The battle of the images

Mekka vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazuli’s *Dala’il al-Khayrāt*

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**Introduction**

The prayer-book *Dala’il al-Khayrāt* by the Moroccan mystical activist Abu ‘Abdallāh Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazuli (d. 870/1465) is one of the most successful books in Sunni Islam, after the *Qur’ān* itself. It is known from the Islamic West, where it was written more than five hundred years ago, till far in South East Asia, and everywhere in-between. There must be many thousands of manuscripts of it all over the world, and many hundreds of printed versions. The numerous editions which are currently available in the entire Islamic world prove that the book has lost nothing of its appeal. Most manuscripts and all printed editions of the *Dala’il al-Khayrāt* are provided with two illustrations, showing either elements of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina, or views of the Great Mosque of Mekka and the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina. Why these illustrations came to be inserted into al-Jazuli’s prayer-book in the first place, and how they changed from one representation into another is the subject of the present paper.

**The author**

Abu ‘Abdallāh Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazuli al-Silmāli, the Moroccan mystical activist who was killed in 870 (1465), originated from al-Sūs al-Aqṣā, in the Southwest of present-day Morocco. Of his life little is known, except for elements which all have evident hagiographical features, and which are not easy to disentangle. He is said to have stayed for a number of years in Mekka and

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2. During a walk of a few hours in the afternoon preceding the Istanbul conference I found ten different editions in Istanbul’s bookmarket (Şuhfatça Çarşısı) and the book shops around the Fatih mosque.

Medina; periods of seven years and forty years are both given for this stay. Upon his return to Morocco he went to Fez, where he studied in the Qarawiyin Library. On the basis of his study there, he wrote the prayer-book that would make him famous. At a certain stage he became a member of the Shadhiliyya order. He is said to have withdrawn from society for a period of fourteen years. Then he established himself in Sâfi, on the Atlantic coast, where the number of his followers grew quickly. When people started to recognize in him the long-awaited Mahdi, the governor of Sâfi had him expelled, or killed.

During his lifetime, al-Jazuli succeeded in organizing a network of zāwiyas in a period of the history of Morocco which was generally characterized as total anarchy. In addition, the Maghribi was under threat of Portuguese incursions, nor was the news about the constant Christian progress against the Muslims in al-Andalus very reassuring to the Maghrabis. Where the worldly rulers in the region failed to adequately counter these internal and external threats, the religious brotherhoods only became stronger and more united and organized themselves into groups of religion-inspired fighters. All over the country, from Temcen in the East to the valley of the Draa in the South-West, affiliations of al-Jazuli's brotherhood were established, not for quietist religious contemplation but for active resistance against the unbelievers. Al-Jazuli became, especially in later Moroccan historiography, the champion of an Islamic revival against internal political and moral decay and against external threats. The year of his death is not entirely certain. Several dates between 1465 and 1470 are given. Strangely enough, al-Jazuli's vicissitudes did not end with his death. His follower 'Umar b. Sulayman al-Shayyazi, not without reason known as al-Sayyaf ('the executioner'), who had claimed prophethood, took possession of al-Jazuli's body, and let himself be accompanied by it during his twenty years of pillaging and burning in the Sûs area. Nightly devotional sessions with al-Jazuli's corpse lying in state on a bier are recorded in the sources. After al-Sayyaf's violent death in 890 (1485/1486), al-Jazuli was buried in AâfÂhâl, in the îhaa area, south of Essouira. Later his body was moved again, now by order of Sulûn Abî Abâba Abî-Abâba al-'Arâj (regnier over different areas 921-955/1517-1548), who had his father's body, which had been buried next to al-Jazuli's, together with the saint's body, transported to Marrakech to be re-buried together in a place called Riyâd al-'Arîs. Another hagiographical detail is that the saint's body had not decomposed when it was dug up for reburial. Both al-Jazuli's life and afterlife are wrought with so many miraculous elements that not each and every detail in the sources should be accepted as a historical fact.

