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notes in red = changes made by Witkam: confirm or reject

notes in blue = questions that need to be answered

The *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan:
Some Research Leads

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Abstract:

Recent discoveries and overlooked documents help us to understand the spread of the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* in a region stretching from the Tatar lands to the Tarim Basin, passing Bukhara and Kokand along the way. This paper by no means aims to provide a historical survey of al-Jazūlī's prayer book in Central Asia. Rather, I introduce some leads for research on the basis of several manuscripts. A first issue is that of chronology and geography: *terminus a quo*, *terminus ad quem*, and the geographical extent of the book's production and circulation should be revised. A second question regards the circuits of circulation: manuscript designs and illustrations reveal influences from various regions and an evolution in uses. A third lead consists in investigating the education: Sufi training and Qur'anic institutions such as *Dalāʾil-khānas* played an important role, while Persian interlinear translations, reading notes in Chaghatay Turkish, and commentaries (*sharḥs*) suggest a complex reception process.

Keywords: *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt*, Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, prayer book, Persian, Turkish, miniature, circulation, education, reception

Introduction

Although there is no record of Shādhilī Sufis in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, as elsewhere in the Muslim world the famous prayer book of the Shādhilī sheikh al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465) spread throughout the region, transcending Sufi affiliations and orders.¹ From the Tatar lands to the Tarim Basin, passing through Transoxanian oases such as Bukhara and Samarkand, the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* was extremely popular in the nineteenth century as evidenced by the number, the diversity, and the geographical origins of manuscript copies. Recent discoveries and overlooked documents help to transcend general statements and enhance our understanding of how the *Dalāʾil* circulated. While it is still impossible to offer a survey of the history of the book due to the lack of cataloguing and the difficulty of accessing manuscript collections (especially in Eastern Turkestan), we can at least suggest some leads for research on the basis of manuscripts preserved in several places. As far as I know, unlike the Maghrebian, Ottoman, and South Asian cases, no publication has ever appeared proposing to study the Central Asian *Dalāʾil*. Valuable data can be found here and there in secondary literature, as we will see, but information remains scattered.

Despite these obstacles, I open three perspectives of research in this introductory article. The first regards chronology and geography. Whereas it is clear that the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* was copied and read in various places in Central Asia during the nineteenth century, both *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of the book's production and circulation should be revised if we take into account, for example, a manuscript copy from Eastern Turkestan dated 1132/1720 and one from Bukhara copied in 1322/1904. This also has consequences on the geographical extent of the book's dissemination. A second question regards the circuits of this circulation: manuscript designs and illustrations show many influences from neighbouring regions, especially Kashmir, and practical as well as devotional usages, which evolved over time. Lastly, a

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¹ On the Shādhiliyya and its spread, see Eric Geoffroy, ed., *Une voie soufie dans le monde. La Shādhiliyya* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2005).

third research lead consists in investigating education: Sufis promoted the book in their training and Qur'anic institutions such as *Dalā'il-khānas*, where students learned to read, played an important role. "Critical apparatus" composed of interlinear translations in Persian, reading notes in Chaghatay Turkish, and commentaries (*sharḥs*), suggests a complex reception process in a region where Arabic was not always mastered and where multilingualism was the rule.

Chronology and Geographical Extent

The basic catalogue of the largest manuscript collection of Central Asia, preserved in Tashkent, is the multiple volume *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* published in the Soviet period. Volume 8 identifies four copies of the *Dalā'il*.²

The first item, MS Tashkent IVAN UZ 1988, consists of 104 folios and is written in *naskh* script in black and red colour on oriental paper, richly decorated with gold. Before the beginning of the text and at the beginning of each part (*ḥizb*), there is a frontispiece on a golden background with borders and floral frames. Around the *Dalā'il*, inside a double frame, a commentary written in *nasta'liq* script runs in different directions. On fol. 20b-21a, we find miniatures of Mecca and Medina. There is no date but, according to cataloguers, it would have been copied either in Afghanistan or in Kashmir between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. Unfortunately, stamps of owners' seals have been erased. The commentary (*sharḥ*) in Persian is the *Mazra' al-ḥasanāt* by Muḥammad Fāḍil ibn Muḥammad 'Arif Dehlavī (or Sūrati) (d. 1129/1716), a scholar born in Gujarat;³ it is one of the earliest works of this kind outside the Maghreb, followed by many others until the 1930s.⁴ Both the general design and the commentary seem to confirm the sub-continental origins of the manuscript. Yet, the same work has been produced in Central Asia, as evidenced by MS Tashkent IVAN UZ 8021/III of 113 folios, which has been copied by a certain Muḥammad Ḥājji in Central Asian *nasta'liq*. The *Dalā'il* was copied in 1239/1823 and the commentary (incomplete) in 1267/1851. Two other copies of the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* with its commentary are MS Tashkent IVAN UZ 5016 written in Central Asian *nasta'liq* on Kokand paper at the end of the nineteenth century, and MS Tashkent IVAN UZ 3018 written in "*shāgirdi*" (*madrasa* student) Bukharan *nasta'liq* in the nineteenth century.

In sum, al-Jazūlī's work was a popular book in nineteenth-century Central Asia, especially in the *madrasa* milieu, and the Indian sub-continent was a source of introduction. Readers used commentaries in Persian to better understand the book. Research conducted in the 2000s in the Herat National Archives (Afghanistan) confirms this scenario. MS HNA 185 was produced either in Sindh or Kashmir in the early nineteenth and MS HNA 133 was copied in 1311/1893 in Northern India.⁵

Recent findings help to refine the picture. In recent decades, the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur has compiled an exceptional collection of 27 manuscript copies of the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, which resulted in an exhibition and a catalogue.⁶ Four copies come from Central Asia, including one from

² Aleksandr A. Semenov and D. G. Voronovskii, eds., *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR VIII* (Tashkent: Fan, 1967), 350-54.

