Material Images and Mental *Ziyāra*: Depicting the Prophet's Grave in North African Devotional Books (*Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*)

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Abstract

The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Guidelines to the Blessings) is a very popular book of prayers over the Prophet Muḥammad, originally written around the mid-fifteenth century by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465). The *Dalā'il* is probably the only illustrated religious text in the Maghreb, where the image has been the subject of more profound reluctance than in the rest of the Muslim world. They show the sacred tomb of the Prophet inside the mosque of Medina, as well as his minbar, his *mihrāb* and his sandals (*na'ī*), one of the most venerated relics in Islam. If the images in North African books have been systematically interpreted in a superficial way, this article proposes a reading at the crossroads of art history, codicology and a careful examination of the main text and the precious annotations added by the readers of some unpublished manuscripts. We will then understand that these illustrations have gradually acquired an autonomous place within the book. They act alongside the text, as memorial images of the sacred space hosting the holy body of the Prophet, and as a virtual substitute for the pilgrimage to Medina. It is in fact through this act, be it physical or virtual, that Muslims hope to visualize, in a dream, the figure of their loved one, Muḥammad.

Keywords

Dalā'il al-Khayrāt – devotional text – tomb of the Prophet – devotional image – Maghreb – mental *Ziyāra* – *Rawḍa* – Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī – Muslim west – Sandal of the prophet

1 Introduction

The *Kitāb Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa Shawāriq al-anwār fī dīkr al-ṣalāt 'alā l-Nabī al-mukhṭār* (“Guidelines to the Blessings and the Enlightenment of Lights Giving the Saying of the Blessing Prayer Over the Chosen Prophet”) is a popular prayer book written by the Moroccan Sufi Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465) around the mid-fifteenth century. The text consists of a compilation of litanies of prayers over the Prophet (*taṣliya*), believed to convey blessings (*baraka*), protection and healing to whoever reads them consistently.¹ Shortly after it was composed, it became one of the most popular devotional books in the Sunni world and was referred to as the “best-seller” of devotional literature. In fact, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* circulated from Morocco to the

eastern Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa from the first half of the eleventh/seventeenth century onwards before it became extremely popular in the Mashriq, specifically in the Ottoman lands.

Apart from its extraordinary success, this book displays a very distinctive feature, as it is the only illustrated religious text in North Africa, a geo-cultural area known for its traditional aniconism. Indeed, in the preliminary part of the book, the author describes the *Rawḍa*, the funerary room in the mosque of Medina in which the Prophet Muḥammad is buried together with the Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The presence of the description of the Prophet's burial chamber in a book of *taṣliya* (prayers and blessings over the Prophet Muḥammad) is not surprising since its visitation occupies an eminently sacred place in Sunni Muslim piety. It is there that the holy body of Muḥammad lies,² before which every Muslim is urged to recite prayers in order to invoke his presence and to visualize him in a dream.³ This hope is all the more ardent among believers in the Muslim West, for whom the geographical distance from the holy places of the Hijaz makes this act less attainable.

This section of the text prompted North African artists and illuminators to insert a very simple schema of the tombs, through diagrammatic figures. The drawing of the *Dalā'il*, which was most probably elaborated from the ninth/fifteenth century onwards in Morocco, subsequently gave rise to a rich iconography that is expressed in different ways according to the region where the text spread. For instance, Turkish copies of the *Dalā'il* contain images of the holy shrines of Mecca and Medina, shown either in bird's-eye view and depicted in a naturalistic way or in flat projection, a feature of representation that is most probably inspired by the iconography of pilgrimage books, such as the manuscripts of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* (Revelations of the Two Sanctuaries) by Muḥyī al-Dīn Lārī (d. 933/1526)⁴ or the *Anīs al-Ḥujjāj* (A Pilgrim's Companion) by Safī ibn Valī (fl. 11th/17th century).⁵

However, in this paper, I would like to focus on the manuscript production of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Maghreb, as it is the region where the primitive and unprecedented iconography of the book emerged. Furthermore, the apparent simplicity of North African images in regard to the illustrations in Middle Eastern copies of the *Dalā'il*⁶ led several historians of Islamic art to make the misleading assumption that their meaning and functions were self-evident and immediately graspable.⁷ They are often interpreted as a visual medium for the text that displays the positioning of the tombs inside the *Rawḍa*.⁸ In fact, the material examination of several unpublished copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* produced in North Africa from the tenth/sixteenth through the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries and the analysis of a great amount of images, led me to consider them beyond their material and sensible form, as memorial and visionary illustrations. Since this material has never been approached from this perspective, I intend to explore the functions that could have been assigned to these images in the Muslim West. Indeed, the *Dalā'il*'s illustrations selected for this study have been submitted to an iconographical analysis and a systematical decipherment of the annotations added by the readers of the book nearby them, suggesting that they either served as a setting for the meditation on the presence of the Prophet or were used to virtually project the reader to the holy funerary room of Muḥammad. Moreover, I will question the reasons that led North African painters to use abstract ways of representation and to what extent they could have contributed to reinforcing the imaginative potential of these images as virtual pilgrimage substitutes for Maghribi readers.

Prior to discussing these two main ideas in this article, I will first introduce the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, its author al-Jazūlī, and the history of the prayer book's emergence in fifteenth century-Morocco.

2 The Emergence of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in Fifteenth-Century Morocco

The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* appeared in Morocco, at a time when the kingdom was undergoing profound socio-political and religious turmoil. Coastal towns were under threat of the political and economic penetration by Portuguese and Spanish forces; the central power (*Makhzen*) had weakened due to these attacks, but also because of internal power struggles between Marinid sultans and their viziers (r. 667–869/1269–1465),⁹ the Wattasids (r. 823–863/1420–1458); while the Moroccan people considered the political reaction of the kingdom's rulers to be feeble and insufficient. The situation led to the emergence of a new leadership of figures whose religious and political authority were predicated on descent from the Prophet Muḥammad. They organized the *jihād*, the resistance against Portuguese occupation and the imperialism of the *Mazkhen* in the *zāwiya*-s, originally Sufi order centres that they turned into political centres. Thousands of followers joined these brotherhoods and took part in the struggle. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465), the author of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, became the most eminent of these leaders and is considered as a religious figure who had a determining influence on Morocco's political and religious future.

He was born around the end of the fifteenth century in Southwestern Morocco, then decided to settle in Fes where he dedicated a few years to intense study. Besides reading books in the Qarawiyīn Library, he spent most of his days in a deep state of spiritual contraction (*qabḍ*) in his small room at Madrasat al-Ṣaffārīn. After his stay in Fes, he was initiated into the Shāḍiliyya order with a Sufi master at the *ribāt* of Ṭīṭ-n-Fiṭr and took part in the *jihād* against the Portuguese in Tangier in 841/1437. He left Morocco in 850/1446 and travelled to the Mashriq in order to perform the *hajj*, to Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina, where he is said to have visited the tomb of the Prophet several times. According to his biographers, before his return to Morocco, he stayed in Cairo for a brief period in order to complete his spiritual training with a master of the Qādiriyya at al-Azhar mosque.¹⁰ He returned to his homeland in 857/1453 and founded a new Sufi order, affiliated to the *Shāḍiliyya*, called the *Jazūliyya*, that gained an overwhelming popularity in a very short time.¹¹ The *ṭarīqa* was based on the intense veneration of the Prophet, the visit to his tomb, and the practice of *taṣliya*, prayers and blessings over the Prophet Muḥammad, mainly through the recitation of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* that he most probably wrote in 857/1453.

The text is part of a long tradition of devotional books made of blessings and prayers over the Prophet that were extremely successful, such as the *Kitāb al-Shifā fi ta'rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā* (The Book of Healing by the Recognition of the Rights of the Chosen One), of the Qāḍī 'Iyād ibn Mūsā l-Yaḥsūbī (d. 549/1149) or he *Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* (The Fortified Fortress), by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429–30). The main textual source for these texts, as well as for the *Dalā'il*, is hadith literature, the Sayings about the benefits of the prayer over the Prophet. It is indeed believed to allow the devotee to call forth his presence, his intercession and to be granted his protective power or else to see him in a dream (and as a consequence, to effectively see him). This is precisely one of the purposes of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, as expressed in its first chapter called *Faṣl fi Faḍl al-Ṣalāt 'alā l-Nabī* (Chapter on the Benefits of Invoking Prayers over the Prophet) and dedicated to the virtues and the benefits of the prayer over the Prophet. It is followed by the section of the Prophet's 201 names and epithets, and the description of his grave in Medina (*Ṣifat al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka*). This is the specific section that occasioned the addition of a schematic drawing showing the tombs of these three figures. The third part of the book, entitled *Kayfiyyat al-Ṣalāt 'alā l-Nabī* (The Means of Invoking Prayers over the Prophet), is the main body of the text as it is formed out of the

437 blessing prayers and invocations gathered by al-Jazūlī. The prayers are divided into eight sections, or *aḥzāb*, meant to be read each day of the week, and twice on Monday (Monday being privileged probably because the Prophet is said to be born on Monday). However, starting from the tenth/sixteenth century onwards, most of the manuscripts displayed concomitantly another form of division as the prayers were divided into quarters (*rub*'), thirds (*thulth*) and a half (*niṣf*). A final prayer in verse concludes the book.