Apart from his prayer-book Dalâ'il al-Khayrât, al-Jazuli is the author of two other prayers. One is entitled Hizb al-Fidâb, a short text which is sometimes copied in the same collective volume in which also Dalâ'il al-Khayrât occurs, but it has not attained the same cult status as Dalâ'il al-Khayrât. The other prayer is entitled Hizb al-Jazuli, or rhyming on that title Hizb sâhibûn a-Dîm la yâsal, and it is written in the vernacular, supposedly the Berber language of the Sûs. Two more treatises by al-Jazuli are known, one a work on Qur'ânic readings, the other an untitled treatise of Sufi content. As Brockelman only mentions one manuscript witness for each text, these two cannot have become very popular, if they are authentic at all and not a bibliographical hoax. Other, shorter, texts which are ascribed to al-Jazuli are known as well. All of his other works are overshadowed by the immense popularity of Dalâ'il al-Khayrât.

The book

The full title of al-Jazuli's prayer-book is Dalâ'il al-Khayrât wa-shâwarîrît al-A'mwâr fi Dîkhr al-Sâlat 'alîk al-Nabi al-Mukhtar which literally means 'Guidelines to the blessings and the shinings of lights, giving the saying of the blessing prayer over the chosen Prophet.' In daily use the work is referred to by the first two words of its title, Dalâ'il al-Khayrât, or just Dalâ'il or Dalil. The work reads as a long litany of blessings over the Prophet Muhammad. It is organised as a manual for Muslim devotion. Although there are clear differences between the manuscripts among themselves and also between the printed editions of the Dalâ'il al-Khayrât, especially as far the introductory and concluding prayers are concerned, and certainly in the choice of accompanying texts, most versions contain at least the following elements: the introductory prayer; the section on the virtue of invoking blessings over the Prophet; the list of the Prophet's names and epithets; and the description of the Prophet's grave in Medina. These short sections are followed by the body of the text, consisting of the blessing prayers over the Prophet, which are nowadays divided into eight Abâsah, ritual sections, which are linked to eight successive days (Monday-Monday), and a concluding prayer. An apparently older division of the text in quarters, thirds and a half can be seen in many of the manuscripts. Other elements that one may find in the work were apparently freely added to the text. The order of the different elements is subject to variations between the editions from different countries. The subject-matter vouches for a luxurious execution of the manuscripts (and printed editions). In this, the skills of Qur'ânic calligraphers, especially in the Maghrib and in Istanbul, came to full

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4 So called after its founder Abî Abâba al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 656/1258), G.A. T. I, p. 449.
5 See the résumé in A. Cour, L'habitation, pp. 29-35.
7 As M. Ben Cheneb in his EJ articles it calls it. With the term 'vernacular' only Berber can be meant here.
8 E.g. an 'Uyûsa Makhbûsa, in MS Leiden Or. 25.619 (34). Such references need a careful analysis and will eventually contribute to an increased knowledge of al-Jazuli's literary output.
fruition. In course of time several commentaries were written on the text, the best known of which are the Arabic one by al-Fāsi9 (a factual commentary), and the Turkish one by Qarā Dāwūd10 (a devotional commentary). There exists a privately printed English translation by John B. Pearson of the text as well.

Some manuscripts of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt are provided with detailed instructions for the reader telling him how to handle the book. Ritual purity before reading is one of them, the way of holding the book in one’s hands is another.11 Such rules give the impression that a copy of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt was nearly as holy as a mushaf. In Morocco till the present day it is said that having a beautiful copy of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt at home, preferably an attractive manuscript, brings luck.12 And, as we shall see, the book may at a certain stage indeed have been considered a rival to the Qur‘ān.

The Dala‘il al-Khayrāt in the struggle against the unbelievers

One important aspect of the Prophet Muhammad’s life must have particularly appealed to al-Jazuli, namely his struggle against the unbelievers. In his own lifetime al-Jazuli combined the ceremonial and liturgical use of his prayer-book with active resistance against the Portuguese attacks. Other Muslims resisting the unbelievers may have used the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt during their own struggles as well. In the corpus of manuscripts of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt, which follows here as an appendix, there are several copies from Aceh, which were taken as war booty during the Dutch conquest of that Sultanate in North Sumatra (1873-1910). Another prominent copy in the corpus is the personal prayer-book of Imam Bonjol,13 the leader of the Padris, an Islamic militant movement which till 1837 fought devastating wars in the Padang highlands in West and Central Sumatra against the Muslim Minangkabau, the Christian Dutch and the pagan Batak.