³ 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir wa bahjat al-masāmi' wa 'l-nawāzīr* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1420/1999), 1371.

⁴ There is a lithograph edition of the *Dalā'il* with the *Mazra' al-ḥasanāt* published in Lucknow by Nawal Kishore in 1288/1871.

⁵ Claus-Peter Haase, "Short Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Prints, and Paintings in the Herat National Archive," in Ute Franke and Martina Müller-Wiener, eds., *Herat Through Time: The Collections of Herat Museum and Archive* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 2016), 561 and 573. Interestingly, on pp. 526-27 and 565, we have two chromolithographies referred as HNA 39 and HNA 144, printed respectively in Bukhara in 1331/1914 and in Istanbul in 1314-15/1898. Many thanks to Sabiha Göloğlu for this reference.

⁶ Nurul Iman Rusli, Heba Nayel Barakat, and Amira Salleh, *Dalā'il al-Khayrat: Prayer Manuscripts from the 16th-19th Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, 2016). I am very grateful to Heba Nayel Barakat and Nurul Iman Rusli for allowing me to explore the Museum's collections in December 2019 and providing me with digital copies.

Eastern Turkestan, to which I will return below. An intriguing item is MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2002.3.5, a 70-folio manuscript in *naskh* script. 1003/1595 has been suggested as a date of copy. However, this dating seems unlikely since no copy from before the eighteenth century has ever been found in Central Asia and since the numbers have been inserted (in a rudimentary way) by another hand inside a final cartouche, which had been left empty.⁷ So, the end of the sixteenth century cannot be taken as *terminus a quo*. On the other hand, the *terminus ad quem* of the manuscript production of the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* in Central Asia can be extended beyond the nineteenth century since, according to the colophon on p. 297, MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2001.5.4, from Bukhara, was achieved in 1322/1904.⁸ Interestingly, one of the earliest lithographies of the *Dalā'il* was printed in the same year in Kazan (in present-day Tatarstan), suggesting that the transition from the handwritten to the printed *Dalā'il* took place in 1904, opening a new sequence in the history of the book.⁹ As for the third copy, MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2011.7.62 probably comes from nineteenth-century Central Asia. 205 folios in length, the copy begins with the *Dalā'il* surrounded by, again, the *Mazra' al-ḥasanāt* (although incomplete) as is clearly asserted at the top left of p. 19.¹⁰ This confirms the popularity of the Indian *sharḥ* in Central Asia.

Both the *terminus a quo* and the geographical expansion of al-Jazūlī's work should be revised in light of manuscripts made in Eastern Turkestan. The Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia acquired a very rare copy from this neglected area. MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2013.19.105, of 152 folios and written in Sino-Muslim script (*ṣinī*), dating from 1132/1720 (colophon on p. 295), is the earliest copy identified heretofore in Central Asia.¹¹ The colophon (p. 295) gives the name of Muṣṭafā Khalifa as scribe, presented as a student of Ḥusayn al-Jazā'irī. Whereas the former name is unknown to me, the latter might be Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Jazā'irī al-Rūmī (d. 1125/1713), a calligrapher who lived in Istanbul and Cairo.¹² Three other copies from Eastern Turkestan are preserved in the Gunnar Jarring Collection in the Lund University Library.¹³ MS Lund University Library Prov. 329 (dated 1268/1851-52 on 74a-b), MS Lund University Library Prov. 265 (dated 1282/1865-66 on fol. 92b), and MS Lund University Library Prov. 174 (dated 1285/1868-69 on fol. 134b) show that the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* was quite well known in the Tarim Basin during the second half of the nineteenth century.

If we extend the Central Asian area to the northwest, towards the Russian Muslim provinces, especially among Tatars, we do not find manuscripts in standard collections but lithographies. For instance, a *Dalā'il* printed in St-Petersburg in 1893 can be found in Western Siberia (more precisely, the area stretching from Kazan to Tyumen). The book is part of a collection of 182 works established by Niyaz-Baqi b. Biktimer (d. 1924), a Siberian Tatar scholar close to Naqshbandī Sufis as well as *Jadīd* milieux (promoters of a new educational method).¹⁴ Crimean Tatar students were also familiar with the *Dalā'il* since a printed version, coming from the Zyndzhirly *madrasa* in Bakhchysarai (in present-day Republic of Crimea), is preserved at the State Palace and Museum of Turco-Tatar culture.¹⁵

Before returning in more detail to the contents of these manuscripts, I would like to conclude this section with a few remarks. The *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* circulated in Eastern Turkestan since, at least, the 1720s, and, more widely, in Central Asia since, at least, the early nineteenth century. *Dalā'il* manuscripts were still produced in the 1900s but were soon replaced by lithographies, which reached Western Siberia and Crimea. The book was read by, among others, *madrasa* students who often used Muḥammad Fāḍil's *Mazra' al-ḥasanāt*, a Persian commentary from India.

⁷ Description and illustration in Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā'il al-Khayrat*, pp. 70-71 (No. 15).

⁸ Description and illustration in Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā'il al-Khayrat*, pp. 74-77 (No. 17).

⁹ *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* (Kazan: Tipografiya Torgovago-Doma Brat'ev' Karimovykh', 1904).

¹⁰ Description and illustration in Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā'il al-Khayrat*, pp. 72-73 (No. 16). See illustration 1.

¹¹ Description and illustration in Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā'il al-Khayrat*, pp. 102-105 (No. 27).

