In Writing and in Sound

The Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in the Late Ottoman Empire

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Abstract

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

Keywords

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

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

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

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

2 The full title of the text is Dalāʾil al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt `alā al-nabi al-mukhtar (Proofs of Good Deeds and Brilliant Bursts of Light in the Remembrance of Blessings on the Chosen Prophet). For an English translation, see Al-Jazūlī, Guide to Happiness: A Manual of Prayer, trans. John B. Pearson (Oxford: Printed for private circulation, 1907). For a selection of publications on the Dalāʾil al-Khayrat, see Frederike-Wiebke Daub, Formen und Funktionen des Layouts in arabischen Manuskripten anhand von Abschriften religiöser Texte. Al-Būṣīrīs Burda, al-Ǧazūlīs Dalāʾil und die Šifāʾ von Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016); Nurul Iman Rusli, Heba Nayel Barakat, and Amira Salleh, eds., Dalaʾil al-Khayrat: Prayer Manuscripts from the 16th–19th Centuries (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, 2016); and Jan Just Witkam; Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek. De geschiedenis van de Dalāʾil al-Khayrat van al-Ǧazūlī (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 2002). For a selection of dissertations on the prayer book, see Sabiha Göloğlu, "Depicting the Holy: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Empire" (PhD thesis, Koç University, 2018); Hiba Abid, “Les Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt d’al-Jazūlī (m. 869/1465). La tradition manuscrite d’un livre de prières soufi au Maghreb du xe/xvie au xiiie/xixe siècles” (PhD thesis, École doctorale de l’École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 2017); and Semra Güler, "Türkiye Kütüphaneleri’ndeki Delāilü’l-Hayrātlar’da Minyatür" (PhD thesis, Uludağ University, 2017).

3 For a detailed definition of "soundscape," see R. Murray Schafer, The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1977), 4–5. 274–275.
Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt were either arranged in eight sections (sing. ḥizb or ḥizip) or eight, four, three, and two parts that were differentiated with illuminated headings, section markers (ḥizip gülü), and/or marginal inscriptions that guided the reading of the text in eight days (from Monday to Monday) and in halves, thirds, and quarters.⁴

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998), 173–176, 285. See also Yehoshua Frenkel, “Muhammad al-Djazouli’s Image in Biographical Dictionaries and Hagiographical Collections Written during Sa’dīd Period in Morocco,” *Maghreb Review* 18 (1993): 18–33; Süleyman Uludağ, “Muhammed b. Süleyman Cezūlī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 7.515–516; and M. Ben Cheneb, “al-Djazuli,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 527–528.
of his prayer book soon extended beyond North Africa and spread to various parts of the Islamic world, as a commonly consulted work for reciting prayer blessings for the Prophet (taṣliya). From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, the Shadhiliyya order gained popularity in Istanbul and had up to three zawiyas, while the Qadiri order sustained a steady and widespread influence, also in the Balkans and Anatolia. The Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt was not only copied and read among these Sufi orders, but also others, such as the Naqshbandiya and the Mawlawiya. Moreover, the written and sonic formats of

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8 For devotional practices regarding the Prophet Muhammad, see Christiane Gruber, The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2019); and Annemarie Schimmel, And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

9 On the Shadhili order, see Ahmet Murat Özel, “Şızeli” and “Şızeliyye,” Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi vol. 38 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010), 385–387 and 387–390; M. Baha Tanman, “Şızeli Tekkesi” and “Şızeliilik,” Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, vol. 7 (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 138–139 and 139–140; and Ömer Tuğrul İnançer, “Şızeliilik: Zikir usulü ve Musiki,” Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, vol. 7 (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 140–141.