Developments in the illustrations of the text

Present-day editions of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt are either provided with a set of two images showing the Rawḍa and the Minbar of the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina (in the Maghrib), or of two views showing Mekka and Medina (Turkey and the Mashriq). This latter fact has prompted some authors and librarians to classify

10 Kara Daşvâd, Dali’i al-Khayrat Şerhi, Istanbul 1976. There are several printed editions of this work.
11 MS Leiden Or. 12.016 provides an example of such instructions (in Turkish, on fols. 495-
12 Personal information of Dr. Latifa Benjelloun-Laroui, Rabat.
13 MS Leiden Or. 1751.

the book as a work connected to the Ḥajj, the pilgrimage. This is a mistake, as is clear from the contents of the work, which does not treat manzāsh. I will herewith propose an explanation for the development in the ways of illustrating of the manuscripts, and thereby show how this development has come about from changing ideas about the Muhammad devotion in Islam.

Unillustrated manuscripts

There are indications that originally manuscripts of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt were not illustrated. This tradition of making unillustrated copies of the work has persisted to the end of the manuscript era. A manuscript may have been executed in a sober way and may have remained unillustrated for no other than that reason, or the illustration(s) may have been removed from the manuscript at some stage of its existence. As a reason for that tear and wear, vandalism or the use of the images as amulets may be surmised. But a manuscript was certainly unillustrated from the very beginning if the passage of text to which the illustration refers is continuous. So which passage in the text prompted copyists or painters to start to illustrate the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt?

Illustration of the Rawḍa only

There is a section in the early part of the Dala‘il al-Khayrāt in which the grave of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina is shortly treated. It is usually introduced by the sentence: ona-hādibi sīfat al-Rawḍa al-Mubārsah, ‘this is the description of the Blessed Garden,’ by which the burial place of the Prophet Muhammad in the Mosque of Medina is meant. This short text actually consists of two statements, one is the actual description of the Rawḍa and treats the contents and relative position of the graves in the Medinan mosque, the other is a report on a predicting dream of ‘A‘isha, the Prophet’s wife, about the graves. In translation this passage reads as follows.

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

Thus is related by ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr: The Messenger of God was buried in the alcove (al-sabnūa). Abū Bakr was buried behind the Messenger of God and ‘Umar b. al-Khathāb was buried near the feet of Abū Bakr. The eastern alcove has remained empty, and in it is said, but God knows best, that ‘Isa b. Maryam is buried there. About the Messenger of God is told by ‘A‘isha. She said: ‘In my dream I saw three moons fall into my room. I related my vision to Abū Bakr and he said: ‘A‘isha, three people will be buried in your house, who are the best of the people on earth. When the Messenger of God died and was buried in my house, Abū Bakr said to me: This is one of your moons, and he is the best of them, . . .
In the unillustrated manuscripts this passage is immediately followed by the next section of the prayer-book. If that is the case in a manuscript, that manuscript belongs to the unillustrated tradition of the Dalâ’il al-Khayrât. The word sifâ, description, by which the passage on al-Rauḍa al-Mubârâka is introduced, does not automatically mean image or picture. It means 'description,' a description in words which in fact it is. If it would have been meant as the caption to an image, either the word sîna, image, or shabîl, drawing, would have been used. The very use of the word sifâ is an additional argument that the early manuscripts were not illustrated.

This short passage on the grave of the Prophet Muhammad and the first caliphs in Medina apparently has prompted copyists and illustrators to add an image of that cluster of graves to the text of the Dalâ’il al-Khayrât. Manuscripts with just one image of al-Rauḍa al-Mubârâka, showing the graves of the Prophet Muhammad and his two companions, are known. The illustrations do not give more than a schematic representation of the three coffins, usually with the addition of some architectural elements.