3 An Illustrated Prayer Book in the Muslim West

As I mentioned earlier, in the preliminary part of the book, and immediately after the Names of the Prophet, al-Jazūlī announces a schema of the tombs of the Prophet and the two Caliphs in the Mosque of Medina, as follows (fig. 1):

*This is the description of the Blessed Rawḍa in which the Messenger of God is buried, together with his two companions, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.*¹²

Before pursuing, it seems crucial to consider the meaning of the “*Rawḍa*” and the space to which it corresponds since several significations are assigned to this word in Arabic literature. Its first literal meaning is “the garden,” or else, as clarified by Ibn Manẓūr in the *Lisān al-'Arab*,¹³ “a land that is located in a peaceful place with trees, flowers and streams.”¹⁴ According to the commentator of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 1109/1698),¹⁵ this significance is closely related to the conception of light and serenity that the Muslim imaginary associates with the funerary room of the Prophet.¹⁶

Furthermore, the space of the funerary room of the Prophet, or the *Rawḍa al-nabawiyya* itself, as described in religious and historical literature dedicated to the Mosque of Medina, gives rise to certain spatial ambiguities. The word can either refer to the restricted space that welcomes the Prophet's tomb or to the entire edifice of the tomb chamber in which the Prophet and his Companions are buried.¹⁷ However, according to several hadiths,¹⁸ the *Rawḍa* is the area that extends from the southern gallery of the mosque, to the tomb of the Prophet in the east,¹⁹ which is the space located between the tomb and the minbar of the Prophet.²⁰ This geographical location distinguishes between the mortuary chamber of the Prophet, called “*al-ḥujra*,” and the *Rawḍa*: “the place where the Prophet used to stand” – that is, the “*ground*” located “between the grave and the minbar.”²¹ This conception is the most commonly accepted among authors, such as the traveller Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217)²² who visited the Mosque of Medina in 580/1184 and prayed in “*the 'Garden', the space that extends from the holy tomb to the pulpit [minbar]*.”²³ Curiously, in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, al-Jazūlī seems to restrict what he calls “*Rawḍa*” to the funerary room where the tombs are located and not to the wider area that extends from the tomb to the minbar.

Hence, the author describes the *Rawḍa* as follows:

This is the description of the Blessed Rawḍa in which the Messenger of God is buried, together with his two companions, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

In most manuscripts, this descriptive section is followed by a schema in which three tombs in elevation are presented: the tomb of the Prophet laying at the top, the tomb of Abū Bakr, lower and slightly shifted towards the left and, the tomb of 'Umar at the bottom (figs. 2, 3). As al-Jazūlī underlines, this arrangement refers to the hadith of the *faqīh* of Medina and Abū Bakr's grandson, 'Urwah b. Zubayr (643–711 or 712), who composed

FIGURE 1

MSS. 3227, 955/1548, Morocco,
al-Ḥassaniya Royal Library, f. 12a

FIGURE 2

Arabe 1270, 1029/1620, North
Africa, National Library of France,
f. 18b.

several writings on the life of the Prophet. As a matter of fact, al-Jazūlī quotes him immediately after the drawing:

*Thus, is related by ‘Urwa Ibn al-Zubayr: “The Messenger of God was buried in the alcove (al-sawha). Abū Bakr was buried behind the Messenger of God and ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was buried near the feet of Abū Bakr. The eastern alcove has remained empty, and in it, is said, but God knows best, that ‘Isā b. Maryam is buried there.”*²⁴

This account transmitted by ‘Urwah refers to the premonition of ‘Ā’isha, Abū Bakr’s daughter and the Prophet’s wife, of the future burying of the body of the Prophet and his two Companions’ inside the “chamber” of ‘Ā’isha.²⁵ Indeed, both Caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Umar will be, according to the predicting dream, buried by the Prophet’s side.

When looking at the images of the *Dalā’il*, one may notice that they are not a reproduction of what is visible to the human eye inside the Mosque of Medina. Instead of employing linear and aerial perspective, the painter depicts each element of the iconography in flat projection, without any volume or projected shadow (figs. 2, 3). Rather, every element is placed on a single plane without any differentiation between them and no reduction in size or color to indicate depth or distance in the painting.

These images recall the representations of the pilgrimage sanctuaries of the Hijāz that proliferated in the Ayyubid and Seljuk Hajj certificates²⁶ from the end of the sixth/twelfth century and in Ottoman pilgrimage guides from the tenth/sixteenth century. In these images, the painters show the shrine of Medina by superimposing an interior view of the prayer hall and the *Rawḍa* of the Prophet on the one hand and, on the other hand, a panoramic view of the monument with its courtyard, its portico, its doors, and its minarets. The three tombs of the Prophet and his Companions are represented in the shape of superimposed rectangles, each identified by captions (*ṣifat qabr*). They are enclosed in the pentagonal wall of the *Rawḍa* added by ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 101/720) in 88/707, during the Umayyad reign of al-Walīd I (r. 86–96/705–15).²⁷ The funerary chamber is bordered at the top with a series of lamps placed from each side of a central lamp, the one that would actually be suspended in the mihrab arch or under the dome that precedes it, as J. Sourdél-Thomine and D. Sourdél-Thomine point out.²⁸ The

FIGURE 3
MSS. 3227, 955/1548, Morocco,
al-Hassaniya Royal Library,
ff. 12b–13a
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FRANCE

minbar appears in the simplified form of a pulpit with two or even three degrees. In the courtyard of the mosque, a portico and the “palms of the sanctuary of Medina” (*nakhl ḥarām al-Madīna*) are drawn on either side of a dome, called the “dome of oil” (*qubbat al-zayt*) where the material necessary for the functioning of the mosque was stored.

However, the particularity of the *Dalā'il*'s images lies in the choice of an extremely close-up view of the tombs alone and not of the monument as a whole, thus establishing an intimate relationship between the observer and the body of the Prophet and the objects related to him. Despite the simplification and the abstraction of the figures, the evoked place is recognisable. Enclosed in a square or a rectangular decorated frame, the tombs are in a rectangular shape and placed one on top of the other; they are colored in gold or with yellow ink and identified by a caption written in *maghribī* or *thuluth* script. A monumental arch was added to enhance the sacred space; and it is the most decorated element of the iconography. Indeed, according to the creativity of the painter, it can be a simple semi-circular arch, a pointed arch, a horseshoe arch or a multifoil arch while complex vegetal arabesques or geometric designs in gold fill the spandrels. The most elaborated versions of this composition include a wide lamp that illuminates the empty scene, and painted in gold or yellow, similarly to the tombs. The color palette of these images is made of very strong and vivid hues but always limited to three or four colors. This composition of the funerary room remains almost unchanged or is subjected to very slight variations depending on the personal choices and imagination of the artist.

Despite this stylistic conservatism, an iconographic innovation will be introduced as soon as the first half of the seventeenth century, as we will see in the following lines.

4 Beyond the Text: Iconology of Cult Image

4.1 “A Garden among the Gardens of Paradise”: *Topography of a Sacred Space*

Indeed, the single image of the three tombs was enriched by a second illustration, depicting the minbar, the pulpit of the Prophet and his prayer niche (the *mihrāb*) in the

Mosque of Medina, forming a double image symmetrically arranged on either side of a vertical axis (figs. 4, 5).

This addition is quite surprising since the minbar and the *mihrāb* of the Prophet introduced in this composition are not mentioned in the descriptive introduction to the images. We could possibly interpret these elements as an additional visual medium to strengthen the evocation of the Prophet or to facilitate the spatial recollection of the Mosque of Medina.

Nevertheless, the answer might be found in a few copies that display this new iconography in which the motif of the minbar is accompanied by the following inscription: “*mā bayna qabrī wa minbarī, rawḍaton min riḡāḍī l-jannah wa minbarī ‘alā ḥawḍī*” (*Whatever is between my grave and my pulpit, is one of the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is by my basin*) (fig. 6).

