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DEPICTING THE ISLAMIC HOLY SITES: MECCA, MEDINA, AND JERUSALEM IN LATE OTTOMAN ILLUSTRATED PRAYER BOOKS

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The major Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*) and visitation (*ziyāra*) sites were depicted in different media and with various compositional arrangements, architectural drawing techniques, and pictorial attributes in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.¹ The largest bulk of representations in this period are from two prayer books: the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* (Guide of Good Deeds) and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*. The author of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*, Muhammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465) was a Moroccan Sufi leader of the Shādhilī order; however, the popularity of this prayer book exceeded North Africa. His *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* consisted of blessings (*ṣalawāt*) for the Prophet Muḥammad organized in two, three, four, and/or eight sections (*aḥzāb*) to be recited daily or at other intervals.² Except for the texts added to the beginning and the end, the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* had a more or less standard textual organization, regardless of different periods and geographies (Daub, 2016, 135, 139). The *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, conversely, was of flexible content in that it depended on its patron, copyist/calligrapher, illuminator, and/or painter (Bain 1999: 49). It was often made up of a collection of religious imagery, prayers (*ād'iya*), and verses (*āyāt*) and chapters (*suwar*) from the Qur'an, including the sixth chapter Sūrat al-An'ām. The religious imagery in the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* often displayed an array of images and/or graphic compositions, including amulet seals, calligraphies of the names of God, the Prophet, and the Rightly Guided Caliphs, as well as the physical description of the Prophet (*hilye-i şerīf*), the Prophet's belongings (*muḥallefāt*), and representations of the holy sites.

Among others, Ottoman copies of Maḥdī al-Fasī's (d. 1109/1698) Arabic commentary *Maṭālī' al-Masarrāt* and Karadavudzade's (d. 1170/1756) Turkish commentary *Tevfīku Muvaffīki'l-Ḥayrāt* could also be illustrated. In several miscellanies, the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* were compiled together, or with other texts such as the *Ḥizb al-A'zam* by the Ḥanafī scholar and calligrapher 'Alī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605), the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* by the Moroccan scholar and founder of the Shādhilī order Abu Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), and the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*³ by the Sufi poet of the Shādhilī order Sa'īd al-Būṣūrī (d. 694-96/1294-97).

In this paper, I specifically focus on representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites in these types of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman prayer books. My aim is to answer the following questions: Which holy sites were represented in prayer books? What motivated the inclusion of representations in prayer books? And how did image and text relate to each other? I have observed that the House of God (in Mecca), the Tomb of the Prophet (in Medina), the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina), and the Holy Triad (Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem) appeared in prayer books separately, in different combinations, or

¹ I would like to thank Günsel Renda, Nina Ergin, Zeren Tanımdı, and Christiane Gruber for their feedback on the drafts of this paper.

² The full name of the book is *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr al-Şalāt 'alā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* (Proofs of Good Deeds and the Brilliant Burst of Light in the Remembrance of Blessings on the Chosen Prophet). For more information about the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*, see Witkam 2002.

³ The original name of the book is *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Bariyya* (Pearly Stars in Praise of the Best of All Creation). For the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* and other mantle odes, see Stetkevych, 2010.

with additional religious imagery.⁴ Representations of the holy sites displayed great variety based on sources internal and external to the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif*. I argue that there was a diversification of religious imagery in this period rather than an evolutionary development, because different attitudes toward image and text coexisted.

The House of God

In the *En'ām-ı Şerif*, representations of the Ka'ba, the Masjīd al-Ḥarām, or Mecca appear in isolation or in addition to representations of the Ḥaramayn (Figs. 1-2). For instance, a late eighteenth-century *En'ām-ı Şerif* in the Süleymaniye Library consists of representations of the Ka'ba, Mecca, and Medina among other religious imagery (Fig. 1). On the right-hand page, the Ka'ba is shown, whereas on the left-hand page the Prophet's belongings are aligned with their accompanying labels. Two verses from *Sūrat Āl 'Imrān* (3: 96-97) surround the Ka'ba image on four sides and a Turkish text follows in the space below. The poem suggests that, if one pays homage or rubs his/her face (*yüz sürmek*) to the Ka'ba (*Beytullah*) or its image, then his/her sins will be forgiven. As Christiane Gruber has shown, rubbing an amulet seal on the face was considered a way to activate its protective and/or curative powers (2018: 27-29). In the case of the Ka'ba representation, it is stated that forgiveness via homage or rubbing of the face will not be granted to those who have committed grave sins. Nevertheless, the hajj or the act of rubbing the face could provide forgiveness for minor sins, which might explain the presence of the Ka'ba image in this particular prayer book. The Ka'ba's role as a mediating "house" (*beyt*) to secure God's forgiveness can be deduced from the smudge marks on its pictorial representations in several prayer books.