The double image of the Rauḍa and the Minbar

At a later stage, this one image of al-Rauḍa al-Mubârâka was apparently expanded with yet another image, showing the Minbar, the pulpit, of the Prophet Muhammad in the Mosque of Medina. Adding this image, whereby an attractive double-page illustration was created, to the illustration of the three coffins, may have been prompted by a well-known Prophetic tradition: "Whatever is between my grave and my pulpit, is one of the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is by my basin." It is an 'authentic' tradition and is reported in the Munmåd of Ahmad b. Hanbal, and, with textual variants, other canonical collections. That this was an important text for those who performed the sâ‘îra, the visit to the Prophet Muhammad's grave in Medina, before or after the pilgrimage to Mecca, is clear from a source contemporary to al-Jazuli. The pilgrim's guide made for the Mamlûk Sultan Shaqqaq (r. 842-857/1438-1452) gives the following instruction to the royal visitor of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina:

Then the visitor (of the Prophet's mosque in Medina) directs himself to the pulpit of the Messenger of God, and he performs two râ‘âs near the pulpit, in such a way that he faces the column next to which is the chest (al-support), and so that the round line which is in the qibla of the mosque is straight in front of him, and in such a way that the pillar of the pulpit is opposite his right shoulder, since that is the position of the Prophet. He is then between the grave and the pulpit, in conformity with the words of the Prophet:

The double image of Mecca and Medina

From the late-18th century or early-19th century onwards a change in the illustrations can be observed. The idea of the double image remains, but the first image now represents Mecca, the second one Medina. This is a remarkable change, as the image of Mecca is unwarranted by the text of the Dalâ’il al-Khayrât. The reason to include it nevertheless must therefore be sought outside the text. It is as if the unreserved veneration of the Prophet Muhammad had met with criticism and that this had to be mitigated by substituting one of the Medinan images by an image of Mecca. It looks like it an image of the 'House of God' in Mecca could not be omitted if the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina received so much attention. It may reflect a reaction to the trend of Prophet veneration by putting it back into its proper balance: God first, then the Prophet Muhammad, just as in the shabîl-i formulæ.

This dogmatic reaction had iconographical consequences. The schematic, somewhat architectural drawings of the Rauḍa and the Minbar had always been given in a sort of close-up, each showing one niche with visible, almost tangible, 15 MS Leiden, Or. 458, pp. 132-133, Munâshik al-Hajj 'ulâ Abû'âs Munsûb, by an anonymous Hanafi scholar. Sultan Shaqqaq's illuminated ex-libris is on the title-page of the Leiden manuscript (fol. 1). See Voorhoeve, Hamilton, p. 184.
16 G.H.A. Juynboll, "Shōbâs," pp. 213-218, and the sources quoted there. The use of the term tarâ'a, water channel, in some of the traditions instead of rauḍa, garden, conforms to this idea of a basin in Paradise.
representations. Coinciding with the appearance of the Mecca-Medina double image, there is an increase in the distance between the believer and the objects of his respect and veneration. The Mecca-Medina pair of images is not showing niches anymore, but entire buildings, either in a flat projection or, from the early-19th century onwards, drawn in perspective. In the Meccan mosque the graves have become part of an environment. Both flat projections and drawings with views in perspective are known in great numbers. The views in perspective seem to be an Ottoman Turkish innovation in illustrating the Dalal’al-Khayrat.17 The flat projection may have found its example in illustrated pilgrimage guides such as the Persian Futuḥ al-Haramayn by Muḥyi al-Dīn Lārī (d. 933/1526-1527),18 or it may have been inspired by images of the two holy cities of Islam on Iznik tiles.19

It is tempting to connect these later developments in illustrating the Dalal’al-Khayrat, namely the balancing of the two illustrations by making the House of God precede the Garden of the Prophet, and by adding a distance between the believer and the holy places, to new trends which became apparent in Islam from the late 18th century onwards. What immediately comes to mind in this respect is the emergence of the Wahhabi movement.20 However, the cult of Muḥammad, for which the Dalal’al-Khayrat evidently was made, has its own controversies in Sunni Islam, irrespective of Wahhabi thought on the matter. It is obvious that a Muslim should serve God unreservedly, but at the same time he should pay the greatest respect to the recipient of the divine revelation, the Prophet Muḥammad. An outstanding example for human behaviour is the Life of the Prophet Muḥammad, which is the most useful of exemplary of biographies

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19 For an example of this popular image Marilyn Jenkins (ed.), Islamic Art, p. 122 (showing Mehki). On the wall of the southern passage from the main apse of the Aya Sofya mosque in Istanbul, almost right behind the minbar, a double image in flat projection of Mecca and Medina in Iznik tile, dated 1053 (1645/1644 AD) can be seen. Its position indicates the pileh in this Christian building. A succinct reference to the location of these tiles is in Swei, p. 101.

