/xix siècles)," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 178 (2017): 157–158.

7 Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998), 173–176, 285. See also Yehoshua Frenkel, "Muhammad al-Djazouli's Image in Biographical Dictionaries and Hagiographical Collections Written during Sa'did Period in Morocco," *Maghreb Review* 18 (1993): 18–33; Süleyman Uludağ, "Muhammed b. Süleyman Cezūlī," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 7.515–516; and M. Ben Cheneb, "al-Djazūlī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 527–528.

of his prayer book soon extended beyond North Africa and spread to various parts of the Islamic world, as a commonly consulted work for reciting prayer blessings for the Prophet (*taṣliya*).⁸ From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, the Shādhiliyya order gained popularity in Istanbul and had up to three *zawīyas*,⁹ while the Qadiri order sustained a steady and widespread influence, also in the Balkans and Anatolia.¹⁰ The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was not only copied and read among these Sufi orders, but also others, such as the Naqshbandiyya and the Mawlawiyya.¹¹ Moreover, the written and sonic formats of

- 8 For devotional practices regarding the Prophet Muhammad, see Christiane Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2019); and Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).
- 9 On the Shadhili order, see Ahmet Murat Özel, “Şazeli” and “Şazeliyye,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* vol. 38 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010), 385–387 and 387–390; M. Baha Tanman, “Şazeli Tekkesi” and “Şazelilik,” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 138–139 and 139–140; and Ömer Tuğrul İnancı, “Şazelilik: Zikir Usulü ve Musiki,” *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 140–141.
- 10 The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *Hizb 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī* of the founder of the Qādiriyya order (d. 561/1166) may be found in the same prayer miscellanies. For instance, see the composite manuscript in the Kubbealtı Foundation Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA VII/4), in which the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was compiled with the *al-Hizb al-Aẓam*, *Hizb al-Baḥr*, *Hizb al-Nawawī*, *Hizb 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī* and *Hizb al-Naṣr*. Şebnem Eryavuz, Orhan Sakin, Sabiha Göloğlu, and Gülnur Duran, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation*, trans. İrvın Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, 2021), 240–243, cat. 87; and M. Baha Tanman, ed., *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi 1899–1984. Mimarlık Tarihçisi, Restoratör, Koleksiyoner* (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2014), 202–203, cat. 85. A *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy (SHM Küt. 611) in the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul ends with prayers for al-Jazūlī and the shaykhs of the Qādiriyya order. Zeren Tanındı, *Harmony of Line and Colour: Illuminated Manuscripts, Documents, and Calligraphy in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum, 2019), 242–243, cat. 53.
- 11 Several copyists of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* carry the titles of “Mevlevi” and “Nakşibendi” and several prayer books including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* have contents related to these orders. For instance, a composite manuscript of Qur'ānic excerpts, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and Mawlawi litanies (*awrād*) can be found in the Konya Mevlana Museum (Müze 45). Serpil Bağcı, *Konya Mevlānā Müzesi Resimli Elyazmaları* (Konya: Konya ve Mülhakatı Eski Eserleri Sevenler Derneği, 2003), 32–35, cat. 1.7. Furthermore, a composite manuscript of Qur'ānic excerpts, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and Naqshibandi litanies with a Naqshbandi certificate can be found in the Berlin State Library (Hs. or. 14194, dated 1808 CE). “Hs. or. 14194,” Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Digitalisierte Sammlungen. Available at: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000E80A00010000> last accessed 22 November 2020.

this devotional text reached an even larger public based on book and recitation endowments by royal women, the learned, and wealthy individuals to libraries, madrasas, and mosques.

In the late Ottoman Empire, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was frequently referred to as “Delā'il” and “Delā'il-i Şerif” and compiled with other devotional texts. Among these are the *En'ām-ı Şerif*,¹² including a selection of Qur'ānic excerpts (such as *Sūrat al-An'ām* [Qur'ān 6] or “the Cattle,” which gives the book its name), religious imagery, and/or prayers (*ad'ya*);¹³ the *Asmā' Aşhāb Badr* (the names of the Prophet's companions who fought in the Battle of Badr); al-Jazūlī's *Ḥizb al-Falāḥ* (Litany of Salvation); the Ḥanafī scholar and calligrapher 'Alī al-Qārī's (d. 1014/1605) *al-Ḥizb al-A'zam* (The Greatest Litany); the Moroccan scholar and founder of the Shādhiliyya order Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī's (d. 656/1258) *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* (Litany of the Sea), *Ḥizb al-Barr* (Litany of the Land), *al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr* (The Great Litany), and *Ḥizb al-Naṣr* (Litany of Victory); the Shāfi'ī scholar and jurist al-Imām al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) litanies (*Ḥizb al-Nawawī*); and/or the Sufi poet of the Shādhiliyya order Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī's (d. 694–696/1294–1297) *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Ode).¹⁴ Several miscellanies or composite manuscripts that bring together the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* with one or more of these texts exist in collections today and are mentioned in historical sources.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsi's (d. 1109/1698) Arabic commentary *Maṭālī' al-Masarrāt* (Points of Ascents of Lucky Stars) and Karadavudzade's (d. 1170/1756) Turkish commentary *Tevfīku Muvaḫḫikī'l-Ḥayrāt* (Guidance of Success of Good Deeds) were among the widely available exegeses of the text in the Ottoman

12 For a miscellany of the *En'ām-ı Şerif*, *Ḥizb al-Baḥr*, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the *Asmā' Aşhāb Badr*, and the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* copied by Mehmed b. Ali Zügrevi of Ankara (a disciple of Seyyid Mehmed Nuri) dated to 1175/1761–1762, see Or. 7259 in the British Library, London. Alexander George Ellis and Edward Edwards, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894* (London: British Museum, 1912), 16, 59.

13 For the *En'ām-ı Şerif*, see Christiane Gruber, “A Pious-Cure All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library,” in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 117–153; and Alexandra Bain, “The En'ām-ı Şerif: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 213–238. See also the detailed catalogue description of an *En'ām-ı Şerif* copy (MS 1995–014) in Jan Just Witkam, “The Islamic Manuscripts in the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1 (2010): 108–133.

14 For al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* and other mantle odes, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muhammad* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010).

lands, even though other commentaries were also copied.¹⁵ Commentaries of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were frequently mentioned in library catalogues and inheritance records, which, to a certain extent, reflect the contemporary efforts to study and comprehend the text. This article, however, does not attempt to understand this devotional text in terms of its meanings, but rather it explores the material values of its written forms, the auditory significance of its recitations, and its prominent presence in the public and private spheres. Using archival sources and codicological analysis, it aims to contextualize how the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was integral to charitable, commercial, and devotional activities in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. The following sections suggest various tracks for approaching the production, ownership, circulation, endowment, and recitation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which can be expanded and elaborated in future studies.

2 Copyists, Corpora, and Costs

An intensive production and widespread circulation of prayer books existed in the late Ottoman Empire, as the manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and written sources demonstrate. Biographical dictionaries record several calligraphers who copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, in addition to the *Qur'ān*, and the “En‘ām” (the prayer book or only the *sūra*). In *Devhatü'l-Küttāb* (Tree of Scribes, 1150/1737–1738) and *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭātīn* (Gift of Calligraphers, 1173/1759–1760), Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necib (d. 1171/1758) and Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin (d. 1202/1788) attributed varying quantities of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies to eighteenth-century Ottoman calligraphers.¹⁶ Suyolcuzade and Müstakimzade

15 Among the other Turkish commentaries were İbrahim b. Salih el-Kıbrısı's *Vesā'ilü'l-Hasenāt* (Occasions of Good Deeds) and Mehmed Şakir ibn Sunullah el-Ankaravi's *Şerhü'l-Delā'il* (Commentary of the *Dalā'il*). Guy Burak, “Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Suppliant,” in Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (eds.), *Historicising Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire c. 1450–c. 1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2020); 241–246; Guy Burak, “Collating the Signs of Benevolent Deeds: Muḥammad Mahdī al-Fāsī's Commentary on Muḥammad al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and Its Ottoman Readers,” *Philological Encounters* 4 (2019): 135–157; and Hatice Kelpetin Arpağuş, “Kara Dāvud,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 359.

16 Suyolcuzade noted that Ahmed Efendi, Hüseyin Beşe b. Ahmed, Hatibzade Mehmed Efendi, Eğrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, Attarzade Hüseyin Efendi, Osman Efendi, Mustafa Çelebi, Mollazade Mehmed Efendi, Mehmed Emin Efendi, and Yusuf Efendi were among the calligraphers who copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necib, *Devhatül-küttāb*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifat (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı, 1942), 13,

noted several calligraphers who had copied one to three hundred or numerous (*müte'addid*) *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts. In *Son Hattatlar* (Last Calligraphers, 1955), İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal mentions several nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century calligraphers who had produced copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, attesting to the widespread production and popularity of this prayer book.¹⁷

Other calligraphers and copyists were also responsible for the dissemination of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. However, not all of them were recorded in biographical dictionaries. Two *Dalā'il* manuscripts copied by el-Hacc Ahmed Hanbeli II, held in the Beyazıt Library (Veliyyüddin 567 and 568), also exemplify the intensive copying of the prayer book. In their colophons, the calligrapher noted that these manuscripts were the fourth and fifth of multiple copies by his hand. Moreover, there are other corpora of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* that might have a single copyist or multiple ones. For instance, two series of five manuscripts [figure 1, figure 2], which have similar bindings, illumination, and paintings, have been preserved in the İnebey Manuscript Library in Bursa (HO 1223–1227) and the Topkapı Palace Museum Library in Istanbul (EH 1033–1037).

The İnebey manuscripts were formerly kept in the library of the Haraçcioğlu Madrasa in Bursa and inscribed with several scribbles and *şalawāt* on their fly-leaves. All five manuscripts of this corpus measure around 28.4×18.5 cm and have gold rulings and eleven lines. They feature maroon leather bindings with flaps and medallions. These manuscripts open with rectangular headpieces illuminated only with gold. The İnebey corpus displays single or half-page compositions of the *minbar* and the tombs of the Prophet Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar drawn simply in black ink and gold [figure 1]. Only one of them (HO 1224) has a colophon that provides the completion date of 1166/1752–1753 and gives the name of the calligrapher as Ahmed Uşaki, a disciple of es-Seyyid Mehmed Bursevi.

40, 46, 52–53, 90, 98, 123, 125, 130, 145. Müstakimzade noted that Şeyh İbrahim b. Mehmed, İsmail Yesarizade, Şemseddin b. Süleyman, Mehmed b. es-Seyyid Mehmed b. Abdurrahman, Eğrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, and es-Seyyid Osman Eyyubi were among the calligraphers who copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. Müstakimzade, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*, ed. Mustafa Koç (Istanbul: Klasik, 2014), 41, 110, 211, 381, 422, 621.