As was suggested by Jan Just Witkam,²⁹ this inscription refers to Sayings of the Prophet reported by several traditionists such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) in his *Musnad*³⁰ or al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870),³¹ according to which the space located between the tomb and the minbar of Muḥammad is similar to one of the gardens of Paradise. Moreover, the Prophet himself used to stand in this exact place in the mosque while performing his daily prayers. Hence, any prayer accomplished by the pilgrims in this highly sacred space of the mosque, has a specific value since whoever would stand there would find himself in one of the Gardens of Paradise (*rawḍa min riḡāḍī l-janna*)³² or, at least, would ardently want to reach it (*raghghabahu fī ḍalika*). The elevated meaning of this Saying could be linked to an eschatological concept, as pointed out by J.J. Witkam in his article on the *Dalā’il*: the basin is defined in hadith literature as the basin of Paradise, that is the meeting place on the Day of Resurrection (*inna minbarī ‘alā ḥawḍī*, “my pulpit is on the edge of my basin [in Paradise].”) In other words, the addition of the drawing of the minbar completes the illustration of the *Rawḍa* in its broader sense, as it reconstitutes, through this double page, the sacred space as described and defined by the Prophet.

4.2 A Mental Ziyāra? Towards an Ideal Pilgrimage

In order to do so, the chosen viewpoint to depict this space, plays a crucial role. Indeed, in these manuscripts – and contrary to the Oriental images mentioned earlier – the schema offers an extremely narrow and intimate view on the tombs rather than a global vision of the monument in its entirety. By doing so, the illustration establishes an intimate relation between the viewer and the body of the Prophet and the objects that belonged to him. Moreover, by offering this privileged view, the schema does not accurately reflect the real physical experience of the pilgrim during the *ziyāra*, the visit to the Prophet’s grave. As a matter of fact, the visitor cannot have access to

FIGURE 4
MSS 12301, 1057/1647, Morocco,
al-Ḥassaniya Royal Library,
ff. 28b–29a

FIGURE 5
MSS. 2054, 1073/1662, Tunisia,
National Library of Tunisia,
ff. 14b–15a

FIGURE 6
MSS 12301, 1057/1647, Morocco,
al-Ḥassaniya Royal Library, f. 28b

the three graves, which are protected by metal railings and reinforced by a stone wall. The traveller Ibn Jubayr provides a detailed description of the pilgrimage rituals when visiting the graves:

On the wall facing toward Mecca (qibla) [of the funerary room], there is a silver nail opposite the face of the Prophet to mark his venerated visage, and people stand in front of it to say their greetings. At his feet is the head of Abū Bakr the Just, and the head of ʿUmar touches the shoulders of Abū Bakr the Just. For the greeting you stand with your back to the direction of prayer and facing toward Muḥammad. The greeting made, your turn toward your right toward Abū Bakr and then toward ʿUmar.³³

The silver nail mentioned by Ibn Jubayr is situated on the southern wall in front of which stand the pilgrims: it indicates the place of the inaccessible grave of the Prophet. Below the nail, are three little holes pierced in the wall, facing each grave. By introducing the viewer's eye inside the holy tomb chamber, the images do not reproduce the *souvenir* of what the pilgrims could have seen or what they are allowed to see in Medina.

As a matter of fact, and as underlined by Louis Massignon, the *Dalā'il*'s image “takes the reader of the *Dalā'il* on an ideal pilgrimage”,³⁴ an ideal gaze upon the grave of the Prophet.

These observations lead us to question the many possible functions of these images: beyond offering a visual description of the *Rawḍa*, accompanying its written description, were they made to project the reader and viewer in the sacred space of the *Rawḍa*? Several manuscripts substantiate the hypothesis that the images act as a frame for a virtual *ziyāra* of the Prophet's *Rawḍa* in Medina. Indeed, a few unpublished manuscripts kept in Moroccan libraries bear a poem in praise of the Prophet and his *Rawḍa*, written in the margins of the illustrations (fig. 7):

*Peace upon the tomb visited from afar. Peace upon the burial chamber and within it the Prophet. Peace upon the night visitor of his Lord. May he have access to all that he desires. Peace upon the one who asked the lizard:*³⁵ “Who am I?” and to whom the lizard answered: “Thou art the Messenger, Muḥammad.” Praise to him who is buried in a pure land [Medina]. And to whom the Clement gave glory and lustre. Blessed is the visitor to the tomb of Muḥammad. O thou on thy mount, riding the way of Medina, send my greetings to my beloved Muḥammad. In his sweet *Rawḍa* are my desire, my wish, the healing of my heart and soul and my rest. But if the *Rawḍa* seemed far to me and her visit seemed difficult, then her representation would be for me the best of images. I guide the eyes of my memory inside the *Rawḍa* consoling my spirit, my secret and my restless soul. Here I am O Pole of all worlds, Muḥammad, I embrace the *Rawḍa* ardently with a prayer that would erase all our faults.³⁶

After conveying blessings upon the Prophet and his tomb, the poem urges the reader to visit the tomb of Muḥammad (*ziyāra*) buried in the “pure land” of Medina (*al-madfun fi arḍin tayyibah*). In the last section of the poem, which appears to be the most significant part, the author reassures those who are unable to travel to Medina – and invites them to accomplish a mental visit, by gazing at the drawing and by reconstructing a mental image of the *Rawḍa* (*timtāluha*) because – he justifies – “its image [in the mind] is the most pleasant and serene image.” The text continues by praising the process of recollection of the sacred space (*I guide the eye of my memory inside the Rawḍa*) through the contemplation of the drawing simultaneously with the recitation of the prayers over the Prophet. In sum, by expressing a clear invitation to accomplish a mental journey to the *Rawḍa*, this poem seals one of the meanings of this double image; which is a reconstitution of a portable sacred space.

This idea is also found in a late copy of the *Dalā'il* produced in Tunisia in the early twentieth century and kept today in the Museum of Islamic Art of Raqqāda (fig. 8). An

FIGURE 7
MSS. 5650, 12th/18th century,
Morocco, al-Ḥassaniya Royal
Library, ff. 28b–29a

FIGURE 8
MSS. 170, 14th/20th century,
Tunisia, Museum of Islamic Arts
of Raqqada (Tunisia)

inscription was added – probably by the owner of the manuscript – immediately after the descriptive text of the *Rawḍa* and prior to the images:

Here is the benefit of introducing the image (*fā'idat waḍ' šifat al-rawḍa*): its depiction is intended for he who didn't have the opportunity to visit the holy Rawḍa. May he who wrote these verses about the importance of the representation of the *Rawḍa* be protected. Here is what he himself says: "*If the eagerness to see the Rawḍa became unbearable and if it was impossible to visit it, then I will trace its shape on the palm of my hand and would ask to whoever visited it to invoke the prayers over the Prophet (tašliya).*"

These texts are clearly indicative of the importance of the *ziyāra* to the Prophet's grave in Medina as a practice related to the devotion of the Prophet. Indeed, according to several hadiths, the prayers that are directed towards him, facing his *hujra*, can increase the chances of being heard by him and could bestow his intercession to the devotee.³⁷ But they also nourish the hope for the pilgrim to be granted with a luminous vision of the Chosen One (*ru'yat al-Nabī*) or to see him in a dream. One must point out that to the Saying of the Prophet, "Whoever sees [him] in a dream, has really seen [him]."³⁸

On the other hand, these texts evoke the probable "inability" or the complexity of undertaking a pilgrimage to the Prophet's grave in Medina for North African pilgrims.³⁹ Indeed, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina was not exempt of dangers. Not only the geographical distance, but also the cost of the journey made it accessible only for a few privileged people who could afford it. Moreover, caravans of Maghribi pilgrims could face several risks, particularly during times of instability. This was the case, for instance, throughout the ninth/fifteenth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries, during which the sea routes and the overland routes to Mecca and Medina were extremely risky or sometimes impossible for North Africans pilgrims due to the political turmoil caused by the Christian offensives, the acts of piracy in the Mediterranean sea and the Ottoman expansion in the Maghrib. These specific reasons have often prompted Mālikī jurists

to produce *fatwas* that justify a region dispensation or prohibit Muslims in the Islamic West to perform the *hajj* to Mecca and Medina, in particular from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰

It is thus possible to suggest the hypothesis that the images of the *Dalā'il* have been occasionally employed as a form of substitute to the *ziyāra* to the Prophet's grave, as a medium for the stimulation of the mental visualisation of the sacred space and, through it, the vision of the Prophet.

5 Visualizing the Prophet

5.1 *Muhammadan Praesentia*

The poem in praise of the *Rawḍa* and the written inscriptions occasionally added near the images I mentioned earlier seem to suggest that the reading of the prayers of the *Dalā'il* together with the contemplation of the grave, the lamp, the minbar and the *mihrāb* would allow the reader to have access to the presence of the Prophet. Moreover, the choice of representing his grave is significant. Indeed, the veneration of the tomb of the Prophet occupies a prominent place in Muslim piety and consciousness, and sometimes defies the condemnations of rigorist theologians such as the Ḥanbalī theologian and jurisconsult Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) during the eighth/fourteenth century or those of the Wahhabis starting from the twelfth/eighteenth century.⁴¹ In the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, al-Jazūlī himself recalls the specific importance of praying over the tomb of the Prophet: "Pray over his tomb among the tombs!"