¹² Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī ayan al-qarn al-thānī 'ashar* (Cairo 1301/1883), 2:55-56.

¹³ Many thanks to Eva Nylander and Arienne Dwyer for providing me with digital copies of the manuscripts.

¹⁴ Alfrīd K. Bustanov, *Knizhnaia kul'tura sibirskikh musul'man* (Moscow: Izdatel'skii Dom Marjani, 2013), 48, 56.

¹⁵ Rustem R. Eminov, "Materialy Gosudarstvennogo Dvortsa i muzeia tiurko-tatarskoi kul'tury (1917-1944) kak istochnik po istorii i etnografii krymskikh tatar," *Vostochnyi arkhiv* 2: 32 (2015): 77.

Circuits of Circulation

How did the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* spread across the region? To (partially) answer this question, I suggest first exploring codicological aspects. The design and the illustrations of manuscripts reveal various influences and seem to serve particular uses.

Although MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2002.3.5 has been copied much later than 1595, it remains that, on p. 17, the abstract visual of the graves (*qabr*) of Muḥammad and his two caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar under a triangle dome may be the sign of a relatively early date of production. Since, as we will see, the Central Asian illustrated *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* manuscripts evolved towards sophistication and iconographic additions, under the influence of Chinese, Indian, and Ottoman styles, and since the simple sketch in black and red ink is comparable with “minimalist” illustrations existing in copies made in eighteenth-century Egypt and Anatolia,¹⁶ MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2002.3.5 could have been copied in the eighteenth century.

Our earliest copy, MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2013.19.105, is written in black ink with key words highlighted in red and gold. The text is set inside red rules; the bi-folio has a heading above the text in gold surrounded by gold and red floral decoration above and below with bands of strap work. Other floral decoration in golden, black, red, and green dot the text. Opening pages of sections are rendered in Chinese style, with the uncommon expression *juz al-awwal* and divisions of daily prayers marked by the word *ibtidā'* (e.g. *ibtidā'-yi dūshanba* for Monday; *ibtidā' al-sabt* for Saturday). The manuscript contains simple illustrations of the Prophet's pulpit (*minbar*) on the right-hand page (p. 40) and of the burial chamber (*al-rawḍa al-mubāraka*, 'blessed garden') on the left page (p. 41), both with lamps above. These are common features in *Dalā'il* manuscripts,¹⁷ but the arrangement and the shape are original. Equally original are, upon the *minbar*, the flag labelled as “banner of the messiah” (*'alam al-mahdī*), one of the titles of Muḥammad, and the indication of Jesus' resting place (*maqām 'isā*) in addition to the three graves of the chamber. If Jesus' resting places can be found in several places throughout the Muslim world (though not in Hejaz), the insertion of the Prophet's banner might be explained by the strong presence of poles and banners (*tugh u 'alam*) on Muslim shrines in Eastern Turkestan since the late sixteenth century.¹⁸ The right page also includes the inscription by another hand of Qur'an 2:158 on the benefits of *hajj* and *'umra* (i.e. lesser pilgrimage), and the running *parcours* of *ṣafā* and *marwā*. Both the design and the illustrations suggest that MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2013.19.105 was a prestigious object calling the local Muslim aristocracy for the devotion of the Prophet and for the pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn.

As Jan Just Witkam has observed, a shift occurred in the visual programme of the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* from the eighteenth century onwards. The concept of a double illustration remained but the contents of the illustrations changed. The first of the two images now represented the great mosque of Mecca, with the Ka'ba in the centre, and the second image featured the Prophet's mosque in Medina. The iconographic change can be explained as a devotional rebalancing to subsume the growing veneration of the Prophet under the adoration of God.¹⁹

¹⁶ Jan Just Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek. De geschiedenis van de Dalā'il al-Khayrāt van al-Ġazūlī* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum-Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 2002), 144-45.

¹⁷ Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 76-80.

¹⁸ See Alexandre Papas, “Le *tugh* dans l'islam du Xinjiang,” in Michel Espagne et al., eds., *Asie centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la soie* (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2016), 343-50. Jesus' last resting place is mentioned in many copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, in the introductory section on *al-rawḍa al-mubāraka*.

¹⁹ Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 80-83. I do not enter the complex debate about the ideological reasons behind this change (e.g. the impact of Wahhābī views), but it must be added that, in Timurid Transoxiana at least, detailed images of the Sacred Mosque in Mecca and the Prophet's mosque in Medina, along with the Prophet's sandal and other subjects, already existed in pilgrimage documents produced during the fifteenth century (and, thus, might have influenced later Central Asian *Dalā'īls* using similar imagery), as shown by the document studied by Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya, Amélie Couvrat Desvergnès, and David J. Roxburgh, “Sayyid Yusuf's

In our selection, this is exactly the case of MS Lund University Library Prov. 329 and MS Lund University Library Prov. 174. The first manuscript has illuminated floral *‘unwāns* (headings) in blue, red, and green. On fol. 12b-13a, we find two drawings of Mecca and Medina predominantly in pink, red, and blue.²⁰ On the right page, the Ka’ba is surrounded by architectural elements, which highlight the details of the Sacred Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*). Another important element is, at the bottom, the bricked Abraham’s Station (*maqām Ibrāhīm*), which is usually placed in front of the Ka’ba door. Next to it, a circle represents the Zamzam well. On the left page, the representation of the *rawḍa* in Medina has four graves (Prophet, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and Fātima) and a half grave (unidentified, Jesus?). Next to it, there is a *minbar*, a vessel (*lakan*), and a jug (*ibrīq*), probably for ablutions.²¹ At the bottom, a tree and a *miḥrāb* complete the picture. All around, minarets and shrubs set the pictorial pace. As for MS Prov. 174, we find similar illustrations on fol. 19b-20a, where green, red, and yellow colours predominate.²² On the right page, Mecca is represented by the Ka’ba inside a *miḥrāb*; adjacent is the crescent-shaped wall known as *ḥijr Ismā‘il*, surrounded by several architectural elements such as the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, the Zamzam well featured with a dome, and a *minbar*. On the left page, we find again the four graves, a *minbar*, a vessel, and a jug next to a tree, surrounded by multiple niches or porches. Minarets and shrubs surround the picture completely. An external domed monument is also present that I am not able to identify.