10 The Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt and the Ḥizb ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī of the founder of the Qādiriya order (d. 561/1166) may be found in the same prayer miscellanies. For instance, see the composite manuscript in the Kubbealtı Foundation Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA VII/4), in which the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt was compiled with the al-Ḥizb al-‘Aẓam, Ḥizb al-Bahr, Ḥizb al-Nawawi, Ḥizb ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī and Ḥizb al-Naṣr. Şebnem Eryavuz, Orhan Sakin, Sabiha Göloğlu, and Gülñur Duran, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation, trans. İrvin Cemil Schick (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, 2021), 240–243, cat. 87; and M. Baha Tanman, ed., Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi 1899–1984. Mimarlık Tarihçisi, Restoratör, Koleksiyoner (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2014), 202–203, cat. 85. A Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copy (SHM Küt. 611) in the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul ends with prayers for al-Jazūlī and the shaykhs of the Qādiriya order. Zeren Tanındı, Harmony of Line and Colour: Illuminated Manuscripts, Documents, and Calligraphy in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection, vol. 1 (İstanbul, Sadberk Hanım Museum, 2019), 242–243, cat. 53.

11 Several copyists of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt carry the titles of “Mevlevi” and “Naṣṣibendi” and several prayer books including the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt have contents related to these orders. For instance, a composite manuscript of Qur'anic excerpts, the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, and Mawlawi litanies (awrād) can be found in the Konya Mevlana Museum (Müze 45). Serpil Bağcı, Konya Mevlânâ Müzesi Resimli Elyazmaları (Konya: Konya ve Mülakatı Eski Eserleri Sevenler Derneği, 2003), 32–35, cat. 17. Furthermore, a composite manuscript of Qur'anic excerpts, the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, and Naqshbandi litanies with a Naqshbandi certificate can be found in the Berlin State Library (Hs. or. 14904, dated 1898 CE). “Hs. or. 14904.” Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Digitalisierte Sammlungen. Available at: http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000E800A000000000000 last accessed 22 November 2020.
this devotional text reached an even larger public based on book and recitation endowments by royal women, the learned, and wealthy individuals to libraries, madrasas, and mosques.

In the late Ottoman Empire, the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt was frequently referred to as “Delāʾil” and “Delāʾil-i Şerīf” and compiled with other devotional texts. Among these are the Enʿām-i Şerif,¹² including a selection of Qurʾānic excerpts (such as Sūrat al-Anʿām [Qurʾān 6] or “the Cattle,” which gives the book its name), religious imagery, and/or prayers (adʿiya);¹³ the Asmāʾ Aṣḥāb Badr (the names of the Prophet’s companions who fought in the Battle of Badr); al-Jazūli’s Ḥizb al-Falāḥ (Litany of Salvation); the Ḥanafi scholar and calligrapher ʿAlī al-Qārī’s (d. 1014/1605) al-Hizb al-Aʿẓam (The Greatest Litany); the Moroc- can scholar and founder of the Shadhiliyya order Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Shadhili’s (d. 656/1258) Ḥizb al-Bahr (Litany of the Sea), Ḥizb al-Barr (Litany of the Land), al-Hizb al-Kabīr (The Great Litany), and Ḥizb al-Naṣr (Litany of Victory); the Shafiʿi scholar and jurist al-Imām al-Nawawī’s (d. 676/1277) litanies (Ḥizb al-Nawawī); and/or the Sufi poet of the Shadhiliyya order Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī’s (d. 694–696/1294–1297) Qaṣīdat al-Burda (Mantle Ode).¹⁴ Several miscellanies or composite manuscripts that bring together the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt with one or more of these texts exist in collections today and are mentioned in historical sources.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī’s (d. 1109/1698) Arabic commentary Maṭāliʿ al-Masarrāt (Points of Ascents of Lucky Stars) and Karadavudzade’s (d. 1170/1756) Turkish commentary Tevfiku Muwaffikiʾl-Ḥayrāt (Guidance of Success of Good Deeds) were among the widely available exegeses of the text in the Ottoman

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¹² For a miscellany of the Enʿām-i Şerīf, Ḥizb al-Bahr, Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, the Asmāʾ Aṣḥāb Badr, and the Qaṣīdat al-Burda copied by Mehmed b. Ali Zügrevi of Ankara (a disciple of Seyyid Mehmed Nuri) dated to 1175/1761–1762, see Or. 7259 in the British Library, London. Alexander George Ellis and Edward Edwards, A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894 (London: British Museum, 1912), 16, 59.