17 İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal noted that Abdülkadir Şükri Efendi, Mehmed Arif Bey, Ahmed Arif Efendi, Mustafa İzzet Efendi, Kayışzade Osman Nuri Efendi, Osman Nuri Efendi, Osman Efendi, Ahmed Rakım Efendi, Mehmed Şevki Efendi, Mehmed Vasfı Efendi, and İbrahim Hakkı Efendi were among the calligraphers who copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Hattatlar* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 29, 52, 56, 160, 252–253, 257, 286, 401, 447, 555.

FIGURE 1 *Minbar and Tombs of the Prophet Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and ‘Umar.*
BURSA İNEBEY LIBRARY, HO 1223, FOLS. 10B–11A

The Topkapı corpus reveals more information about the identities of its calligraphers. All five manuscripts are signed by different hands: Berber Mehmed (of *serāy-i ‘atīk*, EH 1033); İsmail Şükri (EH 1034); Mehmed Şehri (*kethüdā-i ğulmān-i serāy-i ‘atīk*, EH 1035); Mehmed Tavl (EH 1036); and Derviş Mehmed (EH 1037).¹⁸ EH 1035 and EH 1037 were completed in 1176/1762–1763, whereas the other three remain undated. EH 1036 measures 13×8.5 cm and has gold rulings, while the remaining four roughly measure 15×10 cm and have red rulings. There is no consistency in the number of lines among the copies, as they change between nine, eleven, and thirteen. All five manuscripts have maroon leather bindings with flaps and gilded medallions, pendants, and borders.

18 Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), 269–270, cat. 5492–5496.

FIGURE 2 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, ca. 1762, copyist: Berber Mehmed (of *serāy-i 'atīk*), 15.3×10.3 cm, 104 folios, 11 lines
TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY, EH 1033, FOLS. 16B–17A

They open with similar illuminated headpieces consisting of small green flowers and red and blue finials. The perspectival views of Mecca and Medina in the Topkapi corpus seem to be all by the same hand and from the same specimen [figure 2]. Their layouts and colouring are almost identical; however, they display small variations in the urban fabric and the perspectival cone of vision.

The İnebey and Topkapi corpora [figures 1 and 2] and many others (e.g. three-manuscript-corpus that will be mentioned later, figure 6) confirm that the popularity of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in public, educational, and palatial spheres necessitated the rapid production of its copies in various calibres. Although the same binder, illuminator, and painter (or a group of them) might have worked on all five manuscripts, the calligraphers showed variation within each corpus. The former corpus seems to have been copied by at least three different calligraphers, while the copying of the text in the latter corpus was performed by five calligraphers, two of whom were clearly associated with the old palace (*serāy-i 'atīk*).

Archival sources also provide insights into the production of manuscripts, as well as their costs. A private notebook of expenditures kept by a wealthy Istanbul resident lists the costs of a *Qurʾān* and a *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* copy that was paid for in instalments between 1247/1832 and 1251/1835 [figure 3].¹⁹ The costs of paper (*kāḡad*), copying/writing (*taḥrīr*), and illumination (*tezḥīb*) were recorded with the additional costs of corrections and writing of *ḥilye* and chapter titles (*taṣḥīḥ ve ḥilye-i şerīfe ve ser-i sūre taḥrīri*) for the *Qurʾān* copy and the writing of glosses (*kenār taḥrīri*) for the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* copy.²⁰ For these manuscript commissions, Sükuti İbrahim Efendi (d. 1834) was responsible for the copying, whereas Mücellid (binder) Ahmed Efendi was given the task of illumination (there is no specific amount listed for binding).²¹ The total costs were 5,300 *guruş* for the *muṣḥaf* (2,000 *guruş* for copying, 3,000 *guruş* for illumination, and 300 *guruş* for other costs) and 1,890 *guruş* for the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* copy (640 *guruş* for copying and 1250 *guruş* for illumination), in addition to 350 *guruş* paid for paper.²² A further 140 *guruş* were paid to Mekteb Hocası (school teacher) İbrahim Efendi and Mücellid Ahmed Efendi for two or more *al-Dawr al-Āʾlā* (also known as *Ḥizb al-Wiqāya*) of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240).²³ Even though *al-Dawr al-Āʾlā* was commonly compiled with the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, it is not clear whether in this case the two texts were compiled together or produced as separate manuscripts.

Similarly, another document notes the expenses of a *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* manuscript commissioned by Refia Sultan (d. 1880), a daughter of Sultan Abdülme-

19 For an analysis of this notebook, see Faruk Doğan, “Sahibi Bilinmeyen Hususi Bir Masraf Defterinin Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Açısından Kullanılabilirliğine Dair Bir Deneme,” *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi* 18 (2018): 355–376.

20 The Republic of Turkey’s Presidency State Archives, D.M.d, 37228, p. 2.

21 For an entry about Sükuti İbrahim Efendi, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 143. For a *muṣḥaf* copied by the same calligrapher and dated to 1247/1831, see A 1663 in the Istanbul University Library. Doğan, “Sahibi Bilinmeyen Hususi Bir Masraf Defterinin Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Açısından Kullanılabilirliğine Dair Bir Deneme,” 362. For a *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* manuscript copied by the same calligrapher and dated to 1245/1829–1830, see A 5584 in the Istanbul University Library.

22 Doğan’s calculation of the costs for the *Qurʾān* copy is slightly higher than the one provided here, due to the inclusion of paper and *al-Dawr al-Āʾlā* costs in the total sum. Doğan, “Sahibi Bilinmeyen Hususi Bir Masraf Defterinin Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Açısından Kullanılabilirliğine Dair Bir Deneme,” 361–363.

23 For a critical edition of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī’s *al-Dawr al-Āʾlā*, see Suha Taji-Farouki (ed.), *Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi. A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection: Al-Dawr al-āʾlā (Ḥizb al-wiqāya). Study, Translation, Transliteration and Arabic Text* (Oxford: Anqa Publishing, 2006).

FIGURE 3 Production costs of a *Qur'ân* and a *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* copy paid for in instalments between 13 Şaban 1247/17 January 1832 and 4 Muharrem 1251/2 May 1835
THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY'S PRESIDENCY STATE ARCHIVES, D.M.D, 37228,
P. 2

cid (r. 1839–1861) and Gülcemal Kadınefendi (d. 1851).²⁴ This is a receipt signed by the calligrapher Mehmed Şevket, confirming payments of 1,500 *guruş* for the copying (*ücreti tahririyye*) and 224 *guruş* for paper (*kājad parası*).²⁵ There is a lavishly illuminated *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy signed by Mehmed Şevket (d. 1877–1878), a disciple of es-Seyyid Ahmed Rakım, in the Istanbul University Library (A 5721). This manuscript is written in *naskh* and *thuluth* scripts and dated to 1290/1873–1874.²⁶ Its green leather binding with a large radiating star (*yıldız*) and smaller crescents, as well as the square seal impressions of the Yıldız Palace Library, makes this prayer book a possible match for the one ordered by Refia Sultan.

Here, it is important to point out that the prices for paper and copying were differentiated in both documents, Mehmed Şevket charged around 30 per cent more for copying the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* than Sükuti İbrahim Efendi did for a wealthier and more prestigious patron; the illumination was the costliest task in the earlier manuscript, and the binding and illumination of the later manuscript were commissioned separately. In the light of more documents regarding the costs and commissioners of manuscripts, it would be possible to have a more nuanced understanding of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*'s production in the Ottoman lands. In addition to such commissioned manuscripts, those produced for the speculative market can also deepen our knowledge about devotional books.

3 Inheritance Records, Market, and Ownership

Inheritance records (*tereke* or *muḥallefāt*) provide valuable information about the market for prayer books, as well as their private ownership and circulation. These documents exist in court registers (*şer'yye sicilleri*) and list deceased men's and women's assets, sold on the request of heirs and claimants, with their

24 For a short entry on Refia Sultan, see Necdet Sakaoglu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları. Valide Sultanlar, Hatunlar, Hasekiler, Kadınefendiler, Sultanevendiler* (Istanbul: Alfa Tarih, 2015), 613–618; and M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980), 153–154. For an alphabet book (*elif-ba cüzü*) that belonged to Refia Sultan, see *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın. Anadolu'da Kadının 9000 Yılı* (Istanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), 211, cat. C 14.

25 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, TS. MA.e 9–17. See also Ali Akyıldız, *Refia Sultan. Mümin ve Müsrif Bir Padişah Kızı* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 14–15.

26 For a short entry on Mehmed Şevket, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 405–406.

titles and values.²⁷ İsmail Erünsal presents valuable research about the buying and selling of books in the Ottoman Empire based on such records. He demonstrates that several devotional books appeared in the inheritance records of booksellers and merchants along with other objects, such as calligraphic panels (sing. *levha*), schematic and calligraphic descriptions of the Prophet's physical characteristics (sing. *hilye*), and *qibla* compasses (sing. *kıblenümā*).²⁸ Booksellers and merchants sold manuscripts as finished objects and texts blocks, which could have been bound, illuminated, or illustrated upon the request of buyers.²⁹ As one would expect, these recorded manuscripts could have been acquired as second hand or produced for the speculative market.

Dalā'il al-Khayrāt manuscripts and prints frequently feature in price lists of the deceased's belongings, either separately or as part of a total sum for bundles. Erünsal notes that a printed copy of Karadavudzade's Turkish commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* could sell for up to 16,800 *ağçe* in the late-nineteenth century, a manuscript copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Yesarizade (İsmail or Mustafa İzzet) for 48,000 *ağçe* in 1872, a copy by Mustafa İzzet (Kadıasker or Yesarizade) for 311,040 *ağçe* in 1887, and a copy by Şeyh Hamdullah for 16,200 *ağçe* in 1910.³⁰ In 1872, a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Çemşir Hafız Mehmed Salih Efendi (d. 1236/1820) was sold for 96,000 *ağçe*, whereas a *Qur'ān* copy by the same calligrapher was sold for 840,000 *ağçe*.³¹ In 1879, the daily

27 Tahsin Özcan, "Muhallefât," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 30 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2005), 406–407.

28 İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013), 131–132, 163, 169–170.

29 Ibid., 131–132.

30 Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 181, 192, 197. For the value of silver *guruş* (120 *ağçe*) in the nineteenth century, see the table in Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 208. A miscellany of the *En'âm-ı Şerif* and the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (1155/1742) and a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (1171/1757–1758) by İsmail Yesarizade (d. 1765) are preserved in the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (103–0359) and the Konya Mevlana Museum (İhtisas Kütüphanesi 5917). See "Dua Mecmuası," Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi Dijital Koleksiyonları ve Arşivleri. Available at <https://digitalssm.org/digital/collection/Kitapvehat/id/193277/rec/2> last accessed 22 November 2020; and Bağcı, *Konya Mevlânâ Müzesi Resimli Elyazmaları*, 20–21, cat. 1.2. Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet (d. 1849) was a master of *ta'liq* calligraphy and the majority of Ottoman *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were written in *naskh* script. For a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (1251/1835–1836) that Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet copied in *ta'liq*, see A 5559 in the Istanbul University Library. A copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (1258/1842–1843) copied by Kadıasker Mustafa İzzet (d. 1876) and preserved in the Istanbul University Library (A 5557) will be subsequently mentioned.