Several accounts describe mystical experiences that occurred to certain pilgrims to Medina and those who directed prayers towards Muḥammad, facing his *ḥujra*.⁴² In his compilation of prophetic traditions entitled *al-Sunan*, the traditionist 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī (d. 255/869) tells the story of Sa'īd b. al-Muṣayyib (d. 94/712–3)⁴³ who was locked during three days near the *ḥujra* of the Prophet at the time of the events of al-Ḥarra in 63/683 during which the call to prayer was not recited. He was only informed of the prayer time by a whisper originating from the tomb.⁴⁴

The representation of the Prophet's figure through the *taṣliya* and the visit of the Prophet is extremely present in the writings of the Sufi 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1409) who related his own experience of a visionary dream that happened in front of the *ḥujra* of the Prophet in Medina in 1400.⁴⁵ In a section of his treatise entitled *Qāb Qawsayn*,⁴⁶ he insists on the importance of the veneration of the tomb of the Prophet and the mental visualization of the latter:

One must persistently keep in mind its visible shape, as it was previously described, by observing the rules of decency and by showing veneration, deference and reverent fear. And if you cannot imagine mentally its form as it was described, and if you saw it during your sleep, then visualize it according to the shape you saw during your sleep; and if you never saw it during your sleep and if you were never able to visualize it according to the form previously described, mention him [the Prophet] and recite the taṣliya, and act as if you were present near him in his lifetime, with deference [respect], veneration and reverent fear, because he sees you and he hears you every time you mention him. [...] And if you cannot stand in his presence and if you were able to visit his noble grave, to see the Rawḍa and the dome, you must call forth the image of his tomb and every time you mention him and you direct your prayers towards him, do it as if you were standing in front of his tomb with veneration and respect until you perceive his spiritual presence [rūḥāniyyatuhu]. And if you

FIGURE 9
MSS. 2054, 1073/1662, Tunisia,
National Library of Tunisia, f. 14b

*never visited his tomb not seen the Rawḍa, recite continuously the prayer over him an imagine him listening to you, with respect and concentration so that your prayer reaches him.*⁴⁷

Indeed, a *taṣliya* recited nearby the tomb of the Prophet could allow the devotee to reach the “spiritual presence” of Muḥammad, or would provoke a vision of the Prophet (*ruʿyat al-Nabī*). Besides conveying an architectural description of the interior of the mosque, the images of the *Dalāʾil* also seem to provide several signs of the Prophetic presence, even though he is not being explicitly depicted. Indeed, each element of the *Dalāʾil* iconography is intended as an attribute of the Prophet. Hence, if we consider the minbar of the Prophet, one must know that it is considered as a relic of the Prophet endowed with his *baraka*.⁴⁸ Ibn Jubayr describes the rituals of the pilgrims that he observed during his sojourn in Medina in 580/1184: “*The people enter their hands to reach it [the minbar] and rub their skin against its steps, seeking for the baraka [blessing] we receive by touching its venerated seat*”.⁴⁹ By extension, its addition in the images of the *Dalāʾil* aims to prolong or to “perpetuate the *souvenir* of the Prophet, sitting on his preaching chair and speaking to his disciples or welcoming his messengers”.⁵⁰ In a similar manner, if the commonly accepted function of the *mihrāb* is to indicate the direction that should be faced during the prayer on a *qibla* wall of a mosque, its depiction might be a symbol of the “Prophet presence”.⁵¹ Indeed, as argued by certain Art Historians, such as Lucien Golvin, the *mihrāb* (prayer niche) does not necessarily assume a functional role inasmuch as the indication of the direction of Mecca is beforehand established by the *qibla* wall.⁵² Moreover, the very rich decoration to which the *mihrāb* is systematically subjected to in a mosque consolidates the idea according to which its importance is first of all symbolic. Although these readings must be manipulated with prudence and measure, they seem to be particularly echoed in the images of the *Dalāʾil*. As for the motif of the lamp that can seem at first sight, anodyne, ornamental, or simply meant to suggest the architecture of the place of worship, the captions that are often added on to it, leave no doubt to its meaning.

In the text of the *Dalā'il*, al-Jazūlī refers several times to the “light” and links it to the figure of the Prophet. In some passages of the text, he compares the light of Muḥammad to a “shiny lamp” (*al-sirāj al-munūr*)⁵³ that is transmitted by God (*wa nūran ‘alā nūrihi alladī minhu khalaqtahu*) through his Messenger. From this light supposedly “all the great lights” originated and his “secret torch” “illuminated all great secrets” (*Muḥammad alladī nūruhu min nūri al-anwār wa ashraqa bi-shu‘ā’i sirrihi al-asrār*). Yet, in the images of the *Dalā'il*, the idea of light is evoked by several mediums that can be written or depicted: the light takes the shape of a monumental yellow or golden lamp or a golden halo, and they are identified by the following captions: the “crystal” (*mishkawāt*), the “glittering star” (*al-kawkab al-durrī*) or the “shining lamp” (*sirāj munūr*) (fig. 9). In fact, these terms refer to the concept of “light of Muḥammad” or *nūr muḥammadī* that originates in the Light Verse in the Quran (Q 24:35), in which the Prophet is assimilated to a torch in a glass:

*Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. A parable of His Light is a niche wherein is a lamp – the lamp is in a glass (mishkawāt), the glass as it were a glittering star (kawkab durrī) – lit from a blessed olive tree, neither eastern nor western, whose oil almost lights up, though fire should not touch it. Light upon light. Allah guides to His Light whomever He wishes. Allah draws parables for mankind, and Allah has knowledge of all things.*⁵⁴

This verse occupies an eminent place in the devotion of the Prophet as it recalls its exceptional rank. As a consequence, several interpretations have been elaborated essentially within Sufi circles.⁵⁵ Chief among them, the *tafsīr* of the mystic Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767)⁵⁶ who defines the Prophet as the symbol of the light transmitted by God in order to shine on the Earth and to guide his community to the divine origins of his Light.⁵⁷ The Iraqi Ja‘far Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) develops the idea according to which the Light of Muḥammad (*nūr muḥammadī*) has its origins in the creation of Adam and the begetting of mankind.⁵⁸ It is important to note that these references to the Light Verse are extremely present in Islamic artefacts, specifically in miniatures produced in Persian lands.⁵⁹ Representations of the Prophet flourished between the eighth/fourteenth and the tenth/sixteenth centuries in Ilkhanid (1256–1353), Timurid (1370–1506) and Safavid (1501–1722) paintings, particularly in the copies of the *Mi‘rājnamah* dedicated to the heavenly Ascension of the Prophet (*Mi‘rāj*).⁶⁰ He is then regularly depicted with his attributes such as the flaming golden halo around his head, as a reference to his primordial and creative Light.⁶¹

This passage from the Light Verse can also be found in Ottoman copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, in which a cupola adorned with flames covers the tomb chamber of the Prophet.⁶² It is the case of the Turkish copy MSS 463 from the Chester Beatty Library composed in 1213/1798, in which the complete “Verse of Light” is inscribed on top of the flames rising from the cupola covering the graves and the lamp.⁶³ According to Louis Massignon, the lamp is the “fundamental element” of the image of the *Rawḍa* as it represents the “promise of the divine assistance for those who keep a vigil and pray at the tombs of the deceased”.⁶⁴ In other words, the lamp and every pattern referring to the light form an ensemble of signs of the divine presence not only for the deceased, but also for those who come and pray at their tombs.