Verses from *Sūrat Āl 'Imrān* are also inscribed on a Masjīd al-Ḥarām representation in an *En'ām-ı Şerif* copy housed in the Chester Beatty Library (Fig. 3) and on several seventeenth-century ceramic panels.⁵ Sheila Blair notes that the same verses, as well as those immediately before and after, were often inscribed when an association with the *hajj*, the Ka'ba, or Mecca was present (2013: 160):

The first House [of worship] to be established for people was the one at Mecca. It is a blessed place; a source of guidance for all people; there are clear signs in it; it is the place where Abraham stood to pray; whoever enters it is safe. (Q 3:96)

The Ka'ba – the "first House" (*Bayt al-Awwal*) of worship or the House of God (*Baytu'l-lāh*) – is the center of focus in the majority of Masjīd al-Ḥarām and Mecca representations. The significance of the Ka'ba and Mecca as the direction of prayer (*qibla*) and the site of pilgrimage, as well as their association with "clear signs", motivated their visualization. According to David Roxburgh, cosmological and eschatological links mark sacred topographies, most especially Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem (2012: 33-37). To illustrate this point, the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) in the Ka'ba connects Adam, Abraham, and the Prophet Muḥammad chronologically and commemoratively, and thus touching and kissing it during *hajj* or seeing its representation recalls pilgrims' memories and experiences. Therefore, representations help their beholders visualize and imagine the powers of the holy sites that they long for, and/or remind them of the sites that they have visited. Similar to representations

⁴ So far, I have come across only one prayer book that consists of a representation of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in addition to the Holy Triad, which is an eighteenth-century *En'ām-ı Şerif* in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (AEM 17069).

⁵ CBL T 464 (1213/1798-99) belongs to a corpus of manuscripts copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi Teberdari, which also consist of CBL T 463 and another *En'ām-ı Şerif* from the Ankara Ethnography Museum (AEM 20665). See Minorsky 1958: no. 463-64; Wright 2009: 157-63; and Renda 1980: no. 10.

in pilgrimage certificates and on scrolls, those in prayer books also operated as mementos and thus urged visuals to be added to devotional texts.⁶

In another *En ‘ām-i Şerīf*, the Masjid al-Ḥarām is shown alone without the accompanying Masjid al-Nabawī (Fig. 2).⁷ The sacred precinct is depicted with its arcades and seven minarets surrounding the Ka‘ba, the minbar, and the stations (sing. *maqām*) of Abraham, and the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Ḥanbalī, and Shāfi‘ī schools. The architectural features of the holy mosques and the Ḥaram al-Sharīf are often inscribed with labels (Fig. 3 and 4). Similar textual identification of images in pilgrimage manuals, ceramic panels, and other media served didactic purposes, whether they were privately or publicly viewed.⁸ They provided a better understanding of the holy sites for future pilgrims. As visual aids in pilgrimage preparations, they thus could impel the inclusion of representations in prayer books.

The Tomb of the Prophet

The Minbar and Burial Chamber (*Ḥicre-i Sa‘ādet*), the Masjid al-Nabawī, and Medina were frequently depicted in the *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt* (Figs. 5-7). As Jan Just Witkam notes, representations of the Tomb of the Prophet were inspired by the *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt* text itself, whereas representations of the Minbar and Burial Chamber were sourced from a hadith (2009: 29-30). Representations of the Masjid al-Nabawī and Medina, however, seem to be included in the *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt* because they contain the Burial Chamber and other religiously significant structures or sites, such as the garden of Fāṭima in the Masjid al-Nabawī and the Baqī’ Cemetery in Medina. In several Medina representations, the Baqī’ Cemetery is also shown within the same composition; however, few manuscripts depict the Masjid al-Nabawī and the cemetery on separate pages.