31 Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 197. For the calligrapher, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 352–353.

wages of a common labourer (*rençber*) and a mason (*duvarcı*) in Istanbul were 958 and 1,704 *ağçe*, respectively; thus, the purchase of one of these manuscripts would have cost the equivalent of one to several months of salary.³²

Similarly, based on a selection of inheritance records, both M. Şükrü Hanioglu and Henning Sievert provide a glimpse into book collections of the Ottoman ruling class (*askerî*). According to Hanioglu's statistics from 1164/1750–1751 and 1215/1800–1801 (44 members of the ruling class from each year), *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* was among the most common religious books (10 and 15 copies in the respective years) owned by the elite after copies of the *Qur'ân* (*muşhaf*, pl. *maşâhif*), the Hānafi jurist Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī's (d. 1549) *Multaqā al-Abḥur* (Confluence of the Seas), and Birgivi Mehmed Efendi's (d. 1573) catechism (*ilm-i ḥāl*) *Vasiyyet-i Birgivi* (or *Vasiyetnâme*, the Testament).³³

Sievert's analysis of eighteenth-century records reveals that after *Qur'ân* copies, Qādī 'Iyād's (d. 544/1149) *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, the "En'ām" (the prayer book or only the *sūra*), the *Dalā'il al-Khayrât*, and commentaries on the latter were commonly owned manuscripts.³⁴ In one of Bahir Mustafa Paşa's (a disgraced grand vizier) inheritance records from 1765, a copy of Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī's commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrât* was sold for 4,800 *ağçe*, two *Dalā'il al-Khayrât* copies were sold for 6,000 and 1,800 *ağçe*, and an *En'ām-ı Şerif* was sold for 620 *ağçe* (the relatively low price suggests that perhaps it was only the *sūra*).³⁵ In 1765, daily wages in Istanbul were 33.7 and 50.7 *ağçe* for a common labourer and a mason, which shows the high quality of these *Dalā'il al-Khayrât* copies compared to most of the copies listed in Table 1.³⁶ Even though there would have been differences due to condition and craftsmanship, *Dalā'il al-Khayrât* copies were often cheaper than most *Qur'ân* copies and books on theology, but more expensive than books on geography and literature.³⁷

32 Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469–1998* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 196.

33 M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 38–41. See also Burak, "Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Suppliant," 242.

34 Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze. Bücher von Bürokraten in den Muḥallefāt-Registern," in *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 237–238. See also Henning Sievert, "Eavesdropping on the Pasha's Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Bureaucrat," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XL1 (2013): 159–195.

35 Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze," 211–212, 239–241. For the value of silver *guruş* (120 *ağçe*) in the eighteenth century, see the table in Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, 178.

36 Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469–1998*, 194.

37 Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 193–199.

TABLE 1 Values of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies based on inheritance records across the empire

<i>Title of the book</i>	<i>Owner of the book</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Daily wages of a common laborer (rençber) in Istanbul</i>	<i>Number of days a common laborer needed to work</i>
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Canibi Ahmed Efendi	İstanbul (Galata)	1114/1702	260 akçe		30.2 akçe	9 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Ebubekir Efendi b. Abdülbaki	İstanbul (Galata)	1115/1703	100 akçe		20.8 akçe	5 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Ebubekir Efendi b. Abdülbaki	İstanbul (Galata)	1115/1703	200 akçe		20.8 akçe	10 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Katip (Scribe) Ömer Efendi b. Osman	İstanbul (Galata)	1158/1745	480 akçe		circa 29.3 akçe	circa 16 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	es-Seyyid Şerif Mehmed Efendi	İstanbul (Galata)	1193/1780	300 akçe		59.5 akçe	5 days
<i>Matā'il al-Masarrāt</i>	es-Seyyid Şerif Mehmed Efendi	İstanbul (Galata)	1193/1780	600 akçe		59.5 akçe	10 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Molla Ali b. Abdullah	Sofia	1175/1762	1,310 akçe	with a silver case	31.1 akçe	42 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	El-Hacc Salih Ağa b. Abdullah Ağa	Sofia	1220/1805	3,600 akçe		circa 141.8 akçe	circa 25 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Kethüdazade (Steward) Yerizade Süleyman Ağa b. İsmail	Ruşuk	1192/1779	300 akçe		circa 56.4 akçe	circa 6 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	El-Hacc Mehmed Ağa b. El-Hacc Mehmed	Ankara	1250/1834	3,600 akçe		circa 600 akçe	circa 6 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	El-Hacc Ahmed b. Abdullah	Ankara	1252/1836	6,000 akçe		circa 580 akçe	circa 10 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Kitapçı (Bookseller) Hüseyin Efendi b. Hüseyin Raşid	Trabzon	1262/1846	7,200 akçe	illuminated	639 akçe	11 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Ali Efendioglu el-Hacc Mehmet Efendi b. Ali	Giresun	1286/1869	2,400 akçe	print copy	960 akçe	3 days
<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Velioglu Mustafa Efendi b. Abdullah	Giresun	1304/1887	600 akçe		circa 960 akçe	1 day

SOURCES: ÖKTEM 2017, 43–44, 61–69; SABEV 2003, 54, 81; SABEV 2011, 587; AYDIN 2008, 100–101; SAYDAM 2006, 197; DOĞAN 2015, 162, 166; PAMUK 2000, 193–196

As eighteenth- and nineteenth-century inheritance records from all over the empire demonstrate, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and its commentaries were commonly owned and circulated along with other books such as Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi's (d. 855/1451) *Muḥammediyye* and 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī's (d. 1565) *al-Mizān al-Kubrā* (The Supreme Scale). From Damascus to Trabzon and from Ankara to Sarajevo, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts were available in a wide range of prices, which meant they could be afforded by upper and middle classes.³⁸ Already at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies could be found in inheritance records from Istanbul; al-Jazuli's text perhaps gradually (or simultaneously) gained popularity in other parts of the empire, such as Sofia, Rusçuk, and Giresun [table 1]. A short survey of inheritance records published in secondary sources shows that *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were purchased or commissioned in different calibres, were owned by people of various occupations, and did not necessarily become cheaper with its print production in the nineteenth century. These records only show cases taken to court and the registers that have survived and been studied. We can conclude, therefore, that the market for the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* must have been much much larger than what the sources suggest.

As Nelly Hanna shows based on inheritance records and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's (d. 1240/1825) *ʿAjā'ib al-āthār fī'l-tarājim wa'l-akhbār* (Remarkable Remnants of Lives and Events), the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was a "bestseller" in eighteenth-century Cairo.³⁹ It was commercially produced and frequently

38 Nisa Öktem, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Galata Terekelerine Göre Osmanlı'da Kitap Kültürü" (Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2017), 43–44, 61–69; Asim Zubčević, "Book Ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo, 1707–1828" (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2015), 182, 267; Faruk Doğan, "Bir Eğitim Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Giresun Şer'iye Sicilleri. Tereke Kayıtlarına Yansıyan Kitaplar," *Turkish Studies* 10 (2015): 162, 166; Fatih Bozkurt, "Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Değişim (1785–1875 İstanbul Örneği)" (Master's thesis, Sakarya University, 2011), 45; İhsan Aydın, "Tanzimat Döneminde Ankara ve Gaziantep Terekelerinin Mukayeseli Bir Çalışması" (Master's thesis, Cumhuriyet University, 2008), 100–101; Nazik Betül Çelik, "Tereke Defterlerine Göre II. Mahmud Döneminde Tokat'ın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı" (Master's thesis, Gaziosmanpaşa University, 2008), 48; Abdullah Saydam, "Trabzon'da Halkın Kitap Sahibi Olma Düzeyi (1795–1846)," *Millî Eğitim* 170 (2006): 197; Orlin Sabev, "Okuyan Taşralı Bir Toplum. Rusçuk Müslümanlarının Kitap Sevgisi (1695–1786)," in *Balkanlar'da İslâm Medeniyeti Uluslararası Üçüncü Sempozyum Tebliğleri, 1–5 November 2006, Bucharest*, ed. Ali Çaksu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2011), 2.587; Sabev, "Private Book Collection in Ottoman Sofia, 1671–1833," *Études Balkaniques* 1 (2003): 54, 81; and Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, "Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1700," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 87–88 (1999): 160, 164.

39 Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 94–96. For the popularity of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, see also Rachida Chih, *Sufism in Ottoman Egypt: Circulation,*

found in the private libraries of people from different social classes. Al-Jabarti mentions three avid copyists of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in Cairo in their respective necrologies: Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 1187/1774); Shaykh Aḥmad (d. 1194/1780); and Ismā'il Efendi (d. 1211/1796–1797).⁴⁰ If we combine this information with the references in biographical dictionaries and inheritance records, the prevalence and popularity of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the major centres of the empire, as well as smaller Balkan and Anatolian cities, becomes clear.

4 Royal Ownership

The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and other prayer books could be found in ordinary homes—as inheritance records confirm—and private spheres of the Ottoman palaces.⁴¹ Two lists in the Atatürk Library provide an insight into Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's (d. 1883), the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876), devotional practices. These documents recorded “personal scriptures/litanies that she had read for over forty-fifty years” (*kırk elli seneyi müteciāviz kırā'at buyurmakda oldukları evrād-i maḥṣuṣa*).⁴² They include a copy of the *Qur'ān* (Hafız Osman, 1187/1773, 13 lines); a miscellany of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif* (Hafız Hasan Raşid, 1253/1837–1838, 7 lines); a copy of Mîr Sayyid 'Alî Hamadānî's (d. 786/1384) *Awrād al-Faṭḥiyya* (es-Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Burusavi, 1278/1861–1862, 15 lines); a miscellany of the *Hizb al-Baḥr* and *al-Dawr al-A'lā* (Abdüssamed el-Hacc Rasim Mehmed, 9 lines); and a miscellany of prayers, the *Khatm al-Khwājagān* (a Naqshbandi *dhikr*), and the *Asmā' Awliyā'* (7 lines), as well as her prayer beads [figure 4].⁴³

Renewal and Authority in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London: Routledge, 2019), 99.

40 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt. 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fī'l-Tarājim wa'l-Akhbār*, eds. Thomas Philipp and Moshe Perlmann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 643–644 in vol. 1, 96 and 447 in vol. 2. See also Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, 95.

41 For the recruitment of women in the Jazuliyya order, see Vincent J. Cornell's article in the present volume. For intersections of devotional practices in shrines and domestic spaces, see Jonathan Parker Allen, “Sanctifying Domestic Space and Domesticating Sacred Space: Reading *Ziyāra* and *Taşlıya* in Light of the Domestic in the Early Modern Ottoman World,” *Religions* 11/59 (2020). Available at <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11020059> last accessed 22 November 2020.