Such iconographic elements, their compartmentalisation, and their surrounding by minarets are characteristics of Kashmiri miniatures of the *Dalā‘il*.²³ If we recall (as seen above) that Indian manuscripts of the *Dalā‘il al-khayrāt* circulated in Central Asia, and given the fact that Eastern Turkestanis, especially from the southern oases where these two manuscripts originate, had trade and religious exchanges with Kashmiri Muslims throughout the early modern and modern periods,²⁴ one can reasonably conclude that MS Prov. 329 and MS Prov. 174 have been copied on the model of Kashmiri manuscripts. I may add that, unlike the preceding reference, these are not luxurious and finely illustrated manuscripts and, thus, were probably used by more readers, who were not part of the elite.

In Central Asian *Dalā‘il*, additional elements appeared in the late nineteenth century. A most popular illustration was the sole of one of the Prophet’s sandals (*na‘layn*), which we find in Maghrebian *Dalā‘il* since the early eighteenth century and later in Ottoman manuscripts.²⁵ The *na‘layn* served to represent Muḥammad without human traits, and were among the most venerated relics of the Prophet, such as those preserved at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. An example from Central Asia is a copy put up for sale in November 2017 at Litfond Auction House in Moscow. According to the sale catalogue (in Russian), lot 77 was copied in *nasta‘liq* script in 1300/1883 and has 149 folios. On fol.142b, the holy sandal is

1433 Pilgrimage Scroll (*Ziyārātnāma*) in the Collection of the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha,” *Muqarnas. An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 33 (2016): 345-407.

²⁰ See illustrations 2 and 3.

²¹ These and similar sacred objects are often shown in *En‘ām-i sharīf*, an Ottoman illustrated prayer book that has adopted several features of *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, see e.g. the extensive description of MS Victoria UVIC 1995-014 by Jan Just Witkam, ‘The Islamic Manuscripts in the McPherson Library’, in *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1 (2010) 101-142, especially 108-133. See on this prayer book more in general Alexandra Bain, *The late Ottoman En‘am-ı şerīf. Sacred text and images in an Islamic prayer book*, 507 pp. Unpublished PhD thesis 1999. Prints or electronic versions of the book can be purchased through the internet from University Microfilms International in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

²² See illustrations 4 and 5.

²³ Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā‘il al-Khayrat*, 138-42, fig. 88, 89, 90, and 91.

²⁴ See, among others, Alexandre Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan. Etude sur les Khwajas Naqshbandis du Turkestan oriental* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 2005), 66, 69, 80, 86, 90-96, 143, 186, 201, 204.

²⁵ See, for example at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS BNF Arabe 6983, fol. 16b-17a (available at: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84061483>>), see for an extensive description of this manuscript the contribution by Jan Just Witkam to this volume; Sabiha Göloğlu, “Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Books,” in Michele Bernardini *et al.*, eds., *15th International Congress of Turkish Art: Proceedings* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2018), 328.

depicted in the form of a green diagram that includes distichs in Persian.²⁶ The illustration of the sandal can be found in other kinds of manuscripts in Central Asia, such as pilgrimage guides and theological treatises.²⁷ It is possible that the insertion of the sandal has been borrowed from Ottoman manuscripts since the miniatures depicting the Haramayn on fol. 35b-36a, seems, to me, similar to Turkish representations. In both cases, architectural elements are displayed in the same way (diagram of the Sacred Mosque surrounding the Ka'ba on the right page; the *rawḍa* represented vertically on the left) and captions are given in vernacular languages.²⁸

MS Kuala Lumpur, IAMM n° 2001.5.4 is comparable with the copy for sale in Moscow. On p. 298, the sole of Muḥammad's sandal is painted in yellow and gold on a red background. The double page 47-48 presents analogous illustrations of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* and the *rawḍa al-mubāraka*, using black, yellow, and gold colours. Captions in Arabic and Persian are noteworthy. Pathways (*mamshā*) converge towards the Ka'ba (and its black stone, *al-ḥajar al-aswad*), around which four domed pavilions are described as oratories of the four schools, i.e. *muṣallā-yi mālikī*, *muṣallā-yi ḥanafī*, *muṣallā-yi shāfi'ī*, and *muṣallā-yi ḥanbalī*. The *minbar* and *zamzam-i sharīf* are mentioned too. As for Medina, aside from the usual *minbar* and niches (*miḥrābs*), the four graves (*qabr*) are represented inside an edifice labelled as *ḥujra-yi sa'adat* (lit. cell of felicity), that is, the Prophet's tomb. Below, we read the caption *qubba-yi 'Uthmān* that I am not able to identify. We also read *bāgh-i Fāṭima* (garden of Fāṭima), *bustān-i Rasūlī* (garden of the Prophet), and *ḥirā-yi Rasūlī*, which is a mountain near Mecca where the Prophet secluded himself and received his first revelation.