In the *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt*, the description of the Blessed Garden (*Rawzat al-Mubārak*) is located after the Names of the Prophet (*Asmā’ al-Nabī*) and before the first section (*ḥizb al-awwal*) of prayers, marking the section to be recited on Monday:

And this is the description of the blessed precinct [*Rawzat al-Mubārak*] in which the prophet of God is interred; the blessing and peace of God be on him, and his two comrades Abou Bekr and Omar, the favor of God be on them both; be He ever blessed and exalted. (al-Jazūlī 1907: 17)

The description of the Blessed Garden led to representations of the tombs of the Prophet Muḥammad, the caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Omar, and of the more inclusive Burial Chamber in the *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt*. Commentaries provided possible configurations of the three tombs in the Burial Chamber, which in return became an external source for some representations in the *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt*. For instance, in one *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt* manuscript, the facing Mecca and Medina paintings are preceded by a full-page drawing showing four different arrangements of the tombs in the Burial Chamber based on al-Fasī’s commentary (Fig. 5). The spatial configurations of the tombs alone or inside the Burial Chamber were not arbitrary in prayer books, as they followed one of several variants (Figs. 4-9). The Tomb of the Prophet, and thus the Burial Chamber, are highlighted by a flaming nimbus in several representations (Figs. 4 and 6). As Gruber has demonstrated, textual sources mention the “primordial light” of the Prophet, and visual representations include a prophetic halo (2009a: 247-249). In prayer books, however, the halo does not girdle the physical presence of the

⁶ For pilgrimage scrolls, see Chekhab-Abudaya et al. 2016: 345-407; Sourdél and Sourdél-Thomine 2006; Aksoy and Milstein 2001: 101-34; and Tanındı 1983: 2-6.

⁷ See TSMK EH 365 (1144/1731-32) in Karatay 1962: I, no. 929 and Tanındı 2014: 103.

⁸ For ceramic panels with representations of the holy sites, see Maury 2013: 143-59. For pilgrimage manuals depicting stops on the *ḥajj* route (*manāzil*) and/or the rites of the *ḥajj* (*manāsik*), see Milstein, 2006: 166-94 and 2001: 275-345.

Prophet; instead, it hovers above his tomb, which represents his primordial and posthumous radiance.⁹

The following hadith about the Blessed Garden catalyzed representations of the Minbar and Tomb of the Prophet in many *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* copies, as well as in some *En'ām-ı Şerîf* copies: “The space between my house and my pulpit is like one of the gardens of and my pulpit will stand next to my basin.”¹⁰ The word “house” (*bayt*) alternates with the words “tomb” (*qabr*) and “chamber” (*hujra*) in collections of hadith compilers. The “tomb” version of the hadith was recorded in two undated Magribi copies of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* manuscripts, now held in the Bodleian Library (MS. Marshall Or. 82) and the Harvard Art Museums (1984.464). In both examples, the Burial Chamber is depicted on the right-hand page and the hadith is inscribed between the Minbar and the Mihrab on the left-hand page. Based on an interpretation of the hadith, the Minbar and the Burial Chamber define a space in the Masjid al-Nabawī that is considered to be more virtuous than the rest of the mosque complex.

The “tomb” version of the hadith is also inscribed in the Masjid al-Nabawī illustrated in Figure 4. The hadith is recorded on the right of the Burial Chamber and above the Minbar, as if it is defining the virtuous space via text. However, in the Burial Chamber representation, “*Hadhā* (‘this is’) *Rawḍat al-Mubārak*” is inscribed under the dome to denote the chamber. In other words, the Blessed Garden must have been perceived in at least two different ways: as synonymous with the Burial Chamber and/or as the space between the Minbar and the Burial Chamber. Two *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* copies further exemplify the possible meanings of the Garden. In a *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (1158/1745-46), the representation of the Minbar includes the caption “*Ḥazā Minber-i Şerîf*,” whereas the Burial Chamber is identified by “*Hadhā Rawḍat al-Mubārak*.”¹¹ In a *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (1270/1853-54), a richly colored double-page perspective view of the Garden precedes Mecca and Medina (Fig. 7). The accompanying Ottoman Turkish text describes the image, or what is seen from the mosque interior, while quoting the “tomb” hadith. Such three-dimensional representations of the Garden are quite rare. Here, the viewer gazes upon the Minbar and the Burial Chamber from the gallery level on the southern section of the mosque. This perspectival rendering allows the beholder to experience a holistic view of the Garden, in contrast to the set-apart representations of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber as in Fig. 6.

The Ḥaramayn

Paired images of the Ka‘ba and the Burial Chamber, the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabawī, or Mecca the Blessed (*Makka al-Mukarrama*) and Medina the Illuminated (*Madīna al-Munawwara*) were widespread in copies of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerîf* (Figs. 8, 10-11). According to Witkam, the introduction of Mecca images into the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* took place in Ottoman lands with the rise of the Wahhābī movement in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹² He explains the change in representations as an Ottoman attempt to counterbalance the emphasis on the Tomb of the Prophet with images of the House

⁹ Louis Massignon differentiates the prophetic light from the hanging lamp in face-to-face confrontation (*muwājaha*) and benediction (*taşliya*) (1969: 290-92).