5.2 The Sandal of the Prophet (al-na‘l al-Nabawwi): An Image-Relic

Hence, by enriching the primitive image of the *Dalā'il* with new iconographical patterns, the artists were most likely informed by a desire to multiply the attributes to the Prophet, and thus purposefully transcended the textual limitations fixed by al-Jazūlī. It

FIGURE 10
Ar. 4223, 1048/1638–9, Tunisia,
Chester Beatty Library, ff. 2b–3a

FIGURE 11
MSS. 3630, 13th/18th century,
Tunisia, National Library of
Tunisia, ff. 36b–37a

is probably for a similar reason that the images of the Prophet's sandals were added in a good number of manuscripts. Indeed, the depiction of the sandals is introduced from the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century, even though it is not related to any specific passage in the text (figs. 10–12).⁶⁵

The sandals of the Prophet are among the most popular relics in Islam, and they were particularly venerated during the Middle Ages due to the blessings they are believed to bestow.⁶⁶ The oldest account that testifies to this cult goes back to the 'Abbasid period when the Caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–85) received the sandals of the Prophet from one of his subjects.⁶⁷ They are mentioned two centuries later, in the tenth century, in Hebron where they are said to be kept by the imam of the mosque.⁶⁸ The later references remain scattered until the first half of the twelfth century, period during which the cult of the Prophet flourished in a more pronounced manner.⁶⁹ The Ayyubid Sultan of Damascus, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā (r. 1229–37) decided to display the sandal at the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafiyya, a college for the teaching of the hadith traditions that he built. Hence, the believers were able to come in order to engage in private prayer near the sandal and seek its blessings and those of the Prophet (*yatabarrakūna bihi*).⁷⁰

In the *Faṭḥ al-Muta'āl fī Madḥ al-ni'āl*, a compilation of descriptions, drawings and poems on the sandal of the Prophet by the seventeenth-century historian Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī (d. 1631), informs us that North African and Andalusī scholars travelled regularly to Dasmascus, from the twelfth century onwards, in order to see the sandal and to reproduce its exact replica on paper.⁷¹ Since then, images of the relic started to circulate in the Islamic West, essentially among devotees who were not able to travel to the Mashriq.⁷² These replicas were believed to be endowed with therapeutic and healing qualities similar to those of the sandal itself. Ibn 'Asākir (d. 686/1287), the Damascene scholar specialized in hadiths, mentions the accounts of a certain Shaykh called Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Majīd who underlines the miraculous blessings of the sandal's replicas:

I cut the pattern [of this sandal] for one of my students. [He came to me one day] and said: 'Yesterday, I witnessed a wonder from the baraka of this sandal. My wife was

FIGURE 12
MSS. 220, 12th/18th century,
Morocco, Library of Oriental
Studies in Paris

*suffering from a pain, which almost took her life. I placed the [image of the] sandal on the painful spot and said: O God, show me the blessing (baraka) of the owner of this sandal. God cured her instantly.*⁷³

Similar apotropaic beliefs and devotional practices existed in the Maghrib as well, during the tenth/sixteenth century.⁷⁴ They were particularly vivid in Morocco as suggested by a *fatwa* of the well-known Mālikī jurist Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā l-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508) condemning certain forms of devotion of the Prophet, such as the veneration of his sandals.⁷⁵

In general, the relic as a “trace” or sacred human remains, forms “a repository of the individual and collective memory” of this sacred figure.⁷⁶ Hence, the replica of the sandal in the *Dalā’il*, beyond its talismanic function, actually revives the *souvenir* of the Prophet and establishes an intimate link between the pious and the venerated figure. In addition, it is recommended to whoever would yearn to see the Prophet in a dream, to carry the pattern of the sandal during the visit of the *Rawḍa* in Medina.⁷⁷ Indeed, the inscriptions running inside and through the outline of the pattern in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* are quite indicative of the sacredness attached to the replicas of the sandals and to their active contemplation (figs. 11–12). It says: “*I rub the whiteness of my face against the sandal, because the Prophet himself used to place it in front of him. It is certainly not a sign of love for the sandal, but for he who wore it.*”⁷⁸ At the bottom of the sandal, the inscription says that the “*shape [of the pattern] is as noble as the sandal itself*” (*wa dawruha akram biha min na’l*), which underlines the substitutive role of the images.

In a copy housed at the Library of Oriental Studies in Paris (fig. MS 220), a double leaf has been inserted at the end of the book (fig. 12).

It might have been used independently from the rest of the text as a talismanic image. This phenomenon can affect the images of the graves and the minbar as well. Indeed, a few manuscripts from the al-Ḥassaniya Royal Library of Morocco⁷⁹ display distinct traces of rips at the habitual location of the illustrations. Hence, these missing images have probably been removed in order to be used as amulets. In opposite cases, the copies 8817 (mid-12th/18th century) from the Ḥassaniya Royal Library (fig. 13) and *Arabe* 1180 (10th/16th century) from the French National Library (fig. 14) were initially not illustrated before their owner intercalated leaves containing images probably removed from another manuscript. This phenomenon reveals that the images are often not simply dependent on the text and in some cases can even operate and be used entirely independently. In this regard, the images are indeed used for their apotropaic and therapeutic merits, as they bear the healing power of the Prophet and his blessings.

FIGURE 13
MSS. 8817, mid-13th/19th century,
Morocco, al-Ḥassaniya Royal
Library

FIGURE 14
Arabe 1180, 10th/16th century,
North Africa, National Library of
France, f. 1b

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, no matter what the initial purpose of the unique image was throughout the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and what its function was within the book, its later developments proceed from the intention of the painters and the users of the book to grasp the broader sense of the *Rawḍa*, as defined by the Sayings of the Prophet, and to adapt the book to their own uses and needs. Hence, the addition of the minbar and *miḥrāb* images complete the vocation of the *taṣṭīya* by conveying to the devotee not only a perceptible frame in order to imagine the *Rawḍa* in Medina, but also replicas of the Prophet's relics endowed with his *baraka*. This probably explains why the painters often transcended the initial model by enriching the iconographic program with new patterns associated to the Prophet, and reinforcing its evocation and its presence.

In order to reach this aim, painters do not depict what is visible to the human eye. Indeed, contrary to the Middle Eastern images of the *Dalā'il*, North African representations display a strong semantic value as they function through a combination of simple yet distinguishable features of the monument, in order to make it immediately identifiable. Only three tombs indicate the funerary room of Medina; the hanging lamp inside a niche is a classic formula used to evoke a mosque in Islamic art;⁸⁰ the minbar is easily recognizable through its three steps, its seat and the *miḥrāb*, its codified form, and therefore, immediately identifiable. These signs impose a visual and a mnemonic path between every component of the image while the occasional presence of written indications on the utilisation of the images, provoke a psychic effort to recollect the holy place.

Moreover, the use of very basic and archaic pictorial techniques makes sense in devotional images in general, in order to ensure the instant effectiveness of their message. The absence of "optical naturalism" is indeed to be understood as a purposeful decision of the artists in an attempt to evoke a sacred idea or a figure that goes beyond the physical world.⁸¹ Henceforth, what is shown is not restricted by either spatial or temporal limitations of the classical *mimesis*. Rather, the image reflects a vision that encompasses the terrestrial and eschatological space of the *Rawḍa* as described in the hadith, and at the same time provides the signs of the presence of Muḥammad as the Intercessor. Hence, abstraction and schematization seem to be the ideal compromise when the "signified" is so transcendental that it cannot be effectively depicted.

In this regard, the role of the illuminated decoration in the manuscripts of the *Dalā'il* should not be overlooked: indeed, the copies of the prayer book stand out from the rest of non-Quranic religious books by the presence of an abundant illumination throughout the pages, in gold and bright colors. The decoration is particularly rich and elaborated around the descriptive text that precedes the illustrations and is expressed through the same combination of colors as those of the images. Hence, the illumination stimulates the senses by delighting the eye and gradually guides and introduces the gaze of the viewer into the images, and by doing so, allies aesthetic and religious experiences.

Indeed, it is important to note that the reader, in a deep state of prayer, leafs through the pages of the handbook until his eyes fall upon the images that allow him to reach, through an ideal view, one of the most sacred places, where the body of the Prophet lies. We can then hypothesize that he/she enters into a state of contemplation through which everything becomes possible, including reaching the Chosen One.

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- Schmitz, Barbara (1992). *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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Notes

- 1 These benefits promised by the *taṣliya* explain why the manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* soon acquired sanctity and were used as talismans, as discussed in Abid, Hiba (2017). *Les Dalā'il al-Khayrāt d'al-Jazūli (m. 869/1465): la tradition manuscrite d'un livre de prières soufi au Maghreb du X^e/XVI^e au XIII^e/XIX^e siècles*, Doctoral thesis, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Regarding the prayer over the Prophet and its benefits, see Hamidoune, Amine (2012). *La pratique de "la prière sur le Prophète" en Islam. Analyse philologique et implications doctrinales*, Doctoral thesis, Aix-Marseille University; Graham, William A. (1977). *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam, A Reconsideration of the Sources, with Special Reference to the Divine Saying or Ḥadīth Qudsi*. The Hague: Mouton and Co, pp. 176–7; Padwick, Constance E. (1996). *Muslim devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use*, Oxford: Oneworld, pp. xxi–xxiii and pp. 152–66.