¹³ For the Enʿām-i Şerīf, see Christiane Gruber, “A Pious-Cure All: The Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Manual in the Lilly Library,” in The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections, ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 117–153; and Alexandra Bain, “The Enʿām-i Şerīf: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book,” Archivum Ottomanicum 19 (2001): 213–238. See also the detailed catalogue description of an Enʿām-i Şerīf copy (MS 1995–014) in Jan Just Witkam, “The Islamic Manuscripts in the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.,” Journal of Islamic Manuscripts 1 (2012): 108–133.

¹⁴ For al-Būṣīrī’s Qaṣīdat al-Burda and other mantle odes, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muhammad (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010).
lands, even though other commentaries were also copied. Commentaries of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt were frequently mentioned in library catalogues and inheritance records, which, to a certain extent, reflect the contemporary efforts to study and comprehend the text. This article, however, does not attempt to understand this devotional text in terms of its meanings, but rather it explores the material values of its written forms, the auditory significance of its recitations, and its prominent presence in the public and private spheres. Using archival sources and codicological analysis, it aims to contextualize how the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt was integral to charitable, commercial, and devotional activities in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. The following sections suggest various tracks for approaching the production, ownership, circulation, endowment, and recitation of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, which can be expanded and elaborated in future studies.

2 Copyists, Corpora, and Costs

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

15 Among the other Turkish commentaries were İbrahim b. Salih el-Kıbrısi’s Vesāʾilü'l-Ḥasenāt (Occasions of Good Deeds) and Mehmed Şakir ibn Sunullah el-Ankaravi’s Şerḥü'l-Delaʾil (Commentary of the Dalaʾil). Guy Burak, “Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Supplicant,” in Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (eds.), Historicising Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire c. 1450–c. 1750 (Leiden: Brill, 2020); 241–246; Guy Burak, “Collating the Signs of Benevolent Deeds: Muḥammad Mahdi al-Fāsī’s Commentary on Muḥammad al-Jazūlī’s Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt and Its Ottoman Readers,” Philological Encounters 4 (2019): 135–157; and Hatice Kelpetin Arpaguş, “Kara Dāvud,” in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi, vol. 24 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 359.

16 Suyolcuza noted that Ahmed Efendi, Hüseyin Beşe b. Ahmed, Hatibzade Mehmed Efendi, Eğrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, Attarzade Hüseyin Efendi, Osman Efendi, Mustafa Çelebi, Mollazade Mehmed Efendi, Mehmed Emin Efendi, and Yusuf Efendi were among the calligraphers who copied the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt. Suyolcuza Mehmed Necib, Devha-tül-küttab, ed. Kılıslı Muallim Rifat (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı, 1942), 13.
noted several calligraphers who had copied one to three hundred or numerous (müte’addid) Dalā’il al-Khayrāt manuscripts. In Son Hattatlar (Last Calligraphers, 1955), İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal mentions several nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century calligraphers who had produced copies of the Dalā’il al-Khayrāt, attesting to the widespread production and popularity of this prayer book.17

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

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

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

İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal noted that Abdulkadir Şükri Efendi, Mehmed Arif Bey, Ahmed Arif Efendi, Mustafa Izzet Efendi, Kaysızade Osman Nuri Efendi, Osman Nuri Efendi, Osman Efendi, Ahmed Rakım Efendi, Mehmed Şevki Efendi, Mehmed Vâsfi Efendi, and İbrahim Hakki Efendi were among the calligraphers who copied the Dalā’il al-Khayrāt. İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, Son Hattatlar (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 29, 52, 56, 160, 252–253, 257, 286, 401, 447, 555.
The Topkapi corpus reveals more information about the identities of its calligraphers. All five manuscripts are signed by different hands: Berber Mehmed (of serāy-i ʿatīk, EH 1033); İsmail Şükri (EH 1034); Mehmed Şehri (kethūdā-i ʿulmān-i serāy-i ʿatīk, EH 1035); Mehmed Tavil (EH 1036); and Derviş Mehmed (EH 1037). EH 1035 and EH 1037 were completed in 1176/1762–1763, whereas the other three remain undated. EH 1036 measures 13 × 8.5 cm and has gold rulings, while the remaining four roughly measure 15 × 10 cm and have red rulings. There is no consistency in the number of lines among the copies, as they change between nine, eleven, and thirteen. All five manuscripts have maroon leather bindings with flaps and gilded medallions, pendants, and borders.