¹⁰ Here, I have used Juynboll’s translation (2007: 313) of the hadith (al-Mizzi: IV, no. 5300). Some *En'ām-ı Şerîf* copies also consist of representations of the basin (*khawḍh*).

¹¹ The manuscript was copied by Yazıcı Derviş Mustafa el-Mevlevi b. Ali el-Konevi in 1158/1745-46. See EH 1014 in Karatay 1966: III, no. 5473.

¹² Frederike-Wiebké Daub also states that the Mecca and Medina pairs emerged in the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* during the second half of the eighteenth century, while questioning Witkam’s explanation about the Wahhābī impact (2016: 161).

of God (2007: 73-75). According to Bain, the proliferation of the *En 'ām-ı Şerîf* and the introduction of religious imagery into this devotional miscellany also took place in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, she explains the change as a Sufi response to the fundamentalist approach to Islam propagated by the Wahhâbî movement (1999: 129-130).

The Wahhâbî movement may not, however, have initiated the change in the image content of the *Dalâ'il al-Ḥayrât* or the *En 'ām-ı Şerîf*, as there exist examples of both dating to the first half of the eighteenth century. For instance, a *Dalâ'il al-Ḥayrât* in the Süleymaniye Library (Laleli 1541, 1145/1732-33) and an *En 'ām-ı Şerîf* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (YY 155, 1153/1740) include representations of the Masjid al-Ḥarâm and the Masjid al-Nabawî already in the first half of the eighteenth century before the spread of Wahhabism. Furthermore, there are North African copies of the prayer book that consist of representations of the holy mosques with those of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber.¹³ Therefore, early North African copies might have inspired later Ottoman examples, or simultaneous changes in the image content of the *Dalâ'il al-Ḥayrât* may have thrived contemporaneously in different geographies. Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem had been under Ottoman sovereignty since the early sixteenth century (1516/17). Therefore, visual propaganda could be one of the reasons why representations of the holy sites were so common in the Ottoman Empire. The Wahhâbî threat might indeed have influenced the diversification of representations' content; that said, though, such a threat does not explain how and why Ḥaramayn representations emerged in prayer books.

The popularity of Ḥaramayn representations is obvious from one *Dalâ'il al-Ḥayrât* manuscript. Here, the Minbar and Burial Chamber composition was altered subsequently with the additional image of the Ka'ba on the left-hand page (Fig. 9). The Ka'ba and the circumambulation area (*maṭâf*) were painted above the Minbar, offering an alternative pictorial combination to the original. Based on the preference or expectations of a later user, the single Medina representation was transformed into the dyad of Mecca and Medina with a sketch-like rendition of the Ka'ba.

Geography, vegetation, *hajj* season, and time of day are differentiated in several representations. For instance, in one *En 'ām-ı Şerîf*, Mecca's surrounding hills and Medina's palm groves are also incorporated into the composition (Fig. 10). In other examples, Mecca and Medina are painted on colored backgrounds of yellow/brown and green, which give an idea about the flora of both cities. In several lithograph versions of the *Dalâ'il al-Ḥayrât*, one can distinguish crowds approaching and entering Mecca, which suggests the performance of pilgrimage rites (Fig. 11). Pilgrims shown in circles or conical formations capture the temporality of the *hajj* season within these types of representations.¹⁴ Fig. 11 also displays the addition of the Prophet's relics, a visual strategy of expansion that will be discussed below.

Ḥaramayn representations followed a strict decorum in all media and settings, including manuscript and wall paintings: representations of Mecca and calligraphies of the name "Allah" (*İsm-i Celâl* or *Lafza-i Celâl*) almost always went on the right-hand side, whereas representations of Medina and calligraphies of the name "Muḥammad" (*İsm-i Nebî* or *Lafza-i Nebî*) went on the left (Figs. 8, 10-11). Such coupling is logical, because Mecca houses the House of God and Medina houses the Tomb of the Prophet. This pictorial strategy is also sustained in other arrangements, where the Ka'ba is located on the right-hand page and the Prophet's belongings on the left (Fig. 1). Only a small number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscript paintings violate this visual *modus operandi*; however, the numbers increase in lithographic prints due to the production of mirror images.

¹³ See the Maghribi copies of the *Dalâ'il al-Ḥayrât* in the Berlin State Library (Ms. or. oct. 240), the Harvard Art Museums (1984.464), or the Khalili Collections (MSS 1188). For an Ottoman example, see the copy in the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (103-0359).