- 2 Regarding the sanctity of the Prophet's body and, by extension, of the city of Medina, see Gril, Denis. (2006). "Le corps du Prophète," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée, Le corps et le sacré en Orient musulman* 113–15, Aix-en-Provence/Marseille: Publications de l'Université de Provence, pp. 37–57.
- 3 The city of Medina itself is considered as a "city-relic" filled with the blessings of the Prophet's body and is thereby believed to convey hope, intercession, and healing to whoever sets foot on its soil. Gril, Denis, "Le corps du Prophète," *REMMM*, 113–14, 2006, p. 45; Schimmel, Annemarie (1985). *And Muhammad is His Messenger. The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*. North Carolina: The University of North Carolina, pp. 189 and 243.
- 4 The *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* is a poetic description in Persian of places of pilgrimage and the rituals of the pilgrims. It was composed in 911/1505–6 by Muḥyī al-Dīn Lārī, originating from the island of Lar in the Persian Gulf, for the Sultan Muzaffar ibn Maḥmūd Shah of Gujarat. The copies of this text contain numerous illustrations of the various stages of the Great (*Ḥajj*) and the Small (*Umrah*) pilgrimage from Mecca to Madinah. See Milstein, Rachel (2006). *Futuh-i haramayn: sixteenth-century illustrations of the hajj route*. In: David J. Wasserstein and Ami, Ayalon, eds., *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, London: Routledge, pp. 166–94; Porter, Venetia (ed.) (2012). *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 46–7, 81.
- 5 The *Anīs al-Ḥujjāj* is a treatise on the pilgrimage composed by Safi ibn Vali on 12 Rajab 1087/20 September 1676. The author recorded his pilgrim's journey over sea from Surat to Mocha and Jedda performed ca. 1677–80 and provides advice on the performance of the pilgrimage written in a poetic form. In the same way as *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, this text has given rise to the development of rich iconographic cycles related to the places of pilgrimage that can be found in two copies; one is in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 1025) and the other in the CSMUV Mumbai. See Rogers, Michael (2010). *The Arts of Islam: Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.; Porter, Venetia (ed.), *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, p. 30; Leach, Linda York (1998). *Paintings from India* (The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, 8), Oxford: Khalili Collections, pp. 124–5.
- 6 The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* might have spread to the Mashriq through the Ottoman provinces in North Africa. The oldest known and dated Turkish copy of the text was produced some time before 1097/1685 in Turkey by Muṣṭafa Eyyubī Efendi and is nowadays kept in a private collection. However, the text was most probably known and produced before that date. Soon after the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century, the manuscripts of the prayer book disseminated in the Middle East, from the Ottoman lands to South East Asia as well as the Indian Subcontinent. Most of the earliest Middle Eastern copies reproduce the same composition that was developed in the Maghrib, with a close-up view on the tomb of the Prophet through schematic forms. However, they soon introduce an iconographical innovation by integrating a panoramic view image of the sanctuary of Mecca facing that of Medina. Depending on the manuscripts, the images are either represented through a bird's-eye view and depicted in a naturalistic way or in flat projection. For a detailed explanation and chronology of this shifting as well as illustrations, see Abid, Hiba, *Les Dalā'il al-Khayrāt d'al-Jazūlī (m. 869/1465): la tradition manuscrite d'un livre de prières soufi au Maghreb du X^e/XVI^e au XIII^e/XIX^e siècles* (unpublished PhD diss. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2017), pp. 351–7. Several studies were dedicated to the illustrated manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* produced in the Mashriq. For a general introduction to the iconography of the *Dalā'il* and the shifting illustration program in the Mashriq, see Jan Just Witkam, "The battle of images: Mecca vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*," in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul March 28–30, 2001*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007, pp. 67–82, pp. 295–300 (illustrations). For a comprehensive study of the history of the *Dalā'il* in the late Ottoman Empire and their iconography, see Sabiha Göloğlu, *Depicting the Holy: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Empire* (unpublished PhD diss. Koç University, 2018).
- 7 Until today, most of the studies put an emphasis on the Oriental copies of the prayer book because of the presence of a particularly elaborated iconography from a stylistic point of view, through the use of perspective techniques, and because of their documentary value, particularly evident in the topographic images. As a result, North African manuscripts, generally treated unevenly and frailly, are often the subject of dating errors due to stylistic and iconographic assumptions. These confusions (See Schmitz, Barbara (1992). *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 46; Milstein, Rachel (1984). *Islamic painting in the Israel Museum*. Jerusalem: The Museum, p. 132) are discussed in Abid, Hiba, *Les Dalā'il al-Khayrāt d'al-Jazūlī (m. 869/1465): la tradition manuscrite d'un livre de prières soufi au Maghreb du X^e/XVI^e au XIII^e/XIX^e siècles* (unpublished PhD diss. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2017), pp. 19–23.
- 8 For instance, see Berthier, Annie, Zali, Anne (2005). *Torah, Bible, Coran: livres de Parole*, (exhib. cat. French National Library – François-Mitterrand, November 9th, 2005–April 30th, 2006), Paris: French National Library; Guesdon, Marie-Geneviève, Vernay-Nouri, Annie (2001) *Art (L') du livre arabe: du manuscrit au livre d'artiste*, (exhib. cat. French National Library – Richelieu, Galerie Mazarine,

- October 9th, 2001–January 13th, 2002), Paris: French National Library; Safwat, Nabil F. (2000). *Golden Pages: Qurʾans and other manuscripts from the collection of Ghassan I. Shaker*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for Azimuth Editions, pp. 206–20 and pp. 278–81; Schmitz, Barbara (1992). *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; Milstein, Rachel (1984). *Islamic painting in the Israel Museum*, Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1984; Gruber, Christiane (2010). *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition, Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Maury, Charlotte (2010). Les représentations des deux sanctuaires à l'époque ottomane: du schéma topographique à la vue perspective. In: *Routes d'Arabie, Archéologie et Histoire du Royaume d'Arabie Saoudite*, (exhib. cat. Louvre Museum, July 14th–September 27th, 2010), Paris: Louvre Editions, pp. 547–65; Wright, Elaine, (2009). *Islam, faith, culture: manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library*, London: Scala, pp. 147–67.
- 9 Laroui, Abdallah (1982). *L'histoire du Maghreb: un essai de synthèse*, Paris: Maspero, p. 218.
- 10 Cornell, Vincent (1998). *Realm of the Saint, Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism*, Texas: University of Texas Press, p. 177.
- 11 It is said that 12665 new followers joined the *ṭarīqa* of al-Jazūlī from 857/1453 to 869/1465. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī (2007). *Maṭālīʿ al-Masarāt bi-jalāl Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, Al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyya. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, p. 18.
- 12 “*Wa ḥādīhi šifāt al-rawḍa al-mubāraka allatī dufina fihā rasūlu Allāhi šalla Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallama wa šāḥibāhu Abū Bakr wa ʿUmar raḍiya Allāhu taʿālā ʿanhumā.*”
- 13 Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1312) is a Maghribi lexicographer of the Arabic language. He is the author of a large dictionary called *Lisān al-ʿArab* (“The Tongue of the Arabs”).
- 14 “*al-arḍu dāt al-khudra; al-rawḍa ʿushb wa mā ʿwa lā takūn rawḍatan illā bi-mā ʿmaʿahā aw bi-janbihā,*” in Ibn Manẓūr (2005). *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 6, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, p. 262.
- 15 Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī (1994). *Mumtāʿ al-asmāʾ fī ḍikr al-Jazūlī wa at-Tabbāʾ wa man lahumā min al-atbāʾ*, Casablanca: Maṭbaʿat al-Najāh al-Jadīda. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī (d. 1109/1698) was born in an Andalusian family originally from Malaga who settled in Fes starting from 880/1475. He grew up in a wealthy milieu close to the Alawi central power and to the Sufi circles. His privileged situation allowed him to devote most of his time to writing texts related to the history of Sufism and biographies of saints. In Cornell, pp. 157–8.
- 16 “Its meaning derives from the garden full of light, of mercy, of blessings, of goodness and of benevolence.” (*fa-istūʿirat liʾl-rawḍa dāt al-anwār wa-l-rahma wa-l-baraka wa-l-khayr wa-l-afdāl*). In Al-Fāsī, M., p. 151.
- 17 Peters, Francis E., (1994). *The Hajj, The Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy places*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 138. To name this space, the word *Rawḍa* has gradually been replaced by “*al-ḥujra*.”
- 18 Bukhārī (Al-), Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, *Les Traditions islamiques* (translated from Arabic by Houdas, Octave and Marçais, William) (1906). Title xxiv “Des mérites de Médine,” Chapter xii, T. vi, Paris: Publication de l'Ecole des Langues orientales, ivth serie, p. 345.
- 19 Bukhārī (Al-), p. 138.
- 20 Jallāb, Ḥassān (2008). *Al-Imām al-Jazūlī, Dirāsah taḥlīliyya li-kitābuhu Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*. Marrakech, pp. 71–2.
- 21 Sauvaget, Jean (1947). *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine, Etude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique*. Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, p. 90.
- 22 Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr al-Kinānī (d. 614/1217) is a traveller from al-Andalus who wrote a chronicle describing his pilgrimage to the *Ḥijāz* that he carried out from 579/1183 to 581/1185.
- 23 Jubayr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1951). *Voyages* (Translated from Arabic and annotated by Maurice Gaudetfroy-Demombynes), Vol. 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner, p. 219.
- 24 *Hākaḍā ḍakarahu ʿUrwah ibn al-Zubayr raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu qāla: “dufina Rasūl Allāh šallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallama fī l-ṣahwātī wa dufina Abū Bakr raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu khalifa Rasūl Allāh šallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallama wa dufina ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, raḍiya Allāhu ʿanhu, ʿinda rijlay Abi Bakr; wa baqiyat al-ṣahwātī al-sharqīyyatū fārigha fihā mawḍīʿu qabr yuqālu wa Allāhu aʿlam inna ʿIsā ibn Mariyam yudfanu fihī.”*
- 25 Massignon, p. 250.
- 26 Hajj certificates are documents attesting that a person has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. They generally are in the shape of a scroll containing images of the pilgrimage places and stations accompanied by quotations of the Quran.
- 27 Al-Ṣamḥūdī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh (1908–9). *Wafā l-Wafā bi Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā*, Vol. 1. Lebanon: Al-Ādāb wa al-Muʿayyad, p. 114.
- 28 Sourdel Dominique, Sourdel-Thomine Janine (2006). *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide, Contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'Islam au temps des Croisades*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, XIX. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres, pl. xli, p. 235.