20 See D.S. Margoliouth, art. “Wahhabiyah,” in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition. The founder of the movement, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wahhāb, lived from 1703-1787. The word Wahhābiyya is a term used by the movement’s adversaries. The politically correct term used by their adversaries nowadays is Salafistyya, not to be confused with the Egyptian reformist movement of that same name.
religious police, will prevent those visitors that linger too long in front of the Prophet's grave from doing so by their command "Imshi ya kafir;" walk along, you unbeliever," and by making threatening gestures with their sticks.

The double picture of the Rawda and the Minbar in the earlier copies of the Dala'il al-Khayrat had clearly a connotation with the grave of the Prophet and the worship of that grave, and the graves of the early caliphs and grave worship in general. An unequivocal connection between the replacement of the Medina images by the Mecca-Medina double image and the rise of the Wahhabi movement is not easy to establish. It is more sensible to assume, however, that the same purist thinking that inspired Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab to his teachings also caused the iconographical changes in that immensely popular prayer-book that was the Dala'il al-Khayrat.

**A corpus of manuscripts of the Dala'il al-Khayrat**

On this corpus of manuscripts, which comprises all Dala'il al-Khayrat manuscripts in Leiden University Library, I have based my present research. Together, they form but a very small part of all manuscripts of this text in the world. Yet, I have the impression that the Leiden manuscripts form, by their number and especially by the variety of their origin, a useful sample. A few very small and insignificant fragments have been omitted from the present corpus. The first eleven manuscripts of the list were already in Leiden in 1957 and are described in Voorehoeve, Handlist, p. 56. I have purposely left out a discussion on the illustrations in the printed editions of the Dala'il al-Khayrat. Interesting as it is, it would only confound the present issue.

**A. The list**

Acad. 32. From the Maghrib, 332 ff., maghrabi script, before 1780 (first sold in the Netherlands), on ff. 22b-23a a double illustration: Rawda and Minbar. A collective volume with 4 devotional texts.

Acad. 33. From the Maghrib, 323 ff., maghribi script, dated Monday 10 Jumada II 1433 (1721 AD), on f. 45 a photostat copy of the Rawda, but the opposite page (probably for the Minbar) has remained blank.

Or. 1220. From the Maghrib, maghrabi script, 132 ff., before 1844 AD (latest possible date of purchase), on ff. 23b-26a illustrations of the Rawda and the Minbar.

Or. 1335. From the Maghrib, maghribi script, ff. 1b-105a, dated 10 Rabi' II 1226 (1811 AD), on ff. 16v-17r illustrations of the Rawda and the Minbar.

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24 Manuscripts with class-marks beginning with the prefix "Acad. " are part of the permanent loan of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam. The Leiden class-marks always begin with the prefix "Or."
Or. 11.886 (I). From the Balkans (?), ff. 1b-68a, naskh script, dated 1196-1200 (between 1781 and 1786 AD), possibly copied in Istolani Belgrad (formerly Stuhlweissenburg). Empty space for one illustration on f. 9b. In a collective volume with 15 devotional texts, including Turkish texts.

Or. 12.016 (I). From Turkey, naskh script, ff. 76-264. Lithograph edition Istanbul 1275 (1858-1859), with manuscript illumination, in a mixed volume with manuscript texts, in all 9 texts, in Arabic and Turkish. On ff. 493-497 rules of behaviour in connection with the Dalâ’il al-Khayrât. On ff. 489-499 an ījāza, with ḳilāṣa. A luxury book. Illustrations (ff. 104-105: Rawḍa and Minbar, but on a preprinted frame with caption Mekka and Medina! – Fig. 5).

Or. 12.121. From Egypt (?), 171 ff., naskh script, Matfati’ al-Masārrij bi-ṭadda’ Dalâ’il al-Khayrât, commentary by Muhammad al-Mahdi b. Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. Yusuf al-Fasi (1063/1653) on the Dalâ’il al-Khayrât. On f. 67b the explanation of the graves in the Prophet’s mosque, with a few illustrative drawings (Fig. 3). The fact that there is no double illustration (Rawḍa-Minbar) in this commentary, but only the Rawḍa with the three graves, means that that double illustration was not considered authentic by al-Fasi, or was not (yet) fashionable in his time.