¹⁴ Bahattin Yaman presented a paper on images of Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi's (d. 855/1451) *Muḥammediyye* at the present congress, which focused on the circular depictions that replaced figures.

The Holy Triad: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem

Some prayer books include representations of the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsā, Ḥaram al-Sharīf, or Jerusalem in addition to those of the Ḥaramayn (Fig. 3 and 4). Therefore, a triad of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem displays the three major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. Jerusalem's significance as the "City of All Prophets" and Muslims' first direction of prayer, as well as the city's role in the Prophet Muḥammad's night journey (*isrā'*) and his heavenly ascension (*mir'āj*) make this three-city formula a powerful one. A verse from Sūrat al-Isrā' (17:1) emphasizes the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Aqsā as the departure and arrival points for the night journey:

Glory to Him who made His servant travel by night from the sacred place of worship [Masjid al-Ḥarām] to the furthest place of worship [Masjid al-Aqsā], whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him some of Our signs: He alone is the All Hearing, the All Seeing. (Qur'an 17:1)

In Figure 3, this verse is quoted above the Ḥaram al-Sharīf representation together with a Turkish inscription under the Dome of the Rock denoting the minbar as the place where the Prophet tied the winged steed (*burāq*) before his ascension. As Gruber has demonstrated, Jerusalem also has significance as the land of gathering (*arḍ al-maḥṣar*), which can be traced through eschatological imagery (2014: 55). For instance, the scales of justice (*mīzān*), which weigh good and bad deeds on Judgement Day, is depicted below the Dome of the Rock in this example.¹⁵

Moreover, in Figure 3, the Ḥaram al-Sharīf is shown on the left of the Masjid al-Ḥarām, which interrupts the Ḥaramayn layout. Nevertheless, the night journey between Mecca and Jerusalem can be better visualized in this sequence. A similar dyad of Mecca and Jerusalem can also be found in the double-page paintings of the eschaton in İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi's (d. 1194/1780) encyclopedic work *Ma'rifetnâme* (Book of Gnosis). Often, heaven and hell are depicted at the top and bottom of both pages, with the Ka'ba in the center right and Jerusalem in the center left. The Ka'ba is shown as the center of the cosmos, and Jerusalem as the land of gathering after the resurrection (Gruber 2014: 54-55). This holy triad was of pre-eminent importance in pilgrimage scrolls and manuals, but they also appeared in *hilyes* and wall paintings.

Expanding Horizons: Prophetic Vestiges

The *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* was a very popular prayer book in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, and hundreds of manuscript and print copies from this period are now preserved in private collections, museums, and libraries. Meeting a high demand required producing manuscripts in large numbers or printing them in several editions. In some nineteenth-century lithographs, Ḥaramayn representations were surrounded by religious imagery, such as the Prophet's footprint (*kaḍem-i şerīf*), sandal (*na'lin-ı şerīf*), and belongings (*muḥallefāt*) (Fig. 11). This double-page design not only provided visual economy, but it also amalgamated devotional and terrestrial imagery for its users. Seals, *hilyes*, and relics were depicted on separate pages of the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* to provide its users intercession, blessings, cure, or protection together with a selection of explicative texts (Gruber 2009b: 144). For instance, in Figure 1, the Prophet's mantle (*hırka-i sa'ādet*), Qur'an copy (*muşhaf-i şerīf*), toothbrush (*misvāk-i şerīf*), prayer beads (*tesbīh-i şerīf*), comb (*tarāk-i şerīf*), ablution basin (*leğen-i şerīf*) and pitcher (*ibrik-i şerīf*) are depicted across the Ka'ba image. With the addition of images depicting the Prophet Muhammad's personal effects drawn from illustrated *En'ām-ı Şerīf*

¹⁵ For eschatological imagery, also see Necipoğlu 2008: 73-79.

manuscripts, the horizons of Mecca and Medina were effectively widened in the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* print in Figure 11.

Some *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* copies also consisted of *hilyes* and representations of the Prophet's relics. I have come across a corpus of three *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* copies from the Beyazıt Library, which replaces the Blessed Garden representations with those of the Prophet's relics (B 1265, B 1266, and B 1269). Each of these manuscripts includes a single-page composition of the Prophet's footprint and belongings after the first section of the Garden text (Fig. 12). Similar to the incorporation of religious imagery into Haramayn lithographs, the Beyazıt manuscripts demonstrate how the image content of the *En'ām-ı Şerif*, or other external sources, was subsumed into the expanding pictorial program of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*. The incorporation of the Prophet's relics and *hilyes* into *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* manuscripts and prints not only enabled veneration of the Prophet, but also carried blessings and potential curative powers for their owners/viewers.