- 29 Witkam, Jan Just (2007). The battle of the images. Mekka vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat*. In Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp, eds, *Technical approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts = Beirut Texts and Studies*, No. 111, Würzburg; Ergon Verlag, p. 72. Witkam refers to the pilgrimage instructions inspired by this tradition and provided in the *Manāsik al-Hajj 'alā Arba'at Maḍāhib*, written by an anonymous Hanafi author for the Mamluk Sultan Chaqmaq (d. 1438–52).
- 30 Wensinck, Arent Jan (1992). *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, p. 345.
- 31 Bukhārī (Al-), Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, Title 24, Chapter 12.
- 32 This interpretation is suggested by "Al-Tha'lib," quoted in Ibn Manẓūr (1993). *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 5. Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāt al-'Arabī, p. 369.
- 33 Jubayr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, pp. 220–1.
- 34 Massignon, Louis (1960). La Rawḍa de Médine, cadre de la méditation musulmane sur la destinée du Prophète. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale* 59. Paris (online version), p. 246.
- 35 This verse refers to a legend according to which a green lizard confirmed to the Prophet that he was the Messenger of God (*Al-salām 'alayka yā nabī Muḥammad, yā raṣūl Allāh!*). In Knappert, Jan (1971). *Swahili Islamic Poetry*, Vol. 1, Leiden: Brill, p. 35. Several miracles of this type that occurred to the Prophet, involving talking camels, gazelles or wolves and recognizing God's Envoy, are recounted in Abū Na'im al-Iṣbahānī (1950). *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*. Hyderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, pp. 324–31.
- 36 *Salāmūn 'alā qabr yuzāru min al-bu'di. Salāmūn 'alā l-Rawḍah wa fīha Muḥammad. Salāmūn 'alā man zāra fī l-layli rabbahu. Faballaghahu al-marghūb fī kullī maqṣad. Salāmūn 'alā man qāla li l-ḥabbi man anā. Fa qāla: "Rasūl Allāh anta Muḥammad. Salāmūn 'alā l-madfun fī ardī ṭaybah. Wa man ḥaṣṣahu al-raḥmānu bī l-faḍli wa l-majdi. Nabīyyun ḥabāhu Allāhu bil-ḥusni wal baha'. Faṭūbā li 'abdin zāra qabra Muḥammad. Ayā rākiban naḥwa l-madīna qāṣidan. Faballigh salāmī lil ḥabibi Muḥammad. Fī rawḍatihi l-ḥusna munāyā wa bughyatī. Wa fīhā shifā qalbī wa rūḥī wa rāḥatī. Fa in ba'udat 'annī wa 'azza mazāruhā. Fa timṭāluha ladayya aḥssanu ṣurah. Unazzihu ṭarfa al-'ayni fī ḥusni rawḍihā. Fa yaslū bihā lubbī wa sirrī wa muḥjatī. Fa hā anā yā qutb al-'awālim kullihā. Uqabbiluhā shawqan li-itfā' illatī. Wa ṣalli 'alā qutb al-wujūd Muḥammad. Ṣalātan bihā tamḥū 'annā kulla zallatī."*
- 37 Hamidoune, Amine (2012). *La pratique de "la prière sur le Prophète" en Islam. Analyse philologique et implications doctrinales*, Doctoral thesis, Aix-Marseille University, p. 376.
- 38 This belief derives in particular from the hadith: "*Man ra'ani fa-qad ra'a al-haqq, fi-inna al-shaytan la yatamathallu bi*" ("Whoever has seen me, has seen me in reality, for Satan does not take my appearance"). In Amri, Nelly (2008). *Les saints en Islam. Les messagers de l'espérance. Sainteté et eschatologie au Maghreb aux XIV^e–XV^e siècles*, Paris: Cerf, pp. 209 and 141.
- 39 Cornell, p. 180.
- 40 Several fatwas pronounced in the Maghrib between the eleventh and the extreme end of the nineteenth centuries have been compiled and commented on in Hendrickson, Jocelyn (2016). Prohibiting the Pilgrimage: Politics and Fiction in Mālikī Fatwas. *Islamic Law and Society* 23, Leiden: Brill, pp. 182–238. See also Moudden (el-), Abderrahmane (1990). The ambivalence of *rihla*: community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300–1800. In F. Eickelman Dale, James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim travellers: pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination*, London: Taylor and Francis, pp. 69–84.
- 41 Schimmel, A., p. 17.
- 42 In his article on the sacrality of the body of the Prophet, Denis Gril evokes the accounts of individuals who have reached the presence of the Prophet near his tomb. He mentions the texts of Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn (d. 1355), *Shifā' al-siqām fī ziyārat khayr al-anām*, reprod. Beirut: s.d., pp. 179–96; Firūzābādī (d. 1415) (1966). *Al-Ṣilāt wa l-bushar fī l-ṣalāt 'alā khayr al-bashar*. Damas, pp. 127–32; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1567) (2002). *Al-Durr al-mandūd fī l-ṣalāt wa l-salām 'alā Ṣāhib al-maqām al-mahūd*. Cairo: Ḥasanayn M. Makhlūf, pp. 138–42; Suyūṭī (d. 1505) (1967). *Al-khaṣā l-kubrā*. Cairo: M. Khalil Harrās, Vol. 2, pp. 139–55 and vol. 3, pp. 403–6. In Gril, Denis (2006). Le corps du Prophète. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée, Le corps et le sacré en Orient musulman* 113–15, Aix-en-Provence/Marseille: Publications de l'Université de Provence, p. 52.
- 43 Sa'īd b. al-Muṣayyib (d. 712–3) is one of the foremost *fuqahā'* of Medina, among the *ṣaḥāba*.
- 44 Dārimī, s.d., *Al-Sunan, muqaddima* 15, 1: 44, quoted in Gril, p. 52.
- 45 Addas, Claude (2015). *La maison muhammadienne. Aperçus de la dévotion au Prophète en mystique musulmane*. Paris: Gallimard, p. 116.
- 46 The *Qāb Qawsayn* is one of the forty treatises contained in the compendium Nāmūs al-a'ẓām attributed to al-Jīlī. Addas, p. 119.
- 47 Addas, pp. 136–7.
- 48 Meri, Joseph W. (2010). Relics of Piety and Power in Medieval Islam. *Past and Present* 10, Supp. 10. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 119.