This abundance of pictorial details and written explanations, especially about Medina, suggests that al-Jazūlī's prayer book was possibly used as a pilgrimage guide by Central Asian readers. Equally, this abundance means that veneration of the Prophet (including his family and community) increased through a pious visit (*ziyārat*) to Medina, which was frequently coupled with the *ḥajj* during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁹

A last example of illuminated manuscript confirms, I think, this evolution of the usage of the *Dalā'il* from a call for pilgrimage to a guide to pilgrimage. A fascinating manuscript, probably from the city of Kokand (in Fergana valley, in present-day Uzbekistan), was exhibited at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin in 2006.³⁰ 171 folios in length, it was copied in 1308/1891 by a certain Ḥājji Muḥammad Niyāz b. Nūr Muḥammad Khoqandī. The design, which consists of fine medallions (*shamsa*) with *thuluth* titles inside, colourful scrolling flowers, Eastern Kufic script for headings (*naskh* for the text), and other features, is both original and the result of multiple influences such as Kashmiri and Ottoman manuscripts,³¹ Chinese iconography, and perhaps Turkestanian textiles. In a sense, the Kokand manuscript represents a synthesis of the Central Asian *Dalā'il* manuscript tradition. Regarding the illustrations, compared to other manuscripts, the programme has been considerably extended since it now includes pilgrimage sites and paraphernalia.

Only some of the twenty-three drawings in gouache with captions in Tajik-Persian have been available to me.³² The manuscript is so rich that it deserves a full study, which I hope to undertake in the near future. For now, let us focus on only one double page, published in the catalogue. On the right-hand page, the flat projection of the Mina Valley, near Mecca contains: 1) a green mountain with the caption "this

²⁶ Catalogue online: <<https://www.litfund.ru/auction/82s1/77/>>

²⁷ According to Larisa Dodkhudoeva and Lola Dodkhudoeva, "Manuscripts orientaux du Tadjikistan. La collection Semenov," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 7 (1999): footnote 26.

²⁸ Ottoman examples in Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā'il al-Khayrat*, 134-36, figs. 85 and 86; Göloğlu, "Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites," 334, fig. 3.

²⁹ On Central Asian Muslims and the Hajj, see Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone, eds., *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits Between Central Asia and the Hijaz* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2012).

³⁰ For a description, see Marcus Fraser and Will Kwiatkowski, *Ink and Gold: Islamic Calligraphy* (London: Sam Fogg, 2006), 136-40.

³¹ See, for example, Gülgen Hicabi and Semra Güler, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Klasik Dönem ve Sonrasına Ait Delâilü'l-Hayrât Minyatürlerindeki Değişim," *İslam Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi* 3/1(2018): 47-48, 57, fig. 9.

³² I thank Catherine de Meillac, of the Sam Fogg Gallery in London, for sending me several important pictures.

mount is wonderful, a mosque is nearby, in this mount there is a cave, the surah ‘The Emissaries’ (*sūra* 77, *al-Mursalāt*) descended from here”; 2) the “Mosque of the foot” [of a mount] (*Masjid-i khayf*) located south of Mina, with a minaret (*munāra*) and the “Mountain of the sacrifice of Ishmael” (*jabal-i qurbān-i Ismā’il*); 3) the “market of Mina” (*bāzār-i Minā*); and 4) the three pillars (i.e. *jamra-yi ūlā*, *jamra-yi wusṭā*, *jamra-yi ‘aqaba*) at which pilgrims throw stones. On the left-hand page, with (in red) the hadith entitled, “whoever dies at Medina, I will be his intercessor and witness on the day of Resurrection,” two green mountains leave an open space where a dome rises behind a circular, apparently hanging object. This is probably a lamp signifying illumination and holy emanation. The caption reads “mountain of Mufarraḥ,” and a Persian verse at the bottom reads: “Here is the good news that the Palanquin (*Maḥmal*) arrived in Mufarraḥ / the green dome appeared from here” (*muzhda ki Maḥmal bi-Mufarraḥ rasid | gumbad-i khadrā shud az injā padid*). Mufarraḥ is located near Mecca but the mountain is known as a place from where one can see the Prophet’s tomb.

These iconographic elements are rare in *Dalā’il al-khayrāts* but quite usual in the illustrated copies of Muḥyi’l-Dīn Lārī’s (d. 933/1526) *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*. The illuminator of the Kokand manuscript may have been influenced by Persian and Ottoman copies of the *Futūḥ*,³³ the latter being a poetical description and pilgrimage guide of holy Arabia in Persian.³⁴ The Kokand *Dalā’il* seems to serve the same purpose thanks to its illustrative programme rather than its textual contents. A guide to the most important Sunni pilgrimage sites, this *Dalā’il* also enabled veneration of Muḥammad, strengthened belief in his intercession, and promoted pious visits to his shrine.

To summarize, the design and the illustrations of our manuscripts show that al-Jazūlī’s prayer book circulated in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan through “book routes,” passing through Transoxania, Fergana, Western China, Kashmir, and the Ottoman lands.³⁵ Drawing from these various sources, Central Asian copyists were also inspired by their own cultural environment and their post-medieval manuscript traditions. They produced simple, modest books for *madrasa* teachers and students as well as sophisticated, richly decorated volumes for wealthy pious customers. In parallel with the production of *Dalā’il al-khayrāts* elsewhere in the Muslim world, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, Turkestanian scribes added either details or elements in their iconographic agenda, responding to the evolution of tastes and uses. Initially read as a call to worship the Prophet and to perform the pilgrimage to the Haramayn, the prayer book was used as a devotional and pilgrimage guide, in which Muḥammad, his family, and the holy sites associated with them, remained objects of devotion.

Qur’anic and Sufi Education

The spread of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāts* in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan can be also explained by the educational traditions in the region. The circuits of circulation that I have tried to describe in the previous part passed through the hands of many people, the majority of whom were teachers and students.