Conclusion

The *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif* were endowed to institutions and owned by private individuals. In the Pavilion of the Sacred Relics at the Topkapı Palace, prayer books were kept among other religious objects, such as the Prophet's footprint, sandal, and mantle as well as Qur'an copies and commentaries (Aydın 2006: 10). At the Library of Rawdat al-Muṭahhara in Medina, two *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* and two *En'ām-ı Şerif* copies were recorded among many Qur'an copies in the early twentieth century.¹⁶ Two archival documents from the Atatürk Library and a library catalogue further attest to the public and private uses of prayer books. A document from the Atatürk Library lists the objects kept in the tomb of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1883), the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76), among which are an *En'ām-ı Şerif* and a *Du'ā' Risālesi*.¹⁷ Furthermore, the printed library catalogue of the Aksaray Valide Mosque records five copies of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*, six copies of its commentaries, and five copies of the *En'ām-ı Şerif* (1893: 4-5). Therefore, both the Tomb and Library of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan must have provided prayer books for its reciters and visitors.¹⁸ Another document lists a volume of the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif* and a volume of the *Ḥizbü'l-Baḥr* and the *Devr-i Ā'lā* among the valide sultan's personal scriptures/litanies (*evrād-ı mahşuşa*).¹⁹

Like other illustrated manuscripts produced in Islamic lands over the centuries, the various functions of Ottoman prayer books were just as important as their public and private uses in shaping their visual programs. In this regard, based on his study of illustrated copies of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, Oleg Grabar has suggested five attitudes towards illustrating a literary text, which motivated the incorporation of images into manuscripts. In his opinion, illustrations can be literal, descriptive, interpretative, predominantly visual, or purely visual (2006: 190-202). If one takes devotional texts into account as well, another attitude outsourced by the Qur'an, hadith, and commentaries, or by protection, healing, guidance, longing, and memento can be added to the list. With the increasing number of pilgrims in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, all these different sources and diverse uses of prayer books contributed to the diversification and articulation of representations. On

¹⁶ See the Fahreddin Paşa Notebook (YY 827) in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. See also Kahraman 2008: 214, 237.

¹⁷ See PVS 1676 in the Atatürk Library in Istanbul.

¹⁸ Another elite woman who endowed prayer books was Bezmialem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), the mother of Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61). There are five *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* copies and a miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt* at the Beyazıt Library (B 1265-70), each of which carries the endowment inscriptions (1266/1849-50) and the seals of the valide sultan.

¹⁹ See PVS 2202 in the Atatürk Library in Istanbul.

the one hand, depictions of the holy sites navigated, illustrated, described, or interpreted the text; increased the appreciation of the book; and reminded users of Ottoman sovereignty over Islamic holy sites. On the other hand, they referred to external verbal descriptions and interpretations; answered users' urge to seek out protection and healing; guided users in pilgrimage; and mediated imagination and remembrance. As a result, a large array of representations – from the tombs of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and 'Omar to the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem – appeared in Ottoman prayer books during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their different combinations and expansions yielded a new kind of Ottoman religious imagery that creatively combined holy spaces with prophetic traces.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu makale 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda çok yaygın olan Delā'ilü'l-Ḥayrāt ve En'ām-ı Şerif isimli dua kitaplarındaki Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs tasvirlerini ele almaktadır. Bu kitaplarda yer alan kutsal mekânlara ait tasvir yelpazesi, imgelerin birbirleriyle ve metinlerle olan ilişkileri ile tasvir çeşitliliğinin muhtemel kaynaklarını incelemektedir. Geç dönem Osmanlı dua kitaplarında Beytullah (Mekke), Hz. Muhammed'in Kabri (Medine), Haremeyn (Mekke ve Medine), ve Kutsal Üçlemeler (Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs) tek başlarına, birlikte veya Hz. Muhammed'e özgü dini imgelerle (ör. kadem-i şerif) bir arada bulunmaktadır. Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs görselleri sık sık bu şehirlerin kutsal mekânlarıyla

ilişkilendirilen metinlerle birlikte yer almaktadır. Dönemin dini imge çeşitliliđi yalnız dua kitaplarının metin içeriklerinden deđil muhtelif dış kaynaklardan da beslemiş ve farklı kullanımlara olanak verecek şekilde biçimlenmiştir. Mekân tasvirleri bir yandan metni görsele aktarırken okurlara da kılavuzluk etmiş, kutsal topraklardaki Osmanlı egemenliğini hatırlatmış ve el yazmalarının değerini artırmıştır. Dualar, ayetler, hadis rivayetleri, şerhler ve şiirlerle de beslenen görseller şefaata, berekete, şifa ve koruma sağladığı inancıyla yaygınlaşmış, hacı adaylarına rehberlik etmiş, hac ile ziyaret deneyimlerini anımsatmış ve kutsal toprakları göremeyenlerin hayal gücünü tetiklemiştir.