- 49 Meri, pp. 119 and 221. As underlined J.W. Meri, the minbar of the Prophet is considered as a relic endowed with his *baraka*.
- 50 This symbolic reading is stated by Abdelaziz Daoulatli in his paper on the meaning of the *mihrāb*. Daoulatli, Abdelaziz (1988). Le mihrāb: signe ou symbole. In: Alexandre Papadopoulos, ed., *Le mihrāb dans l'architecture et la religion musulmanes, Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris en mai 1980 publiés et pourvus d'une étude d'introduction générale*. Leiden: Brill, p. 78.
- 51 "The mihrab reminds [therefore] by its very emptiness of the historical presence of the Prophet reciting the Divine Word, and thus the message of God himself." In: Papadopoulos, A. (1988). La Grande mosquée omeyyade de Médine et l'invention du mihrāb en forme de niche, In: Alexandre Papadopoulos, ed., *Le mihrāb dans l'architecture et la religion musulmanes, Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris en mai 1980 publiés et pourvus d'une étude d'introduction générale*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 86–7.
- 52 Indeed, if the qibla wall is always correctly oriented, the prayer niche can be quite off axis while in some mosques there are several *mihrābs*. These data reveal the secondary nature of the *mihrāb's* functionality for the indication of the direction of Mecca. Golvin, Lucien (1988). Le mihrāb et son éventuelle signification. In: "The mihrab reminds [therefore] by its very emptiness of the historical presence of the Prophet reciting the Divine Word, and thus the message of God himself." In: Alexandre Papadopoulos, ed., *Le mihrāb dans l'architecture et la religion musulmanes, Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris en mai 1980 publiés et pourvus d'une étude d'introduction générale*, Leiden: Brill, p. 54. Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen provides further developments regarding the symbolic meaning of the *mihrāb* in mosques, defining it as "an empty niche symbolizing both a direction [that of Mecca] and a presence: that of the Prophet [Muhammad]," Mayeur-Jaouen, Catherine (2000). Tombeau, mosquée et zāwiya: la polarité des lieux saints musulmans. In: A. Vauchez, ed., *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, p. 134.
- 53 This epithet appears in the Quran in Surat al-Aḥzāb (Q 33:46) and refers to the figure of the Prophet. See Schimmel, Annemarie (1989). *Islamic Names*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 31–2.
- 54 Translated into English from Kasimirski, M. (1983). *Le Coran*. Paris: SACELP, XXIV, 35, p. 238.
- 55 The interpretations of the Light verse have been the subject of several general or specific studies: Rubin Uri (1975). Pre-existence and Light. Aspects of the concept of *Nūr Muḥammadī*. *Israel Oriental Studies* 5, pp. 62–119; Addas, Claude (2015). *La maison muhammadienne. Aperçus de la dévotion au Prophète en mystique musulmane*, Paris: Gallimard, pp. 33–46; Schimmel, pp. 124–5; Gril, Denis (1977). Le commentaire au verset de la lumière d'après Ibn 'Arabī. *Bulletin d'études orientales, Mélanges offerts à Henri Laoust* 29 (1), Paris: Institut Français du Proche-Orient, pp. 179–87; Chaouki Zine, Mohammed (2009). L'interprétation symbolique du verset de la lumière.... *Arabica* 56, Leiden: Brill, pp. 543–95; Chodkiewicz, Michel (2012). *Le sceau des saints. Prophétie et sainteté dans la doctrine d'Ibn 'Arabī*. Paris: Gallimard, pp. 76–7.
- 56 "The light which is said to be like 'a niche with a lamp in a glass' refers to the light of the Prophet while he was in his father's loins," in Addas, p. 35.
- 57 Schimmel, p. 124.
- 58 Addas, pp. 37–8.
- 59 This verse is regularly inscribed on mosque lamps. As an example, see the Egyptian and Syrian lamps of the Mamluk period produced in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, preserved in the Hermitage Museum of St Petersburg (EG-883 (1346–7) and VG-17 (9th/15th century)) (Piotrovsky, Mikhail (1999). *Earthly beauty, heavenly art: Art of Islam*. Amsterdam: Lund Humphries Publishers, figs. 10 and 11, p. 75) or in the Nasser D. Khalili collection (GLS 572) (Rogers, Michael (2009). *Arts de l'Islam. Chefs-d'œuvre de la collection Khalili*, Paris: Hazan, fig. 241, pp. 198–9). The verse is also added on gravestones sculpted with simple niche motifs or with a lamp. Several prototypes are reproduced in Khoury, Nuha N.N. (1992). The Mihrab image: commemorative themes in Medieval Islamic architecture. *Muqarnas* 9, Leiden: Brill, pp. 11–28.
- 60 Gruber, Christiane (2009). Between logos (*kalima*) and light (*nūr*): representations of the Prophet Muhammad in Islamic painting. *Muqarnas* 26, p. 229.
- 61 Gruber, p. 230.
- 62 See, for instance, the copies MSS 97 (end of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries) from the Nasser D. Khalili collection. See also the manuscript dated from 1733 on auction at Gros et Delettrez on December 16, 2008 (*Orientalisme*, Vente n° 54 Gros et Delettrez du 16 décembre 2008, Paris: Gros et Delettrez, fig. 426). This motif can also be found in the manuscripts 239 (1775) from the Qaṣr al-Manya Museum and 4009.10.77 (seventeenth century) from the National Museum of Israel (Milstein, Rachel (1984). *Islamic painting in the Israel Museum*, Jerusalem: The Museum, p. 136, fig. 159).
- 63 Minorsky, V. (1958). *The Chester Beatty Library, A catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures*. Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Co. Ltd, fig. 463, pp. 100–1. This manuscript was copied by Muḥammad Amin al-Rushdi in 1798.

- 64 Massignon, p. 268.
- 65 However, one must underline the presence of a unique mention of the sandals in the second section (*ḥizb*) of the prayers through the epithet “*ṣāḥib al-naʿlayn*” (*the owner of the two sandals*) defining Muhammad.
- 66 Several studies have mentioned or studied the importance of the sandals of the Prophet in Muslim devotion: Meri, pp. 106–12; Margoliouth, David S. (1937). *The relics of the Prophet Mohammed*. *The Muslim World* 27, Hartford, pp. 20–7. In his latest book on the production of relics and the pilgrimage material culture, Finbarr Barry Flood draws up an innovative study on the sandals of the Prophet, their production modalities and the rituals and devotional practices they involve. In: Flood, Finbarr Barry (2019). *Technologies de dévotion dans les arts de l’islam: pèlerins, reliques et copies*. Paris: Hazan/Louvre Editions, pp. 141–71.
- 67 Meri, p. 107; Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. *Tarīkh Baghdād*. Online version *alwaraq.net*, p. 397.
- 68 Goldziher, Ignác (1971). *Veneration of Saints*, S.M. Stern (éd.), *Muslim Studies*, transl. by C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, vol. 2. London: George Allen and Unwin, p. 327.
- 69 Goldziher, Ignác (1890). *Muhammedanische Studien*. Halle, pp. 364–5; Abel, Armand (1952). Le caractère sociologique des origines du “Culte” de Mahomet dans l’Islam tardif. *Mélanges Georges Smets*. Bruxelles: Les Editions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, pp. 43–55.
- 70 Mouton, Jean-Michel (1993). De quelques reliques conservées à Damas au Moyen-Âge. *Annales Islamologiques* 27. Cairo: IFAO, pp. 246–7; Meri, pp. 107–8.
- 71 Al-Maqqarī, M. (2006). *Faṭḥ al-Mutaʿāl fi Madḥ al-Niʿāl*, Aḥmad Farīd al-Mizyādī (ed.). Beirut, p. 289.
- 72 Al-Maqqarī, p. 289.
- 73 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Juzʿ Timṭāl Naʿl al-Nabī*, ed. Ḥusayn Shukrī. Medina, p. 25. Quoted in Meri, p. 109.
- 74 Schimmel, p. 40.
- 75 See his compilation of legal decisions in a volume entitled *Kitāb al-Miʿyār al-mughrib wa l-jāmiʿ al-muʿrib ʿan fatāwa ahl Ifrīqiya wa-l-Andalus*. Several of them (2144 *fatwā*-s) have been translated by Vincent Lagardère in Lagardère, Vincent (1995). *Histoire et société en Occident musulman au Moyen-Âge. Analyse du Miʿyār dʿal-Wansharīshī*. Madrid: Casa de Velasquez; others are quoted in Wheeler, Brannon Mitchell (2006). *Mecca and Eden: ritual, relics and territory in Islam*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p. 79.
- 76 Meri, p. 99.
- 77 Marie de St Elie, Père Anastase, p. 365.
- 78 “*Umarrigh fi l-mithāl bayāḍ wajhī fa-qad jaʿalā l-Nabī lahā qibāla wa mā ḥubbu al-niʿāl shaghafna qalbī wa lākin ḥubban man labisa al-niʿāl*.”
- 79 MSS. 3427, copied in Morocco in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1215/July-August 1800 and MSS. 8813 copied in Morocco around the end of the 11th/17th century.
- 80 See for example the architectural images from the Umayyad Quran found in the Mosque of Sanaa, housed at Dār al-Makhtūtāt in Sanaa (DAM 20–33.1). For a discussion on the meaning of these images, Grabar, Oleg (2013). *L’ornement. Formes et fonctions dans l’art islamique*. Paris: Flammarion, pp. 216–42.
- 81 Gruber, Christiane, “Between logos (*kalima*) and light (*nūr*): representations of the Prophet Muhammad in Islamic painting,” *Muqarnas*, 26 (2009), Leyde, Brill, 2009, p. 235. See also Papadopoulos, Alexandre (1976). *L’Islam et l’art musulman*, Paris: L. Mazenod, pp. 56–7.