42 Atatürk Library, PVS. Evr. 1676 (20 Ramazan 1301/14 July 1884) and PVS. Evr. 2202. The former recorded the objects in Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's tomb and her personal books, whereas the latter listed only her personal books.

43 It is not possible to securely identify these manuscripts; however, there is a *Dalā'il al-*

FIGURE 4 List showing Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's personal prayer books, 20 Ramazan 1301/14 July 1884 ATATÜRK LIBRARY, PVS. EVR. 1676, P. 4, DETAIL

A later document requested the placement of all these objects in the queen mother's tomb; however, as three inventories of the tomb demonstrate, not all of them were sent there.⁴⁴ The Valide Sultan was known for her piety, her

Khayrât in the Süleymaniye Library (Pertevniyal 33) and an *En'âm-ı Şerif* in the Istanbul University Library (A 6386) that are close matches for the two miscellanies mentioned in the lists. For the Naqshbandi *dhikr*, see Reşat Öngören, "Hatm-i Hâcegân," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 16 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997), 476–477. For the commentaries of the *Awrâd al-Fathîyya*, see Burak, "Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Suppliant," 240–241.

- 44 For the placement of the objects, see Atatürk Library, PVS. EVR. 855. For the inventories, see Atatürk Library, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Evrakı (PVS. EVR.) 3857–3859. Among these documents, PVS. EVR. 3857 is dated to 20 Ramazan 1301/14 July 1884. These lists include an *En'âm-ı Şerif* and a *Du'â-i Risâlesi* among four *Qur'ân* copies, one to two printed catechisms, a scroll of seven gracious verses (*âyet-i kerîme muharrer tomâr*), two printed seals/magic squares (*vefk-i mühr-i şerifler*), the beard of the Prophet (*lihye-i sa'âdet*), and blessed objects (*teberrükât-i celile*). Among the blessed objects are a piece of the golden waterspout of the Ka'ba (*altun olukdan kû'a*), the keys/locks to Mecca and Medina (*miftâh-i şerifler*), the veil of 'Aisha (*niķâb-i şerif*) with her name inscribed on it, the cap of Uways al-Qarani (*tâc-i şerif*), and the mantles of Hasan and Husayn (*hırķa-i sa'âdetler*), which were kept in a box lined with silver. See also Bahar Bilgin, "The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide

closeness to Sufi orders, and her charitable works, which extended to Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.⁴⁵ The contents of her library and personal scriptures attest to her interest in devotional texts, as well as to her status, which allowed her to endow and own highly-valued items, such as the miscellany of the *Awrād al-Faṭḥiyya* (Litanies of Revelations), the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and other *awrād* and prayers preserved in the Topkapi Palace Museum Library (H 93).⁴⁶ This 1285/1868–1869 manuscript was copied by Mehmed Nazif and illuminated by Hasan Pertev for the queen mother.⁴⁷ The compilation of these two texts and others in a single volume must have been practical for Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's silent reading or for the recitations of these texts.

There are other Ottoman royal women who had prayer books in their possessions. For instance, a miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *Hizb al-Baḥr* in the Topkapi Palace Museum Library (EH 1070) was dedicated to Huşyar Kadınefendi (d. 1859), a wife of Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839).⁴⁸ This manuscript was copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, a disciple of (Laz) Ömer Vasfî, in 1232/1816–1817 and illustrated with a dyad of al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and al-Masjid al-Nabawî.⁴⁹ In Huşyar Kadınefendi's prayer miscellany, her name appears in an illuminated medallion that follows the colophon and appears to

Sultan Mosque Complex: Reflections on the Patronage of a Nineteenth Century Valide Sultan" (Master's thesis, Koç University, 2016), 98.

45 Ali Akyıldız, "Müsrif, Fakat Hayırsever. Pertevniyal Valide Sultan," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 47 (2016): 52; and Bilgin, "The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque Complex," 50–60.

46 Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's book endowments will be mentioned in the following section. However, here it is worth noting that she endowed a late copy of the fourth volume of the *Siyer-i Nebî* to the library of her building complex in Aksaray in 1279/1862–1863. This manuscript is T. 1974, preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul. *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın*, 240, cat. C 77; and Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebî. İslam Tasvir Sanatında Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı* (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), 34–35.

47 Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 302, cat. 5616. For a short entry on the calligrapher, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 220–223. I would like to thank Zeren Tanındı for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

48 For a short entry on Huşyar Kadınefendi, see Sakaoglu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 544–546; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 121–123.

49 Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 134, cat. 392. For a short entry on the calligrapher, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 337–339. For a corpus of three *En'âm-ı Şerif* copies by the calligrapher, see Sabiha Göloğlu, "Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in Late Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Books," in *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art*, Naples, 14–16 September 2015, eds. Michele Bernardini, Alessandro Taddei, and Michael Douglas Sheridan (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2018), 323–338.

FIGURE 5 Illuminated double page with a dedication. Prayer miscellany of Huşyar Kadınefendi. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and *Ḥizb al-Baḥr*, 1232/1816–1817, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, 21×14 cm, 175 folios, 7 lines

TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY, EH 1070, FOLS. 174B–175A

be contemporary with the illumination [figures 5 and 6]. The golden inscription in the crescent-shaped medallion reads: “O Muḥammad, intercede [on her behalf] Huşyar is your believer and your slave” (*Yā Muḥammed, kıl şefā'at ümmetindir, cāriyendir Huşyār*).⁵⁰ The same line, but with the name “Şemsiye,” appears in a red marginal inscription at the end of a miscellany of the *al-Ḥizb al-Aẓam* and the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* in the Kubbealtı Foundation Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA IX/2).⁵¹ Mehmed Emin Rüşdi copied this prayer

50 According to the Hijaz yearbook of 1886, nine reciters of *Qur'ān* sections (sing. *eczā'hān*) were supported from Huşyar Kadınefendi's endowment. Selman Soydemir, Kemal Erkan, and Osman Doğan, *Hicaz Vilāyet Salnamesi*, H. 1303/M. 1886 (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008), 81.

51 Eryavuz, Sakin, Göloğlu, and Duran, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation*, 270–271, cat. 96.

FIGURE 6 Al-Masjid al-Harām and al-Masjid al-Nabawī. Prayer miscellany of Huşyar Kadınefendi. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and *Hizb al-Baḥr*, 1232/1816–1817, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, 21×14 cm, 175 folios, 7 lines

TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY, EH 1070, FOLS. 30B–31A

book only a year later, in 1233/1817–1818, for Huşyar Kadınefendi's head servant (*başkalfa*) Şemsiye.⁵²

Atiyye Sultan (d. 1850), a daughter of Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) and Piruzifelek Kadınefendi (d. 1863), also possessed a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which is now held in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (T. 1442).⁵³ Like those of Huşyar Kadınefendi and Şemsiye, Atiyye Sultan's prayer book was also copied by the same calligrapher, Mehmed Emin Rüşdi

52 Archival documents reveal that Şemsiye was the head servant of Huşyar Kadınefendi. For instance, see TS. MA.e. 565–562 to 565–572 in the Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives.

53 For a short entry on Atiyye Sultan, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 557–559; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 134–135.

(*teberdār-i serāy-i ‘atīk*), in 1245/1829.⁵⁴ In a golden, lobed medallion preceding the colophon, the manuscript was prominently noted as belonging to the princess (*‘işmetlū ‘Atīyye Sultān ‘aleyhi’ş-şān efendimiz ḥazretlerinin*).

Another royal lady who had a prayer book in her name is Düzdildil Kadın Efendi (d. 1845),⁵⁵ the third wife of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861). Düzdildil Kadın Efendi’s *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* was completed in 1261/1845 and is now held in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Cod. Turc 553).⁵⁶ It was illuminated by Hüseyin and copied by Hafız Hasan Raşid, a disciple of es-Seyyid Mehmed Tahir Efendi.⁵⁷ In the double-page colophon of this manuscript, the *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* is described as having been written specifically for Düzdildil Kadın Efendi. As previously listed among her personal scriptures/litanies, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan also owned a miscellany of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* and the *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* by the same calligrapher, which was dated to 1253/1837–1838.

Refia Sultan (d. 1880), a daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) and Gülcemal Kadınefendi (d. 1851), also had an *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* in her name, which is now held in the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker. This manuscript was illuminated by el-Hacc Ahmed and copied by el-Hacc Mehmed Rasim, a disciple of es-Seyyid Mehmed Zakir, in 1294/1877.⁵⁸ According to Nabil Safwat, Sultan Abdülmecid’s name was mentioned three times in this manuscript and all written in Mehmed Rasim’s hand, whereas Refia Sultan’s name was mentioned twice and added later by a different hand in the areas left blank.⁵⁹ Such an observation suggests that this prayer book might have been dedicated to Refia Sultan after its completion. Furthermore, the aforementioned receipt for a *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* copy in Mehmed Şevket’s hand confirms Refia Sultan’s interest in devotional texts, whether it was for her own use or meant to be donated.

54 For the visual aspects of this manuscript, see Hüseyin Gündüz and Faruk Taşkale, *Esmāü’n-Nebī. Hz. Muhammed’in İsimleri* (Istanbul: Artam Antik A.Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 124–127.

55 For a short entry on Düzdildil Kadın Efendi, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 599; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*, 142.

56 Emine Küçükbay, “Das sogenannte Dalā’il ül-Ḥayrāt. Eine Untersuchung der Handschrift [Cod. Turc. 553] der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München” (Master’s thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2010), 39–41.

57 For a short entry on Hafız Hasan Raşid, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 300.

58 Nabil F. Safwat, *Golden Pages: Qur’ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for Azimuth Editions, 2000); 268–275, cat. 69. For another copy of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* by Mehmed Rasim, see Pertevniyal 35 in the Süleymaniye Library. Gündüz and Taşkale, *Esmāü’n-Nebī*, 148–151.

59 Safwat, *Golden Pages*, 268.

Besides these royal women, there are at least two Ottoman sultans who had personal copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. In the Istanbul University Library, there are two luxury *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies of palatial production that mention the names of Mahmud II and his son Abdülmecid in their colophons. A 5757 was copied by Şeyh Süleyman Vehbi el-Burusavi in 1253/1837–1838, illuminated by Ser-Mücellid es-Seyyid Mehmed Salih in 1262/1845–1846, and presented to Mahmud II.⁶⁰ A 5557, however, was copied by es-Seyyid el-Hacc Mustafa İzzet (Kadıasker), a disciple of Mustafa Vasıf, in 1258/1842–1843, upon the order of Sultan Abdülmecid.⁶¹ All these manuscripts, as well as the book and recitation endowments that will be subsequently discussed, attest to Mahmud II and his close family's interest in devotional texts. The sultan himself, his wives (Bezmialem Valide Sultan, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, and Huşyar Kadın), his daughter (Atiyye Sultan), his son (Abdülmecid), his daughter-in-law (Düzdidil Kadın Efendi), and his granddaughter (Refia Sultan) owned and/or endowed copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* or the *En'ām-ı Şerif*.