Although limited, codicological data yield a few results with regard to the identity of owners, especially in Eastern Turkestan. MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM n° 2013.19.105 features a seal in Arabic script on p.

³³ For Persian manuscripts, see three items preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: MS Paris BnF Persan 237 (<<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1014449>>), MS Paris BnF Suppl. Persan 1340 (<<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc38660t>>), MS Paris BnF Suppl. Persan 1514 (<<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc33996q>>). On the Ottoman side, see Göloğlu, “Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites,” 333, fig. 1; Hicabi and Güler, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Klasik Dönem,” 40-44, 54-55, fig. 4 and 5.

³⁴ Rachel Milstein, “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, 2006), 166-94; Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya, “Traveling Manuscripts: Understanding Pilgrimage in Central and Eastern Islamic Lands,” in Eric Tagliacozzo, Helen F. Siu, and Peter C. Perdue, eds., *Asia Inside Out: Itinerant People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019), 148-52.

³⁵ On the notion of “routes of books,” see Thibaut d’Hubert and Alexandre Papas, “Introduction,” in Thibaut d’Hubert and Alexandre Papas, eds., *Jāmi in Regional Contexts: the Reception of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmi’s Works in the Islamic World, ca. 9th/15th-14th/20th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 3-4.

40 (next to the illustration), unfortunately unreadable; the same seal is visible on p. 2, and the bottom of it seems to read Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Faḍilat. There are also red seals in Chinese on pages 76, 105, 137, 171, 208, and 280. The name is Ma Guoying (馬國英), who is believed to be the previous owner.³⁶ On fol. 77a of MS Lund University Library Prov. 329, we find the following note in late Chaghatay Turkish: “*‘Abd al-Rāmān [Raḥmān] Khwājāning Mullāh Qurbān Ākhūnd Ḥājj bidil-i amānat qilghan,*” which means that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s book has been entrusted to Mullāh Qurbān, a local preacher, perhaps returning from the *ḥajj*. On fol. 1b, we have the seal of a certain Abū al-Fattāḥ ibn ‘Alī, who might be a previous owner. As for MS Lund University Library Prov. 174, the owner’s (*ṣāhib*) name is given on fol. 134b: “Mullāh Muḥammad Ṣādiq ibn Maḥmūd Bāy from Khotan city (*min balad al-Khutan*).” On a separate sheet, a handwritten note in the Chaghatay language adds, “this is the *Dalā’il [Dalā’il] al-khayrāt* owned constantly and read by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ākhūnd, son of Maḥmūd Bāy, merchant from the city of Khotan (*Khutan shahrlik sawdāgar*).” On folios 2b-3a and 131a, several identical seals bear the name Muḥammad Ṣādiq *walad-i* Maḥmut. So, a local preacher from a merchant family owned the book. To sum up, we understand that the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* circulated among the urban upper and middle class, especially mullahs and *ākhūnds* (preachers).

Beyond the individual level, specific educational institutions for preachers played a key role in the spread of al-Jazūlī’s prayer book. Although information about these institutions remains scarce, we know that different independent institutes existed in the education system of nineteenth-century Central Asia, among which the “*Dalā’il class*” (*Dalā’il-khāna*) was dedicated to the reading and listening of the eponymous work.³⁷ Present in southern Kazakhstan and the Fergana Valley, they were linked to another establishment called “[Qur’an] reader class” (*qārī-khāna*), where pupils learned to recite the holy book. *Qārī-khānas* were intermediate establishments between the elementary school (*maktab-khāna*) and the religious college (*madrasa*). Apart from those opened by teachers in their homes, all these institutions were funded by incomes from charitable endowment (*waqf*). According to Russian statistics, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the districts of Kokand, Marghilan, Namangan, Andijan, and Osh had, in total, 182 *madrāsas* (10,391 students), 1,709 *maktab-khāna* (28,288 pupils), 235 *qārī-khāna* (1,699 pupils) and 6,154 mosques (each of which had a school).³⁸ With an average of five to ten pupils, Qur’an reader classes were small but popular institutions, which educated children to become professional reciters for various occasions. In towns, the demand for their service was high. Russian statistics from 1892 provide the following figures: about 40 *qārī-khānas* were in operation in the city of Khujand, and in Fergana as a whole, there were over 333.³⁹ We may speculate that *Dalā’il-khānas* were less numerous but still significant in the Central Asian urban religious life at that time.

We also find the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* at a more advanced stage of education, particularly among Sufis. For instance, a Sufi scholar such as Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn al-Barangawī (d. 1917), from Vyatka province, travelled to Kokand, Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan. In Eastern Turkestan, he studied with a mufti named Ḥabībullāh al-Khotanī (d. ca. 1871) al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* (hadith collection). Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn also read the *Dalā’il* in his presence, and in June 1859 he obtained a licence (*ijāzat*) from the mufti.⁴⁰ Another example: the aforementioned Tatar scholar Niyaz-Baqi b. Biktimer obtained a licence on 1 Muharram 1314/Friday, 12 June 1896 for reading the *Dalā’il* (in addition to al-Qārī’s *Ḥizb al-a’ẓam* and al-Būṣīrī’s *Qaṣīda al-burda*, two texts that belong to the usual ritual contexts of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*), given by the famous Bashkir Naqshbandī sheikh Zaynullāh

³⁶ Rusli *et al.*, *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, 105. Thanks to Marie-Paule Hille for having confirmed the reading of the seal.

³⁷ A. K. Muminov, A. Sh. Nurmanova and S. Sattarova, *Rodoslovnoe drevo Mukhtara Auezova* (Almaty: Zhibek Zholy, 2011), 166, 266.