Biographical Note

Sabiha Gölođlu completed her dissertation titled “Depicting the Holy: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Empire” in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art at Koç University in June 2018. Her work focuses on image-and-image and text-and-image relationships of religious architectural imagery, modes of representation utilized to depict the Islamic holy sites, various uses of religious imagery, and principles governing visual arrangement and architectural placement of representations, as well as production, circulation, patronage, and ownership of prayer books. During her doctoral studies, she received several grants including the Ilse Böhlund Hanfmann Fellowship (2015) of the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT). In 2018-19, she will be a post-doctoral fellow at the program “Connecting Art Histories in the Museum,” a joint project between the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz and the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Fig. 1 – The Ka'ba and the Belongings of the Prophet Muhammad, *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, 1208/1793-94, copyist: Dürbinizade Mustafa Nazif, illuminator: Hafız Mehmed Nuri, 16.9 × 11.5 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Pertevniyal 43, 56b-57a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)



Fig. 2 – Masjid al-Harām, *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, 1094/1682-83, copyist: Mehmed Hocaşade, illuminator: Salih (1144/1731-32), 16.5 × 11 cm, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, EH 365, 79b-80a (©Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi)

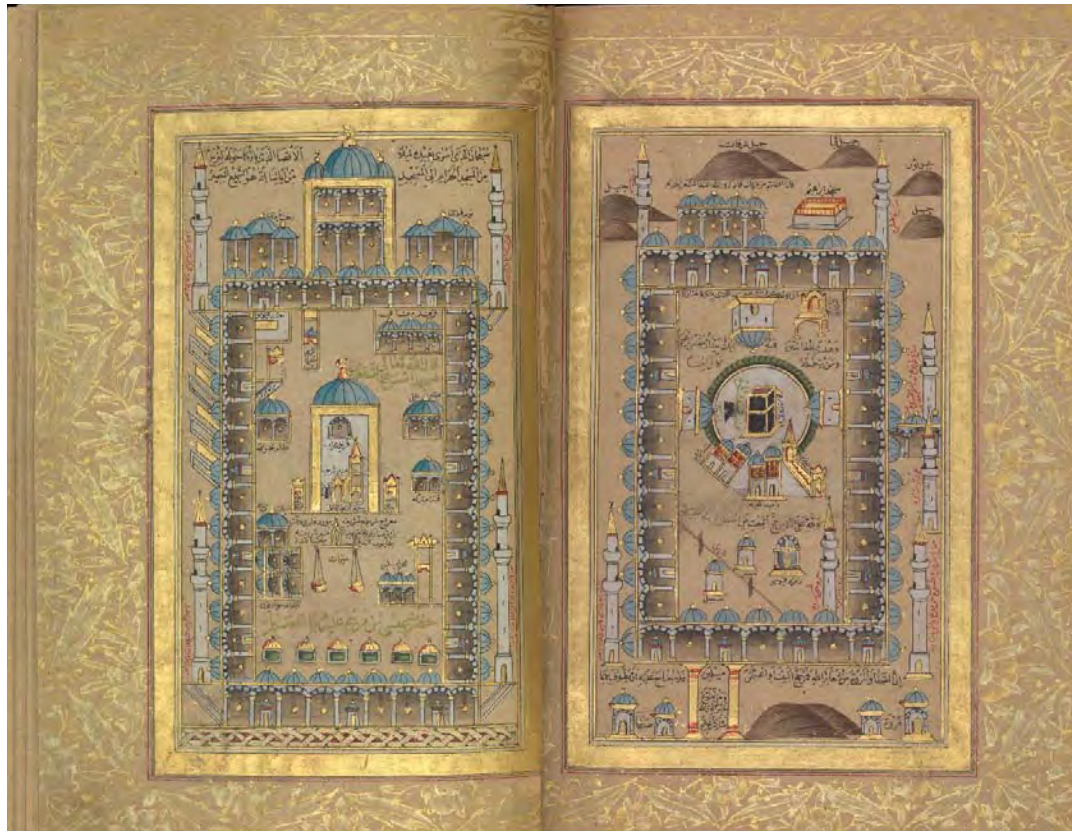


Fig. 3 – Masjid al-Ḥarām and Ḥaram al-Šarīf, *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf*, 1213/1798-99, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi Teberdari, a disciple of el-Hac Mehmed Kütahi, 17.7 × 11.2 cm, Chester Beatty Library, T 464, 98b-99a (©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)