Two members of the Khedival family also had a special interest in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. According to İnal, the calligrapher Arif Efendi (d. 1909) copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* for a library in Medina and for Hüsayn Kâmil (r. 1914–1917), the son of Khedive İsmâ'il Pasha (r. 1863–1879), who later became the Sultan of Egypt under the British protectorate.⁶² Furthermore, İbrâhîm Hîlmî Pasha (d. 1927), another son of Khedive İsmâ'il Pasha, owned a lavishly illuminated lithograph copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* with a leather binding [figure 7].⁶³ This printed copy, preserved in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (inv. no. 12075), has an illuminated lobbed medallion at the beginning of the book.⁶⁴ Here, an inscription reveals the name of the owner as “İbrahim Hilmi Pasha, the son of the Khedive” and provides the year 1294/1877–1878, which may also correspond to the year that the illumination was completed. The colophon at the end of the book demonstrates that the calligraphy was executed by Hafız Osman Nuri Burduri (Kayışzade) and that this edition was printed in 1293/1876 at the beginning of Murad V's short reign (r. 30 May–31 August 1876).

60 For a short entry on A 5757, see Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı Sanatında Natural Üslupta Çiçekler* (Istanbul: Acar Matbaacılık Tesisleri, 1986), 232–233.

61 For a short entry on A 5557, see Ibid., 209–212.

62 İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 56.

63 For a genealogy of Khedive İsmâ'il Pasha, see *From the Shores of the Nile to the Bosphorus: Traces of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha Dynasty in Istanbul / Nil Kıyısından Boğaziçi'ne. Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa Hanedanı'nın İstanbul'daki İzleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institution Publications, 2011), n.p.

64 For a short description of the copy, see Günsel Renda, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar” (Prof. diss., Hacettepe University, 1980), cat. 14.

FIGURE 7 "Medīne-i Münevvere" and "Mekke-i Mükerrreme." *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, hand-coloured lithographic copy, printed in 1293/1876, calligrapher: Hafız Osman Nuri Burduri (Kayışzade), 16.9×10.2 cm, 84 folios, 13 lines
ANKARA ETHNOGRAPHY MUSEUM, INV. NO. 12075, FOLS. 17B–18A

Two decades later, in 1314/1896–1897, another lithograph edition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in Kayışzade's hand was printed at Matbaa-i Osmaniyye with a colophon dated to 1305/1887–1888.⁶⁵ A manuscript copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Kayışzade dated to 1305/1887–1888 is also extant and now preserved in the Kubbealtı Foundation's Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA IX/7).⁶⁶

65 For a copy from this edition, see Tahir Ağa Tekke 196M in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. This copy has gold and red printed illumination and a red textile binding with gold decoration.

66 Eryavuz, Sakin, Göloğlu, and Duran, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation*, 232–235, cat. 85.

FIGURE 8 Medina and Mecca. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1305/1887–1888, copyist: Hafız Osman Nuri Burduri (Kayışzade), 15.9 × 10.2 cm, 98 folios, 11 lines

KUBBEALTI FOUNDATION EKREM HAKKI AYVERDI COLLECTION, EHA IX/7, FOLS. 19B–20A

The Medina and Mecca depictions in this manuscript [figure 8] and those in İbrāhīm Hilmî Pasha's lithographic copy [figure 7] are very similar and both mirror images. They must have been drawn and printed after similar models, even though the former images are smaller and vertical, and the latter are larger and horizontal.⁶⁷ In figure 8, the grisaille aesthetic of the ink drawing was maintained by only colouring the surrounding houses and hills. In figure 7, however, the monochrome print was coloured with a thick layer of paint and gold, disguising the original lithograph. That is to say, this humble printed copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was carefully illuminated, painted, and bound to match the status of its prestigious owner, a son of Khedive Ismā'il Pasha. Other printed

67 For a possible connection between these depictions and the engravings of Mecca and Medina published in Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's (1740–1807) *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* (1787–1820), see Göloğlu, "Depicting the Holy," 164–166.

copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* with similar treatments exist. The majority of prints remained unadorned and that would gradually dominate the Ottoman production of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century.⁶⁸

5 Book Endowments and Collections

Copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were held at the Ottoman palaces and in the Medina libraries, endowed to various institutions, and owned by many individuals. In the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts (*Emānāt-ı Muḳaddese*), or the Apartment of the Holy Mantle (*Hırka-i Sa'ādet Dā'iresi*), at the Topkapi Palace, prayer books could be found among the sacred trusts (*emānāt*), blessed objects (*teber-rükāt*), and copies and commentaries of the *Qur'ān*.⁶⁹ The sacred trusts and blessed objects, the core of which were brought to the palace following Selim I's (r. 1512–1520) victory at the Battle of Ridaniye (1517), were kept in different parts of the Topkapi Palace, including the Privy Chamber (*Hāşş Oda*) that was specifically assigned for this purpose during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839).⁷⁰ In an inventory of the Apartment of the Holy Mantle (*Hırka-i Şerif Sa'ādet-Redif Odası*) dated to 1269/1853, four *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were listed before and after copies of *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and *Hizb al-A'zam*.⁷¹ These *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were recorded with the following information about the copyists, endowment, and/or number of lines and volumes: Mustafa Kūtahyevi (or Mustafa Kūtahi, endowment of Nuri Ağa, 11 lines, 1 volume), Mehmed Hıfzı (11 lines, 1 volume), Edirneli es-Seyyid Abdullah (13 lines, 1 volume), and Veliiüddin (endowment of the calligrapher who lives in Bursa, 11 lines, 1 volume).⁷²

68 For three brief lists of nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century printed copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and Karadavudzade's commentary, see Fehmi E. Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Basmalar Alfabe Kataloğu*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1953), 441; Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Basmalar Alfabe Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1956), 542; and M. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: Fatih Yayınevi Matbaası, 1977), 1645.

69 Hilmi Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts: Pavilion of the Sacred Relics* (Somerset, NJ: Light, 2005), 9–10, 262. For changing uses of spaces in the Privy Chamber Complex, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991), 141–152.

70 Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 10.

71 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, TS. MA.d 900, fol. 3a (23 Şaban 1269/1 June 1853).

72 These manuscripts are catalogued under "Hırka-i Sa'ādet" (in the same order as men-

Another inventory listed the manuscripts kept in the room of the Prophet's noble standard (*Sancâk-ı Şerîf Odası*) also in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace. Twenty-six copies of the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât*, two of its commentaries, and a copy of Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī's (d. 838/1435) litanies/scriptures (*vird*, pl. *evrād*) were grouped after *Qur'ân* and *En'âm-ı Şerîf* copies and before traditional prayer books (*kitâb-ı ed'îye-i me'sûre*) and commentaries on the *Qur'ân* (*tefâsîr-i şerîf*).⁷³ Even though these manuscripts were listed under the title "Delâ'ilü'l-Ḥayrât," some of them were also noted to include the *al-Hizb al-A'zam*, the *En'âm-ı Şerîf*, Mevlana's (d. 672/1273) *Awrād-i Kabîr* (The Greater Litanies), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's (d. 110/728) prayers for forgiveness (*istiğfār*), and litanies/scriptures of day and night (*evrādü'l-eyyām ve'l-leyālî*). These manuscripts were numbered (except for the last six ones) and recorded with the names of their copyists or as "without colophon" (*bilâ ketebe*) and the number of lines.⁷⁴

Dalâ'il al-Khayrât copies also existed in other book collections in the Topkapı Palace, including a rather late addition. In a notebook that recorded the objects that Fahreddin Paşa (d. 1948) sent from Medina to Istanbul in 1917 during World War I, several *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât*, *En'âm-ı Şerîf*, *al-Hizb al-A'zam*, and *Kitâb al-Shifâ'* copies were recorded among numerous *maṣāḥif* in Medina libraries.⁷⁵

tioned in the main text): HS 74 (formerly HS 351), HS 70 (formerly HS 347), HS 72 (formerly HS 349), and HS 71 (formerly HS 348). Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 263, 270–271, cat. 5501, cat. 5466, cat. 5498, cat. 5503.

- 73 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, TS. MA.d 267, fol. 9a–b. The inventory was perhaps recorded in the first half of the nineteenth century, judging by the dates of two manuscripts copied by Kebecizade Mehmed Vafî (d. 1247/1831) in 1201/1786–1787 and 1227/1812–1813 (EH 1013 and EH 1016). This room was likely the Treasury of the Swordbearer (*Silâhdâr Ağa Hazinesi*), which was a part of the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts or the Privy Chamber Complex. For a description of the room, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 154. See also Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Spatial Organization of Knowledge in the Ottoman Palace Library: An Encyclopaedic Collection and Its Inventory," in *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library* (1502/3–1503/4), eds. Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer, *Supplements to Muqarnas: Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 21.

- 74 It is possible to match some of the items in this list with the following manuscripts catalogued under "Emânet Hazinesi": EH 1012; EH 1013; EH 1015; EH 1016; EH 1018; EH 1019; EH 1020; EH 1021; EH 1022; EH 1026; and EH 1038. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 264–267, cat. 5471, cat. 5472, cat. 5474, cat. 5475, cat. 5477, cat. 5478, cat. 5479, cat. 5480, cat. 5481, cat. 5485, cat. 5487. I have not been able to securely match the corpus of EH 1033–1037 with the items in the list.

- 75 This notebook is dated to 11 Kanunusani 1335/11 January 1919 and kept in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (YY 827). See 22b–34b for the prayer books. See also Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1, 618, cat. 1910; and Seyit Ali Kahraman, ed., *Surre-i Hümayûn* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2008), 214, 237.

Eleven copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, its two commentaries, and its two miscellanies with the *al-Hizb al-A'zam* were transferred from the libraries of the Ravza-i Mutahhara, Mahmudiyye Madrasa, Şifa Madrasa, Hamidiyye Madrasa, and Emin Paşa to the Topkapı Palace [table 2].⁷⁶ The copyists of only nine manuscripts and the dates of five were noted in this notebook; more can be identified and matched with extant copies in a further study.⁷⁷ At this point, such a record of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies in Medina libraries firmly confirms that the Prophet Muḥammad was also venerated via this prayer book in the city where he was buried.⁷⁸

Several endowments registered at courts list *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies among the book collections bestowed to libraries, mosques, and schools. Endowments that mention the presence of this prayer book are mostly from the early eighteenth century onwards. A miscellany of *al-Hizb al-A'zam* and the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and a copy of the latter were among the books that were endowed to the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul by a certain Mehmed Emin Efendi (1134/1722) and es-Seyyid Yusuf Efendi, the imam of the same mosque (1163/1750).⁷⁹ Another book endowment to the Fatih Mosque (1228/1813), which included two commentaries on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, was by es-Seyyid İbrahim Sarım Efendi, a minister of the Royal Mint (*Ḍarbhāne-i Āmire*).⁸⁰ With the addition of its printed copies, manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, as well as its commentaries and miscellanies continued to feature in nineteenth-century book col-

76 Some items in this list can be securely matched with the following manuscripts catalogued under "Medine Kitāplığı": M 406; M 410; M 412; M 413; and M 414. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 274–276, cat. 5516, cat. 5520, cat. 5522, cat. 5523, cat. 5524.