³⁸ M. Annanepesov and H. N. Bababekov, “The Khanates of Khiva and Kokand and the Relations Between the Khanates and with Other Powers,” in Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib, and Karl M. Baipakov, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, v. 5: Development in Contrast, From the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), 82.

³⁹ A. K. Mirbabaev, P. Zieme and Wang Furen, “The Development of Education: *Maktab, Madrasa, Science and Pedagogy*,” in C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, v. 4: The Age of Achievement, A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century; Pt. II: the Achievements* (Paris: UNESCO, 2000), 35-36.

⁴⁰ Allen J. Frank, *Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia: Sufism, Education, and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 108.

Rasūlī (d. 1917).⁴¹ Lastly, it is interesting to note that the “critical apparatus” accompanying the Kazan lithographic print of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (which is followed by the *Qaṣīda al-burda* from p. 187 onward), includes quotations by the Turkish Naqshbandī Khālīdī sheikh Aḥmed Gümüṣhanevi (d. 1893) encouraging the reading of the *Dalā’il*.⁴² All these mentions mean that the prayer book, beside other devotional works, was a must-read for nineteenth-century Central Asian Sufis, especially those from the Muslim provinces of Russia, and was part of their intellectual training, at least in principle.

We can better understand the learning how to read the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, and more widely its reception in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, by analysing the “critical apparatus” composed of interlinear translations in Persian, notes handwritten by readers in Chaghatay Turkish, and commentaries (*sharḥ*).

In our manuscript corpus, several copies contain interlinear translations in Persian, not in Chaghatay Turkish. The sale catalogue of the Moscow manuscript indicates that the Arabic original text is followed by a subscript, which is a verbatim translation in Persian running from fol. 8b to fol. 17b. There are verses in Persian and Chaghatay elsewhere, as is usually the case in Central Asian manuscripts of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*. The same thing applies to MS Lund University Library Prov. 174 with a Persian interlinear translation from the beginning (on fol. 2b) to fol. 11a.⁴³ MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM n^o 2011.7.62 has only a few pages translated into Persian at the beginning. There is no full translation. It seems that translators did not feel the need to go further than the opening (*muqaddima*) of the *Dalā’il*, as if Central Asian readers were supposed to clearly understand this part before learning to read and recite the text.

Written either in Persian or Chaghatay, most notes in the margins helped readers to navigate the book contents and, I think, to identify section titles, more quickly than with the Arabic. Two manuscripts copied in Eastern Turkestan bear marginal notes. In MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM 2013.19.105, as noted, divisions of prayers are expressed in both Persian and Arabic using the word *ibtidā’* (e.g. *ibtidā’-yi dūshanba* on p. 44; *ibtidā’ al-sabt*, p. 208) written in black ink from one reader. Another reader added in black or red ink Persian equivalents of Arabic, e.g. *sishanba* (Tuesday) for *al-thalath* (p. 76) and *chahārshanba* (Wednesday) for *al-arba’a* (p. 105). As for MS Lund University Library Prov. 174, the notes are in the Chaghatay language, signalling each part (*ḥizb*) of the book, with explanations for learners such as “this is the place where one starts [reading] the first part” (*shubudur awwalqī ḥizbni bashlaydurghan yer*) on fol. 21b and “this is the beginning of the sixth part” (*shubudur altinji ḥizbning awwali*) on fol. 97a.

On the Western side of Turkestan, whereas MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM 2002.3.5 has only a few reading notes in Arabic by another hand to point out daily litanies (*wirds*) and MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM 2001.5.4 comprises some general rules in Persian written in pencil (for example, “here starts Sunday” on p. 233, “here ends Saturday” on p. 236, etc.), MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM 2011.7.62 has precise instructions in Tajik-Persian. Let us quote a few: “one must start the [reading] task from here” (*mībāyad ki shurū’ vazīfa az in jā kunad*) (p. 54), “from here to the first part, to be silent [i.e. to read silently]” (*az injā tā ḥizb-i awwal sāqit* [sic, instead of *sākit*] *kunad*) (p. 66); “[the *talbiya* formula] ‘here I am [O God]’, that is, to read nine times and even more” (*labbayka [allahumma] ya’nī nuh bār bukhūnad balk ziyāda bukhūnad*) (p. 86); “to read in prostration, to comply [with it] whenever it’s necessary” (*dar sajda bukhūnad har ḥājāt ki bāshad qabūl kardad*) (p. 107); “this prayer, which is for all important matters and repelling of grief, should be read 1,000 times, during reciting one should not speak with someone, and this prayer [should be read] 300 times and up to 1,000 to obtain someone’s needs (*in durūd barā-yi har muhimmāt u maṭlab wa daḥf-i gham u andūh ki bāshad hizār bār bukhūnad wa dar khwāndan bā kasī sukhan nakunad wa in durūd barā-yi bar āmadan-i ḥājāt sih šad martaba wa akthar yak-hizār ast*) (p. 163), “if someone reads this prayer once, the reward will be 10,000 times” (*agar kasī yak-bār in durūd bukhūnad thawāb dah hizār bār mībāyad*) (p. 165), “from the

⁴¹ Bustanov, *Knizhnaia kul’tura sibirskikh musul’man*, 57-59 (with a facsimile of the *ijāzat* from a flyleaf). On Zaynullāh Rasūlī, see Ibrahim Maraş, “Zeynullah Resūlī,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 44 (2013): 372-33.

⁴² al-Jazūlī, *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* (Kazan: Tipografia Torgovago-Doma Brat’ev’ Karimovykh’, 1904), 18-20. On Gümüṣhanevi, see İrfan Gündüz, “Gümüṣhanevi, Ahmed Ziyâeddin,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 14 (1996): 276-77.