Fig. 4 – Burial Chamber and the Masjid al-Nabawī, *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf*, 1213/1798-99, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi Teberdari, a disciple of el-Hac Mehmed Kütahi, 17.7 × 11.2 cm, Chester Beatty Library, T 464, 99b-100a (©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)



Fig. 5 – The Tombs of the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs Abū Bakr and ‘Omar, *Dalā’il al-Ḥayrāt*, 15.8 × 10.5 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Nuri Arlasez 316, 14b-15a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)



Fig. 6 – The Rawzāt al-Mubārak, al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), *Dalā’il al-Ḥayrāt*, 1143/1730-31, copyist: Hasan b. Abdullah, 17 × 11 cm, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, EH 1029, 17b-18a (©Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul)



Fig. 7 – The Rawzat al-Mubarak, *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*, 1270/1853-54, copyist: Mehmed Rasim, 19.7 × 12.3 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Pertevniyal 35, 22b-23a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)



Fig. 8 – Masjid al-Ḥarām and Masjid al-Nabawī, *Dalā'il al-Ḥayrāt*, 1145/1732-33, copyist: Hafız İbrahim, 17.4 × 11.2 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1541, 12b-13a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)

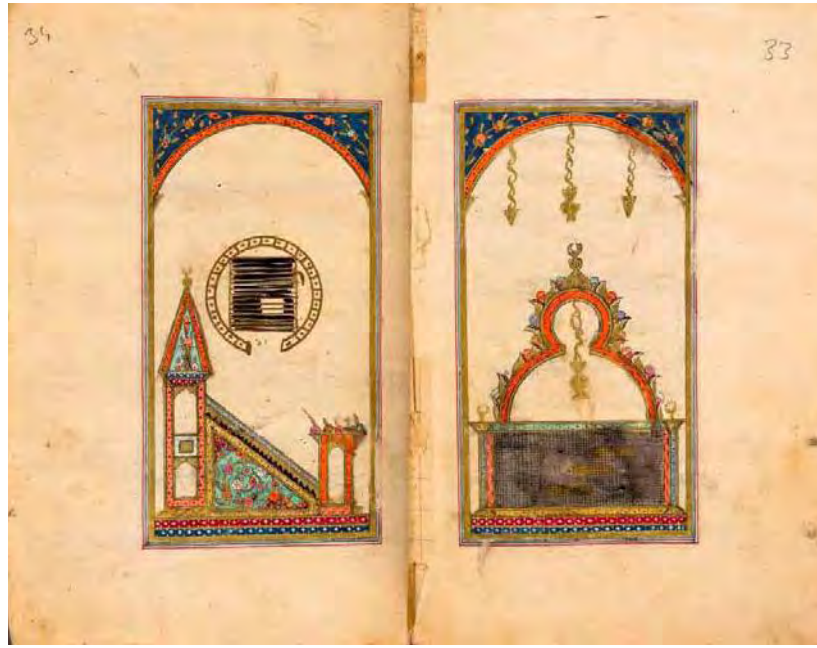


Fig. 9 – The Rawzat al-Mubārak and the Ka‘ba, *Dalā‘il al-Ḥayrāt*, before 1165/1751-52, 18 × 11.8 cm, Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17228, 33b-34a (©Hadiye Cangökçe, Ankara Etnografya Müzesi)



Fig. 10 – Mecca and Medina, *En‘ām-ı Şerīf*, 1173/1759-60, copyist: Mustafa b. Mehmed Paşa, 26.2 × 16.2 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi 5, 45b-46a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)



Fig. 11 – Mecca and Medina, *Dalā'il al-Hayrāt*, 1285/1868-69, lithograph edition, Ankara National Library, EHT 1967 A 390, 16-17 (©S. Göloğlu)



Fig. 12 – The Belongings of the Prophet Muhammad, *Dalā'il al-Hayrāt*, 1260/1844-45, copyist: Seyyid Hasan Hüsni, a disciple of Vasfi Efendi, Beyazıt Library, B 1266, 22b-23a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)