77 According to the notebook, a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy by the calligrapher and *shaykh al-islām* Velîyüddin (d. 1182/1768) was formerly kept in the Emin Paşa Library [table 2]. Another copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Velîyüddin was kept in the Apartment of the Holy Mantle, as mentioned earlier. For the calligrapher, see Tahsin Özcan, "Velîyüddin Efendi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 43 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2013), 40–42.

78 For Muḥammad Labib al-Batanūnî's 1327/1909 report of *Qur'ān* and *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies donated to al-Masjid al-Nabawî, see Jan Just Witkam's article in the present volume.

79 Ayşe Buluş, "15–18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphanesi Vakfiyeleri (İstanbul Kadı Sicillerine Göre Metin ve İnceleme)" (Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2019), 449–452, 510–517; and İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik. Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2015), 188, 458.

80 Burak Delibaş, "19–20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphanesi Vakfiyeleri (İstanbul Kadı Sicillerine Göre Metin ve İnceleme)" (Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2019), 126–143; and Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik*, 257.

TABLE 2 *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies brought from the Medina libraries to the Topkapi Palace in 1917

Name of the library	Notebook inv. no.	Library inv. no.	Title of the book	Copyist	Date
Library of Ravza-i Mutahhara	250	2	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Hocazade Mehmed	1177/1763–1764
	251	6	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Şamizade Abdullah	1172/1758–1759
Library of the Mah- mudiyye Madrasa	276	43	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Mehmed Şakir (imam of the Kovacı Dede Mosque)	1171/1757–1758
	278	48	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i> and <i>Hizb al-A'zam</i>	Ahmed b. İsmail	
	279	49	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Seyyid Mehmed Şükri	
	301	9	<i>Şerh-i Delā'ilü'l- Hayrāt</i>		
	317	52	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	El-Hacc Ahmed Berberzade	1179/1765–1766
	318	27	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>		
	319	29	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>		
	353	153	<i>Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt</i>		
	355	174	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>		
Library of the Şifa Madrasa	657	49	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>		
Library of the Hamidiyye Madrasa	664	15	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Seyyid Ali Zühdi	1215/1800–1801
	665	84	<i>Hizb al-A'zam</i> and <i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Hafız Osman	
Emin Paşa Library	668	3	<i>Dalā'il al-Khayrāt</i>	Veliyüddin	

SOURCE: 1919 COPY OF THE FAHREDDIN PAŞA NOTEBOOK, TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY, YY 827, FOLS. 22B–34B

lections.⁸¹ Al-Masjid al-Ḥarām was also among the mosques that received book endowments; es-Seyyid Mehmed Said Paşa endowed 499 volumes to the mosque in 1289/1872, among which were two printed copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and one commentary.⁸²

81 For three examples from Urfa, see Mehmet Kurtoğlu and Enver Karakeçili, "Urfa'da Vakıf Kitaplar Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 43 (2015): 119–147.

82 Delibaş, "19–20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphanesi Vakfiyeleri," 350–359; and Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik*, 283.

Several printed catalogues of Istanbul libraries also include a number of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and its commentaries, indicating the availability of this prayer book in the major libraries of the capital in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁸³ These catalogues list titles of books with a selection of the following criteria: author's name; number of volumes; language (e.g. *Arabī* and *Türkī*); size (e.g. *şagīr* and *vasīf*); date; copyist's name; calligraphic style (e.g. *nesih* and *talik*); number of folios; number of lines; headpiece (e.g. *müzehebb* and *müzeyyen*); ruling (e.g. *müzehebb* and *sürh*); endowment details; and print information (e.g. *matbū'* and *taş basması*).

In these library catalogues, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and its commentaries can be found under the section "books of *ḥadīth*" (*kütübü'l-eḥādīs*), unless there are more specialized sections such as "books of prayers and special learnings" (*kütüb-i ed'īye ve ḥavāṣṣ*), as in the Library of Laleli Mosque.⁸⁴ Some of these catalogues consist of only one commentary (e.g. the libraries of the Kılıç Ali Paşa and Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa complexes while others include more than six *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies (e.g. the libraries of the sultanic mosques of Laleli and Nuruosmaniyye)). The catalogue of the library of the Pertevniyal Valide Mosque has separate sections for the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (five copies and six commentaries) and the *En'ām-ı Şerif* (five copies).⁸⁵ Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's *vakfiyye* lists eleven *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* among a total of 828 volumes endowed to her mosque

83 *Akşarāy Vālide Cāmi'-i Şerifi Kütüphānesi Defteri* (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 4–5; *Defter-i Fātiḥ Kütüphānesi* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, c. 1303/1885), 44, 47–48; *Defter-i Hekimoğlu 'Alī Paşa Kütüphānesi* (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 14; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i 'Amuca Hüseyin Paşa* (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 13; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i 'Aşir Efendi* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1306/1888), 13, 101; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i 'Âtîf Efendi* (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 27, 29; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Aya Sofya* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1304/1886), 35, 38; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Beşir Ağa* (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1303/1885), 9; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Çelebi 'Abdullāh Efendi* (Istanbul: 'Atım Maṭba'ası, 1311/1893), 4–5; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Dāmādzāde Kaşasker Mehmed Murād* (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 34, 37; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Es'ad Efendi* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, c. 1303/1885), 22; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Hālet Efendi* (Istanbul, 1312/1894), 7; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Hüsrev Paşa* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, c. 1303/1885), 5–6; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Lāleli* (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 111, 114–115; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Medrese-i Servili* (Istanbul: 1311/1893), 5; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Mihrişāh Sultān* (Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürettebiyye Maṭba'ası, 1310/1892), 7–8; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Nuruosmāniyye* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1303/1885), 47, 55; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Rāğib Paşa* (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 18–19; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Veliyyüddin* (Istanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1304/1886), 32, 37; *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Yahyā Efendi* (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 46; *Ḥamidiyye Kütüphānesinde Maḥfūz Bulunan Kütüb-i Mevcüdenin Defteridir* (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-ı 'Osmāniyye, 1300/1882), 17; *Kılıç 'Alī Paşa Kütüphānesi Defteri* (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 15; and *Köprülüzāde Mehmed Paşa Kütüphānesinde Maḥfūz Kütüb-i Mevcüdenin Defteridir* (Istanbul, c. 1303/1885), 19. I would like to thank Serpil Bağcı for bringing these catalogues to my attention.

84 *Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Lāleli*, 109.

85 *Akşarāy Vālide Cāmi'-i Şerifi Kütüphānesi Defteri*, 4–5.

in Aksaray (1872), which correspond to the total number of the prayer book and its commentaries in the catalogue (1893).⁸⁶ Such high numbers correspond to the array of prayer books in Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's personal possession, which were addressed in the previous section.

In the endowment deed of Bezmialem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), the mother of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861), several prayer books were listed among the books donated to the school she founded (*Dārü'l-Ma'ārif* or *Valide Mektebi*). For instance, six *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies, a miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, two *Ḥizb al-A'ẓam* copies, and a copy of Ibn al-Jazarī's (d. 833/1429) *al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* (Fortified Fortress) were listed under the title "Delā'il-i Şerif" and three commentaries of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Karadavudzade (one print and two manuscript copies) were listed under "Hadīs-i Şerif."⁸⁷ Five of these *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies (B 1265, B 1266, B 1267, B 1268, B 1269) and the miscellany (B 1270) are identifiable and now preserved in the Beyazıt Library in Istanbul. These six manuscripts carry the endowment inscriptions (1266/1849–1850) and the seal impressions (1256/1840–1841) of Bezmialem Valide Sultan.⁸⁸ The inscriptions and impressions are elaborately framed and illuminated, and appear at the beginning and end of each manuscript [figure 9].

A copy defined as "Buḥārī-kār" (in the endowment deed) depicts al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and al-Masjid al-Nabawī, another one (B 1268) depicts Mecca and Medina, while another (B 1270) atypically includes a perspectival view of the Rawḍa, various arrangements of the tombs of the Prophet Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar, the seal of prophecy, a dyad of Mecca and Medina, and the *ḥilye*.⁸⁹ The remaining three manuscripts (B 1265, B 1266, and B 1269) form a corpus (copied by three different calligraphers, all dated to 1260/1844–1845, and illuminated by the same hand), in which Rawḍa images were uniquely replaced with those of the Prophet's belongings [figure 10].⁹⁰ Images of the

86 Bahar Yolaç-Pollock, "Ottoman Imperial Women's Contribution to the *Tanzimat* (1839–1876), The Case of Bezmialem and Pertevniyal Valide Sultans" (PhD thesis, Koç University, 2020), 37, 277. See also Bilgin, "The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque Complex," 95–96; and Nimet Bayraktar, "İstanbul'da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulmuş Kütüphaneler," *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* 12 (1963): 94.

87 Arzu Terzi, *Bezmialem Valide Sultan* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2018), 213, 219–220, 334, 336–337.

88 For various seals of Bezmialem Valide Sultan, see *ibid.*, 119–122.

89 B 1267 does not have a colophon. B 1268 was copied by es-Seyyid Osman (son-in-law of İbrahim Afif) and dates to 1208/1793–1794. B 1270 is a miscellany of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, *al-Ḥizb al-A'ẓam*, *Asmā Aṣḥāb al-Badr*, and *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*. It was copied by Mahmud Raci (disciple of Mustafa Kütahi) and Ali Şükrü (disciple of Veliyüddin), illuminated by Mehmed Şevki (disciple of Kalyuni), and dates to 1191/1777–1778.

90 B 1265's colophon is missing; however, in the catalogue of the Beyazıt Library, it is attri-

FIGURE 9 Colophon, the endowment inscriptions (1266/1849–1850), and the seal impressions (1256/1840–1841) of Bezmialem Valide Sultan. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 18 Cemaziyelahir 1260/5 July 1844, copyist: İbrahim Sururi, a disciple of Osman Zeki, 22 × 16 cm, 97 folios, 11 lines
BEYAZIT LIBRARY, B 1269, FOLS. 96B–97A

Prophet's belongings (*muḥallefāt*) were frequently included in *En'ām-ı Şerif* manuscripts and sometimes integrated into Mecca and Medina compositions of printed *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies, but rarely appeared in *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts.⁹¹

Another royal woman who prominently endowed prayer books was Hatice Sultan (d. 1822), a daughter of Mustafa III (r. 1757–1774) and a sister of Selim III (r. 1789–1807).⁹² Hatice Sultan founded a library for the *zāwiya* of the Shādhiliyya order in Unkapanı (Istanbul). It is no surprise that the fifty-five

buted to Mustafa İzzet Efendi and dates to 1260/1844–1845. Furthermore, the second item listed in the endowment deed of Bezmialem Valide Sultan is a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copied by Mustafa İzzet, which confirms the manuscript's calligrapher. B 1266 was copied by es-Seyyid Hasan Hüsnî (disciple of Vasfî Efendi) and dates to 1260/1844–1845. B 1269 was copied by İbrahim Sururi and dates to 18 Cemaziyelahir 1260/5 July 1844.