⁴³ See illustration 6.

word *qāl* to the words *wa fi riwāyat*, be silent, and be also silent on the word *riwāyat*” (*az lafz-i qāl tā lafz-i wa fi riwāyat sāqit kunad wa lafz-i riwāyat nīz sāqit kunad*) (p. 265). All these notes were probably written by a teacher of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, who also included some comments based on the *Mazra‘ al-ḥasanāt*. It is interesting to observe how the instructor taught the reading and reciting, including the body movements, as well as the benefits of the prayer book.

The “critical apparatus” of the Kazan lithography also provides readers with detailed instructions in Tatar Turkish. On pp. 4-6, there is a list of no less than forty-two conditions and rules for using the *Dalā’il*, such as making ablutions before reading, being cautious about making mistakes, reciting in the direction of *qibla*, reading with humility, reading a part of Qur’an before reciting, etc.

Regarding commentaries of the *Dalā’il*, as seen at the beginning of this article, Muḥammad Fāḍil’s *Mazra‘ al-ḥasanāt* was a popular reference but this should be relativized since many of the manuscripts at our disposal do not include a *sharḥ*. Moreover, to my knowledge, no commentary was composed by Central Asian scholars, although there is one authored by the Hanafi scholar of Turkmen origin, sheikh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dakdakī (d. 1131/1719). However, this student of the Sufi sheikh ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulūsī spent his life in Damascus and his work never circulated in Central Asia.⁴⁴ If we push the boundaries of our study area to the Caucasus, we encounter a reference published in Istanbul in 1309/1892 in a collection of old-printed books from the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria.⁴⁵ Entitled *Tevfiq muvaffiq al-khayrāt fi idāh me‘ānī Delā’il al-khayrāt*, this is a well-known monumental *sharḥ* composed in Ottoman Turkish by Karadāvudzāde Meḥmed Efendī (d. 1170/1756).⁴⁶ It appears that, in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, commentaries were rarely used in learning the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, which focused on ritual recitation. Perhaps most comments were transmitted orally.

Conclusion

Our three research leads have achieved several results. In terms of chronology and geography, we can conclude that, subject to other discoveries, manuscripts of al-Jazūlī’s prayer book appeared in the region as early as 1720 and were produced until at least 1904. Introduced partly from India, it became very popular in the nineteenth century and spread throughout Transoxania, Fergana and the southern Kazakh steppe, as far as Eastern Turkestan, the Russian Muslim provinces and the Crimea.

Such an expansion can be explained, in part, by the book routes that followed trade and pilgrimage itineraries, thereby establishing circuits of circulation between Central Asian oases and India (especially Kashmir), China, and the Ottoman lands. Rich in these influences and in parallel with the evolution of Indian and Ottoman illustrated manuscripts, the visual programme of the *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* evolved towards more diverse and sophisticated contents. This evolution suggests that the book was first used as an intellectual instrument calling for devotion to the Prophet and pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Gradually, the book served as a manual both for devotion to the Prophet and his family and for pilgrimage to the Haramayn and other Sunni holy sites. Users were wealthy pious Muslims as well as common folks, especially from the *madrassa* milieu.

More precisely, the *Dalā’il* circulated mostly among teachers and students from the urban upper and middle class, in particular mullahs and preachers. In Fergana and Southern Kazakhstan, they were trained in specific institutions called *Dalā’il-khānas*, linked to intermediary education establishments called “[Qur’an] reader class” (*qārī-khāna*). Sufi advanced students, notably from Russia, also learned to read the prayer book, but in private, with a master who gave them a licence. As non-Arabic speakers, Central Asian readers sometimes used Persian translations of the book’s opening section. They also needed rules and techniques written in their vernacular languages, i.e. Tajik-Persian, Chaghatay, and Tatar Turkish, for

⁴⁴ al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar*, 4:25-27.

⁴⁵ Vladimir O. Bobrovnikov, “Katalog rukopisei i staropechatnykh knig na arabskom, persidskom i tiurskikh iazykakh iz Kabardino-Balkarii,” *Pis’mennye pamiatniki vostoka* 1/2 (2005): 269.

⁴⁶ Hatice Kelpetin Arpaguş, “Kara Dāvud,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 34 (2001): 359.

reading and reciting the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*. Written commentaries do not seem to have been widely used.

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[captions]

Figure 1: Text of the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* surrounded by the *Mazra' al-ḥasanāt*. MS Kuala Lumpur IAMM No. 2011.7.62 (p. 19).

Figure 2: Illustration of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* in Mecca. MS Lund University Library, Gunnar Jarring Collection, Prov. 329 (fol. 12b).

<<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0028&pid=alvin-record%3A29913&dswid=-162>>

Figure 3: Illustration of *al-rawḍa al-mubāraka* in Medina. MS Lund University Library, Gunnar Jarring Collection, Prov. 329 (fol. 13a).

<<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0029&pid=alvin-record%3A29913&dswid=2040>>

Figure 4: Illustration of the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* in Mecca. MS Lund University Library, Gunnar Jarring Collection, Prov. 174 (fol. 19b).

<<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0046&pid=alvin-record%3A28476&dswid=-6625>>

Figure 5: Illustration of the *rawḍa* in Medina. MS Lund University Library, Gunnar Jarring Collection, Prov. 174 (fol. 20a).

<<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0047&pid=alvin-record%3A28476&dswid=8787>>

Figure 6: Beginning of the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* with a Persian interlinear translation. MS Lund University Library, Gunnar Jarring Collection, Prov. 174 (fol. 2b).

<<http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0010&pid=alvin-record%3A28476&dswid=4224>>