Or. 12.455. From Turkey, 91 ff., naskh script, dated 1253 (1837 AD), illustrations of Mekka and Medina in perspective on ff. 15b-16a (Fig. 9). A luxury manuscript, apparently from Istanbul.

Or. 12.461. From Turkey, naskh script, 128 ff. On f. 19b two rectangular spaces are reserved for illustrations, which were never added. On ff. 124b-127b are illuminated prayers for the Prophet Muhammad and the four righteous caliphs. A luxury manuscript.

Or. 14.119 (I). From the Maghrib, maghribi script, ff. 2b-109b, illustrations on ff. 18b-19a (Rawḍa and Minbar), in a collective volume with 9 devotional texts.


Or. 14.276. From Kashmir, bilingual, Arabic (in naskh) and Persian (interlinear, in nasta’liq), 140 ff., detailed illustrations of Mekka and Medina in flat projection (ff. 70b-71a; Fig. 8). A luxury book.

Or. 14.351 (3). From the Maghrib, maghribi script, ff. 14b-125b, before 1305 (1888 AD), on ff. 32b-33a illustrations of the Rawḍa and the interior (but not showing the Minbar) of the Medinan Mosque, in a collective volume of 5 devotional texts. A luxury book.

Or. 14.462. From Egypt, naskh script, 98 ff., dated 4 Şafar 1284 (1867 AD), illustrations of Minbar and Rawḍa (reverse order!) made of strips of coloured wallpaper pasted on the page (ff. 16b-17a).

Or. 17.162. From Turkey, naskh script, 78 ff., dated 1155 (1742 AD), on ff. 13b-14a two open spaces for illustrations which were never added.

Or. 22.958. From the Indian subcontinent, 133 ff., text in Arabic (naskh) and interlinear translation into Persian (nasta’liq). Illustration of the Rawḍa only, twice executed in different styles.

Or. 22.963. From the Indian subcontinent, naskh script, 68 ff., illustrations of Mekka and Medina in flat projection on ff. 18b-19a.

Or. 23.263 (I). From the Maghrib, maghribi script, ff. 4a-126a, dated Thursday, 4 Jamâ‘a II 1271 (22 Feb. 1855 AD), on ff. 21b-22a illustration of Rawḍa and Minbar (Fig. 4). Collective volume with 6 devotional texts.

Or. 23.723 (I). From Morocco, possible the Sûs, ff. 1b-78b, maghribi script, dated beginning Muharram 1134 (1721 AD). With a single drawing of the Rawḍa in Medina only (f. 10b). The page opposite this illustration was originally blank, but has been used later for prayer texts. In a collective volume with 7 devotional texts, including some in Sûs-Berber.

Or. 25.293 (I). From Morocco, ff. 1a-19b, 27b, a disorderly fragment only of the final part of the text, dated Saturday 4 Muharram 1190 (24 Feb. 1776 AD). The section Sîfat al-Rawḍa al-Mubânsa is not present.

Or. 25.396 (2). From Morocco, 82 ff., maghribi script, originally with the two illustrations, now removed (between ff. 11-12). In a collective volume of 4 texts, among which one in Sûs-Berber.

Or. 25.418. From West-Africa, 174 ff., loose leaves (some lacunae), West-African script, a copy which never had illustrations: the Sîfat al-Rawḍa starts on f. 8a (Fig. 1), but there is only continuous text. Remarkable leather satchel.

Or. 25.426. From the Maghrib, c. 100 ff., maghribi script, damaged and incomplete copy, once a luxury booklet. Illustrations apparently removed.

Or. 25.428 (I). From Morocco (Agadir), ff. 1a-155a, maghribi script, incomplete copy (beginning missing), dated Sunday 20 Rabi’ II 1187 (11 July 1773 AD), illustration of the Minbar only (f. 18a), the illustration of the Rawḍa was apparently removed (lacuna between ff. 17-18). On f. 17b a note on al-Rawḍa, not belonging to the text. In a collective volume with 2 devotional texts. Remarkable embroidered satchel.