91 Göloğlu, "Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites," 328–329, fig. 11–12.

92 For Hatice Sultan, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 477–482.

FIGURE 10 Belongings of the Prophet Muḥammad. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 18 Cemaziyelahir 1260/5 July 1844, copyist: İbrahim Sururi, a disciple of Osman Zeki, 22 × 16 cm, 97 folios, 11 lines
BEYAZIT LIBRARY, B 1269, FOLS. 12B–13A

volumes she registered at court in 1231/1816 included the order's founder al-Shādhilī's litanies (e.g. *Hizb al-Baḥr* and *al-Hizb al-Kabīr*) and al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, in addition to their commentaries.⁹³ The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was frequently compiled with al-Shadhili's litanies in North African and Ottoman prayer miscellanies; therefore, the contents of Hatice Sultan's book endowment to the *zawiya* was more or less expected. However, it is one thing to have all these *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and miscellanies in library, madrasa, mosque, palace, and *zawiya* collections, it is another thing to understand their different uses.

93 Delibaş, "19–20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphane Vakfiyeleri," 144–154; and Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik*, 254–255.

6 Recitation and Transmission

The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* could be used in various ways, including public recitation to honour the Prophet Muḥammad under the benevolence of wealthy and pious patrons. Nina Ergin's work on the soundscape of sixteenth-century Istanbul mosques and Mustafa Güler's work on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Haramayn endowments provide an insight into the auditory context prior to the proliferation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ottoman lands. Based on the endowment deeds (sing. *vakfiyye*) of the Süleymaniye and Atik Valide Mosques (1577 and 1583), Ergin compiles the lists of reciters employed in each mosque and the schedules of their recitations. Among the personnel of the Süleymaniye Mosque were ten reciters of prayer blessings for the Prophet Muhammad (sing. *ṣalavāthān*) and forty-one reciters of *Sūrat al-An'ām* (sing. *en'āmçı* or *en'āmhān*).⁹⁴ Both *Sūrat al-An'ām* and blessings for the Prophet were recited daily, the former being specifically assigned after each morning prayer.⁹⁵ In the smaller Atik Valide Mosque, two reciters were employed to praise the Prophet after Friday morning and night prayers.⁹⁶

Based on the Haramayn endowments of Ottoman sultans, royal women, and viziers, Güler lists the duties, number, and salaries of reciters of *Qur'ān* sections (sing. *eczā'hān*) and blessings for the Prophet (sing. *ṣalavāthān*) assigned to al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and al-Masjid al-Nabawī.⁹⁷ In endowment deeds of other mosques, one can point to similar tasks that were carried out by *ṣalavāthāns*. For instance, in each of the following mosques commissioned by royal women, one person was employed to chant odes praising the Prophet (sing. *na'thān*):⁹⁸

94 Nina Ergin, "The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and *Qur'ān* Recital," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67 (2008): 206–208. See also Nina Ergin, "A Sound Status among the Ottoman Elite: Architectural Patrons of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques and Their Recitation Programs," in *Music, Sound, and Architecture in Islam*, eds. Michael Frishkopf and Federico Spinetti (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2018), 37–58.

95 As Simon Rettig has noted, a copy of the *En'am-ı Şerif* could have been more suitable for the public recitation of *Sūrat al-An'ām*, rather than an entire *muṣḥaf*. Simon Rettig, "The Rise of the En'am-ı Şerif," The Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, The Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KF3XSkxgl7o> last accessed 22 November 2020.

96 Ergin, "The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques," 211.

97 Mustafa Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları* (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar) (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2011), 139–148.

98 For Ottoman royal women's presence in acoustic space, see Nina Ergin, "Ottoman Royal Women's Spaces: The Acoustic Dimension," *Journal of Women's History* 26 (2014): 89–111. For epigraphic and recitation programs of sixteenth-century Ottoman mosques, see Nina

the Sultan Mosque in Manisa; the Yeni Valide Mosque in Eminönü; and a mosque in Chios (Sakız).⁹⁹

The recitation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ottoman Empire fitted into such mosque soundscapes, which were defined by piety and patronage of both men and women. As Vincent Cornell and Jan Just Witkam have pointed out earlier, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, and litanies such as the *Hizb al-Barr* were recited out loud during Moroccan Sufi rituals.¹⁰⁰ However, the auditory aspects of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ottoman Empire has not received much scholarly attention.¹⁰¹ In the eighteenth century, *ṣalavāthāns* and *na'thāns* seem to have added the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* to their repertoires, based on articles specified in endowment deeds.¹⁰² For instance, the late Şeyhülislam Mehmed Esad Efendi's (d. 1176/1753) assets were posthumously endowed by his daughter Zübeyde Hanım in 1168/1755.¹⁰³ A copy of Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī's commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was listed among the books bestowed to the primary school (*mekteb*) and madrasa of the İsmail Efendi Mosque Complex in Çarşamba, Istanbul.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, a madrasa student was requested to recite the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* three times a month in return for 6 *aḳçe* per recitation.¹⁰⁵ Here, it is important to point out that *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were not only present in madrasa libraries and could be

Ergin, "Multi-Sensorial Messages of the Divine and the Personal: Qur'an Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques in Istanbul," in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, eds. Mohammad Gharipour and İrvin Cemil Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 105–118.

- 99 Mehtap Maçal, "Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Üç Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi Mukayesesi" (Master's thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2011), 27, 33, 40.
- 100 Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 183; and Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 131–132. For the recitation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in Central and Southeast Asia, see Alexandre Papas' and Farouk Yahya's articles in the present volume.
- 101 For a brief mention of the recitation of the *Ṣalāt al-Mashīhīya* and the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ottoman branch of the Shadhili order, see Ö. Tuğrul İnançer, "Rituals and Main Principles of Sufism during the Ottoman Empire," in *Sufism and Sufis in the Ottoman Society: Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature, Fine Arts, and Modernism*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), 144. See also İnançer, "Şazelilik," 141.
- 102 For a brief mention of *dalā'il-khānas* and *salawāt-khānas* in Central Asia, see Fritz Meier, "The Mystic Path," in *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture*, ed. Bernard Lewis (Thames and Hudson: London, 1976), 123. See also Chih, *Sufism in Ottoman Egypt*, 99.
- 103 Buluş, "15–18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphanesi Vakfiyeleri," 518–531.
- 104 It was Şeyhülislam İsmail Efendi (d. 1725), the father of Mehmed Esad Efendi, who founded the mosque. Muhammet Nur Doğan, "Ebüishak İsmail Efendi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 278–279.
- 105 Buluş, "15–18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphanesi Vakfiyeleri," 521, 524, 529.

recited by students,¹⁰⁶ but they were also among the inheritance records of madrasa students.¹⁰⁷

In his endowment deed dated to 1173/1760, Şeyhülislam Dürrizade Mustafa Efendi (d. 1188/1775) also allocated a budget for the recitation (*tilâvet*) of the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* in multiple locations.¹⁰⁸ Dürrizade Mustafa Efendi requested the daily recitation of one *hizb* of the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* in the Hacegi Mustafa Rakım Efendi Mosque in Fatih (Istanbul) by three different people, with the chief (*re'îs*) getting 8 *ağçe* per day and the other two getting 6 *ağçe* each.¹⁰⁹ He also reserved a monthly payment of 2 *guruş* (240 *ağçe*) for the shaykh's daily recitation of the entire *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* at his grandfather Kazasker Abdülkadir Efendi's *zawiya* in Edirnekapi (Istanbul). Finally, he granted an annual salary of 12 *guruş* each to four residents of Medina to recite the entire *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* every day, which was half the cost of the recitations performed by the chief and the shaykh in Istanbul. It was specified that the recitations should be followed by one Sûrat al-Fâtihâ and three Sûrat al-Ikhlâş, all for the merit (*sevâb*) of the *waqf*.¹¹⁰ As the highest ranking figure in the Ottoman learned class (*'ulemâ*), the endowment deed of this important religious leader (*şeyhül-islâm* or *shaykh al-islâm*) indicates the permissibility of the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* in the political and spiritual centres of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-eighteenth century. Its embracement by Ottoman *'ulemâ* is in stark contrast with the teachings of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhâb (d. 1206/1792), who disapproved of the veneration of the prophets and saints, the visitation of their tombs and shrines, and the recitation of texts such as the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât*.¹¹¹

106 In the grand vizier Halil Hamid Paşa's (d. 1785) endowment deed dated to 1198/1784, two commentaries of the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* and *al-Hizb al-Aẓam* were noted among the 106 manuscripts bestowed to the Çeşmecizade Madrasa in Burdur. Olivier Bouquet, "Pour une histoire instrumentale des savoirs ottomans. À quoi servaient 'livres tenus en haute estime' et autres précieux manuscrits conservés dans une bibliothèque de madrasa anatolienne (Burdur, seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle)?" *Arabica* 67 (2020): 567–568, fig. 2.

107 Bilgin Aydın and İsmail E. Erünsal, "Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre Osmanlı Medrese Talebelerinin Okuduğu Kitaplar (XVII–XX. Yüzyıllar)," in *Osmanlı Kültür Tarihinin Bilinmeyenleri* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2019), 185.

108 Murat Erten, "Dürrizâde Mustafa Efendi Vakfıyesi" (Master's thesis, Selçuk University, 2007), 12–16, 31–32, 62–64.

109 In 1760, a carpenter's (*neccâr*) daily wage was 62.2 *ağçe* and a common labourer's (*rençber*) was 33.7 *ağçe*. Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, 194.

110 Erten, "Dürrizâde Mustafa Efendi Vakfıyesi," 12–16, 31–32, 62–64.

111 Eyüp Sabri Paşa, *Tarih-i Vehhâbîyan*, trans. Süleyman Çelik (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1992), 64–65; Mehmet Ali Büyükkara, "Vehhâbîlik," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 42 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), 611–615; and Betül Ayaz, "Hilafet ve Siyaset. Osmanlı Devleti'nin Hac Hizmetleri (1798–1876)" (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2014), 71.