Or. 25.637 (I). From Morocco, maghribi script, ff. 1a-94a, on f. 9a is the illustration of the Minbar of the Prophet in the mosque of Medina. The illustration of the Rawḍa is now missing (lacuna). Collective manuscript with two Arabic and one Sûs-Berber text.
B. The evaluation of the list

1. Distribution by origin, from West to East:
   - West Africa: Or. 25.418
   - Morocco: Or. 25.293 (1); Or. 25.396; Or. 25.637 (1)
   - Morocco, the Sûs: Or. 23.723 (1); Or. 25.428 (1)
   - Maghrib: Acad. 32 (1); Acad. 33; Or. 1220; Or. 1335 (1); Or. 14.119 (1); Or. 14.351 (3); Or. 23.263 (1); Or. 25.426
   - Balkans, Istolni Belgrad: Or. 11.886 (1)
   - Turkey: Or. 11.065; Or. 11.785 (8); Or. 12.461; Or. 17.162
   - Turkey, Istanbul: Or. 12.016 (3); Or. 12.455; Or. 14.233
   - Egypt: Or. 12.121; Or. 14.462
   - Kashmir: Or. 14.276
   - Indian subcontinent: Or. 22.958; Or. 22.963
   - Indonesia, Aceh: Or. 4826; Or. 4976 (4); Or. 7209 (3)
   - Indonesia, Sumatra: Or. 10.806 (2)
   - Indonesia, Bandar Natar (Sumatra): Or. 1751 (14)
   - Indonesia, Banten (West Java): Or. 5720 (8), (9); Or. 7057a (6)
   - Indonesia, Madura or East Java: Or. 8960 (8)

2. Chronological index:
   - 18th century (?): Or. 7057a (6); Or. 8960 (8)
   - 1704: Or. 11.785 (8)
   - 1721: Acad. 33; Or. 23.723 (1)
   - 1730: Or. 10.806 (2)
   - 1742: Or. 17.162
   - 1747: Or. 11.065
   - 1773: Or. 25.428 (1)
   - 1776: Or. 25.293 (1)
   - before 1780: Acad. 32 (1)
   - 1781-1786: Or. 11.886 (1)
   - 19th century: Or. 7209 (3)
   - 1811: Or. 1335 (1)
   - 1814: Or. 1751 (14)
   - 1837: Or. 12.455

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25 Established on the evidence of the script, of the place of copying, or of the place of original purchase. Doubts have been omitted.
26 Established on the evidence of the colophon, or of ownership marks or of information of acquisition, but usually not on paleographical evidence. Undated manuscripts are omitted from the list.

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3. Classification of the illustrations:
   - Manuscripts without illustration and with uninterrupted text showing that they were never illustrated: Or. 4826; Or. 4976 (4); Or. 5720 (9); Or. 25.418.
   - Manuscripts with one illustration of al-Ra‘idat al-Mubâ‘ina: Acad. 33; Or. 7057a (6); Or. 11.785 (8); Or. 12.121; Or. 22.958; Or. 23.723 (1).
   - Manuscripts with a double Medina illustration, showing al-Ra‘idat al-Mubâ‘ina (right) and the Prophet’s Minbar (left): Acad. 32 (1); Or. 1220; Or. 1335 (1); Or. 10.806 (2); Or. 11.065; Or. 12.016 (3); Or. 14.119 (1); Or. 14.351 (3); Or. 23.263 (1); Or. 25.428.
   - Manuscripts with a double Mekka-Medina illustration in flat projection: Or. 1751 (14); Or. 14.276; Or. 14.462; Or. 22.963.
   - Empty frame or space for one illustration: Or. 11.886 (1).
   - Empty frames (place reserved for illustrations, which were never made): Or. 7209 (3); Or. 12.461; Or. 17.162.
   - Insufficient information about the illustrations: Or. 8960 (8); Or. 25.293 (1); Or. 25.396; Or. 25.426; Or. 25.637 (1).

4. Additional peculiarities in the present corpus:
   - Commentary: Or. 12.121.
   - Persian translations of the text in Or. 14.276; Or. 22.958.
   - Other languages in the same volume, but not translations of the Dal‘âl‘i‘l al-Khayrat.
     - Acehnese: Or. 7209.
     - Malay: Or. 1751; Or. 7209.
     - Sûs Berber: Or. 23.723; Or. 25.396; Or. 25.637.
     - Turkish: Or. 11.785; Or. 11.886; Or. 12.016.
     - Satchels: Or. 1335; Or. 25.418; Or. 25.428.
Bibliography