Another recitation example from the same period comes from Aleppo.¹¹² In his endowment deed dated to 1177/1763, al-Ḥājj Mūsā al-Amīrī, a wealthy dignitary of the city, designated the recitation of this popular text in his mosque.¹¹³ Almost a century later, an official report hints at the continuous presence of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the soundscape of the city.¹¹⁴ This document (1274/1858) approved the increase of Shaykh Ma'rūf Efendi's monthly salary from 100 *guruş* to 250 *guruş* for reciting the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and *Sūrat al-Kahf* at the Great Mosque of Aleppo every Friday.¹¹⁵

As Şeyhülislam Dürriyade Mustafa Efendi's endowment deed (1173/1760) and a number of nineteenth-century documents point out, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* also had an auditory prevalence in the Ḥaramayn. Based on the endowment deed of Bezmialem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), Bahar Yolaç-Pollock has noted that the valide sultan donated three *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and one *En'ām-ı Şerif* copy to al-Masjid al-Nabawī and commissioned three *delā'ilhāns* for the former's daily recitation in 1257/1841 (each person reciting one *hizb* a day).¹¹⁶ In a report dated to 1273/1857, the annual sum (6,000 *guruş*) that Bezmialem Valide Sultan endowed for the *delā'ilhāns* was recorded among gifts and allowances sent to the Haramayn (*şurre*).¹¹⁷ A payroll dated to 1263/1847 further documents salaries funded from Mahmud II's (r. 1808–1839) endowments, which were paid to the teachers (*müderrişin*) and students (*talebe*) of the Ḥanafī, Şāfi'ī, and Mālikī schools, as well as other employees (*hademe*) respon-

112 Several other documents in the Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives relate to the public recitation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. For instance, C..EV. 244–12155 is about the funds allocated for the recitation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* at Fatih Mosque, which was disputed by Şeyh Ahmed Nebih Efendi after his father el-Hacc Ali b. Hüseyin's death. C..EV. 46–2267 is about the disputes that arose after the death of a trustee (el-Hacc Mustafa Ağa), who was running an endowment made to the Hatice Valide Sultan Mosque in the name of an underaged descendant (Mehmed Ruhi b. Mehmed Sadık). I would like to thank Nazlı Vatansever for helping me read these two documents.

113 Jihane Tate, *Une waqfiyya du XVIIIe siècle à Alep. La waqfiyya d'al Ḥājj Mūsā al-Amīrī* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1990), 115, [87]. Available at <https://www.doabooks.org/doiab?func=search&query=rid:40115> last accessed 22 November 2020. See also Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, 95.

114 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, İ..MVL. 392–17104 (29 Şaban 1274/14 April 1858).

115 In 1857, in Aleppo, a carpenter's (*neccār*) daily wage was 1,644 *ağçe* and a labourer's (*urgat*) was 540 *ağçe*. Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, 204.

116 Yolaç-Pollock, "Ottoman Imperial Women's Contribution to the *Tanzimat* (1839–1876)," 70–71. See also Terzi, *Bezmialem Valide Sultan*, 198.

117 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, Ev.d.. 16317 (11 Receb 1273/7 March 1857). See also Mustafa Budak et al., eds., *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Surre Alayları* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010), 45.

sible for reciting *Qurʾān* chapters (sing. *sūrehān*), Muḥammad al-Bukhārī's (d. 256/870) collection of *ḥadīths*, the *Kitāb al-Shifāʾ*, and the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* (sing. *delāʾilḥān*) at al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (more likely al-Masjid al-Ḥarām or al-Masjid al-Nabawī rather than the Temple Mount).¹¹⁸ Only two years later, in a document dated to 1265/1849, a teacher of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* named Melik Paşazade Şeyh Ali Efendi is listed as one of the former recipients of the *şurre*.¹¹⁹ Together, these two documents show that al-Jazuli's renowned text was not only recited, but also taught in the Ḥaramayn.¹²⁰

In addition to the recitation of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* in religious spaces, Karadavudzade's Turkish commentary was also read out loud in late Ottoman reading groups (*meclis*, pl. *mecālis*).¹²¹ Süleyman Çelebi's (d. 825/1452) *Mevlid-i Şerif* (Noble Birth), the fourteenth-century poet Mustafa Darir's *Sīyer-i Nebī* (Life of the Prophet), Yazıcıoğlu's *Muḥammedīyye*, and catechisms were among the other religious texts that were read out loud.¹²² Certificates (sing. *ijāza* or *icāzet*) of teaching, transmission, hearing, and reading/recitation found in *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* copies and its commentaries also attest to the auditory and public use of this prayer book and its commentaries.¹²³ At the end of a copy of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Rayḥānī al-Rūmī's commentary *Muntij al-Barakāt ʿalā Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* (Isl. Ms. 525), held in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), one can find a very fitting example [figure 11]. This manuscript's copyist es-Seyyid Nuh b. es-Seyyid Mehmed Kuriçay was authorized by Ömer b. Mustafa Erzincani (his seal impression follows at the end) for

118 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, Ev.d.. 32282 (25 Zilhicce 1263/4 December 1847).

119 The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives, Ev. HMK. SR, 3926. See also Ayaz, "Hilafet ve Siyaset," 260–262.

120 According to the Hijaz yearbook of 1886, the Sufi lodge (*zāwiya*) of the Jazuliyya order was located in the Kuşaşıyye quarter of Mecca at the northeast of al-Masjid al-Ḥarām. Soydemir, Erkan, and Osman Doğan, *Hicaz Vilāyet Salnamesi*, 81.

121 Zehra Öztürk, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kıraat Meclislerinde Okunan Halk Kitapları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 9 (2007): 421–423.

122 Ibid., 405.

123 For more information on certificates, see İrvin Cemil Schick, "İslāmī Kitap San'atlarında Standartlaşma. Usta-Çırak İlişkisi ve İcazet Geleneği," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 49 (2017): 231–266; Mohammad Ali Karimzadeh Tabrizi, *Ijzatnameh—İcāzetname: The Most Unique and Precious Document in Ottoman Calligraphy*, trans. Telli Karimzadeh Tabrizi (London: Published by the author, 1999); Jan Just Witkam, "The Human Element between Text and Reader: The Ijaza in Arabic Manuscripts," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts*, ed. Yasin Dutton (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995), 123–136; and M. Uğur Derman, "Türk Yazı San'atında İcazetnâmeler ve Taklid Yazılar," in *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 25–29 Eylül 1970* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972), 2.716–728.

FIGURE 11 Recitation, teaching, and transmission certificate given to the copyist es-Seyyid-Seyyid Nuh b. es-Seyyid Mehmed of Kuruçay (Erzurum) by es-Seyyid Ömer b. es-Seyyid Mustafa on 1 Muḥarram 1181/30 May 1767. *Muntij al-Barakāt ‘alā Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, 11 Shawwāl 1180/12 March 1767, 21.7 × 15.5 cm, 230 folios, 23 lines
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS RESEARCH CENTER, ISL.
MS. 525, PP. 454–455

the recitation (*tilāvet*), teaching (*tedrīs*), and transmission (*icāzet*) of the text in 1181/1767, shortly after the completion of the copying.¹²⁴

Several other *ijāzas* added to *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* copies or miscellanies exist. In a particularly interesting manuscript of *al-Ḥizb al-Aẓam* and the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* in the Kubbealtı Foundation Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA VII/7), one can find two *ijāzas* for recitation (*ḵirā’at*) given to Hacı Mustafa by Hafız Süleyman el-Erzurumi at the end of the respective texts (1170/

124 For a description of this manuscript, see Evyn Kropf’s detailed entry at “*Muntij al-barakāt ‘alā Dalā’il al-khayrāt*,” Mirlyn Catalogue. Available at http://mirlyn-classic.lib.umich.edu:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=006782183&local_base=AA_PUB last accessed 22 November 2020.

1756–1757) and one later *ijāza* of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* recitation given to İsmail Hakkı Paşa by el-Kadiri el-Nakşibendi el-Hacc Mustafa at the end of the manuscript (1240/1824).¹²⁵ The regional spread and temporal continuation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in written and auditory spheres owed as much to such authorized transmissions and public recitations as it did to simply copying and reading the text.

7 Conclusion

The high demand for the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the late Ottoman Empire required its production in manuscript form in large numbers, printing the text in several editions, and bestowing copies to mosques and libraries. The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was copied and read among Sufi circles; however, the text's popularity cannot be solely explained via its links to specific religious orders. Ottoman sultans, royal women, members of the Khedival family, the learned, and wealthy individuals also had a special interest in this devotional text. They used the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* as private prayer books and some of them displayed their benevolence via book and recitation endowments. The availability of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in public (both in writing and in sound) must have increased its prevalence among the larger community, as there are extant copies of different calibres, from luxurious to modest.

With the help of a wide range of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and archival documents, it has been possible to sketch a societal realm within which this devotional text was produced, traded, read, and recited during the late Ottoman period. The multiplication of manuscript and print examples, the surfacing of new documents, the handling of different sources, and the reinterpretation of the same materials will certainly yield other aspects of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the future. Nevertheless, at this stage of the scholarship, the late Ottoman context for the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* can be elaborated, to a certain extent, in terms of its commercial production, widespread circulation, diverse ownership, institutional endowment, and public recitation.

¹²⁵ Eryavuz, Sakin, Göloğlu, and Duran, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation*, 244–247, cat. 88.

Conspectus of Manuscripts, Archival Documents and a Few Printed Books

No place mentioned, Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker	Istanbul, Istanbul University Library
Cat. No. 69	A 1663
	A 5557
	A 5559
Ankara, Atatürk Library	A 5584
PVS. Evr. 1676	A 5721
PVS. Evr. 2202	A 5757
PVS. Evr. 3857	A 6386
PVS. Evr. 3858	
PVS. Evr. 3859	
Ankara, Ankara Etnografya Museum	Istanbul, Kubbealtı Foundation, Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi Collection
12075	EHA VII/4
	EHA VII/7
	EHA IX/2
	EHA IX/7
Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, Special Collections Research Center	Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts
Isl. Ms. 525	T. 1442
	T. 1974
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek	
Or. 14194	
Bursa, İnebey Manuscript Library	Istanbul, The Republic of Turkey's Presidency State Archives
HO 1223	C..EV.. 46–2267
HO 1224	C..EV.. 244–12155
HO 1225	D.M.d. 37228
HO 1226	Ev.d.. 16317
HO 1227	Ev.d.. 32282
	Ev. HMK. SR, 3926
Istanbul, Beyazıt Library	İ..MVL. 392–17104
B 1265	TS. MA.d 267
B 1266	TS. MA.d 900
B 1267	TS. MA.e 9–17
B 1268	TS. MA.e. 565–62–565–72
B 1269	
Veliyyüddin 567	Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum
Veliyyüddin 568	SHM Küt. 611

Istanbul, Sakıp Sabancı Museum

103–0359

EH 1335

EH 1336

EH 1337

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library

Pertevniyal 33

H 93

HS 70 (formerly HS 347)

Pertevniyal 35

HS 71 (formerly HS 348)

Tahir Ağa Tekke 196M

HS 72 (formerly HS 349)

HS 74 (formerly HS 351)

Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum**Library**

M 406

EH 1012

M 410

EH 1013

M 412

EH 1015

M 413

EH 1016

M 414

EH 1018

YY 827

EH 1019

Konya, Mevlana Museum

EH 1020

İhtisas Kütüphanesi 5917

EH 1021

Müze 45

EH 1022

London, British Library

EH 1026

Or. 7259

EH 1033

EH 1038

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

EH 1070

Cod. Turc. 553

EH 1334