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18 Fehmi E. Karatay, Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), 269–270, cat. 5492–5496.
They open with similar illuminated headpieces consisting of small green flowers and red and blue finials. The perspectival views of Mecca and Medina in the Topkapi corpus seem to be all by the same hand and from the same specimen [figure 2]. Their layouts and colouring are almost identical; however, they display small variations in the urban fabric and the perspectival cone of vision.

The İnebey and Topkapi corpora [figures 1 and 2] and many others (e.g. three-manuscript-corpus that will be mentioned later, figure 6) confirm that the popularity of the Dalâ‘il al-Khayrât in public, educational, and palatial spheres necessitated the rapid production of its copies in various calibres. Although the same binder, illuminator, and painter (or a group of them) might have worked on all five manuscripts, the calligraphers showed variation within each corpus. The former corpus seems to have been copied by at least three different calligraphers, while the copying of the text in the latter corpus was performed by five calligraphers, two of whom were clearly associated with the old palace (serây-i ‘atîk).
Archival sources also provide insights into the production of manuscripts, as well as their costs. A private notebook of expenditures kept by a wealthy Istanbul resident lists the costs of a Qurʾān and a Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copy that was paid for in instalments between 1247/1832 and 1251/1835 [figure 3].19 The costs of paper (kāgād), copying/writing (taḥrīr), and illumination (teẕhīb) were recorded with the additional costs of corrections and writing of ḥilye and chapter titles (taṣḥīh ve ḥilye-i şerife ve ser-i sûre taḥrīr) for the Qurʾān copy and the writing of glosses (kenār taḥrīr) for the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copy.20 For these manuscript commissions, Sükutī İbrahim Efendi (d. 1834) was responsible for the copying, whereas Müsellid (binder) Ahmed Efendi was given the task of illumination (there is no specific amount listed for binding).21 The total costs were 5,300 ġuruş for the muṣḥaf (2,000 ġuruş for copying, 3,000 ġuruş for illumination, and 300 ġuruş for other costs) and 1,890 ġuruş for the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copy (640 ġuruş for copying and 1250 ġuruş for illumination), in addition to 350 ġuruş paid for paper.22 A further 140 ġuruş were paid to Mekteb Hocası (school teacher) İbrahim Efendi and Müsellid Ahmed Efendi for two or more al-Dawr al-Āʿlā (also known as Ḥizb al-Wiqāya) of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 1240).23 Even though al-Dawr al-Āʿlā was commonly compiled with the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, it is not clear whether in this case the two texts were compiled together or produced as separate manuscripts.

Similarly, another document notes the expenses of a Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt manuscript commissioned by Refia Sultan (d. 1880), a daughter of Sultan Abdülme-
FIGURE 3  Production costs of a Qurʾān and a Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copy paid for in instalments between 13 Šaban 1247/17 January 1832 and 4 Muharrem 1251/2 May 1835
THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY’S PRESIDENCY STATE ARCHIVES, D.M.D, 37228, P. 2
cid (r. 1839–1861) and Gülçemal Kadınefendi (d. 1851). This is a receipt signed by the calligrapher Mehmed Şevket, confirming payments of 1,500 ğuruş for the copying (iicreti tahriyye) and 224 ğuruş for paper (kâgad param). There is a lavishly illuminated Dalâ’il al-Khayrât copy signed by Mehmed Şevket (d. 1877–1878), a disciple of es-Seyyid Ahmed Rakım, in the İstanbul University Library (A 5721). This manuscript is written in naskh and thuluth scripts and dated to 1290/1873–1874. Its green leather binding with a large radiating star (yıldız) and smaller crescents, as well as the square seal impressions of the Yıldız Palace Library, makes this prayer book a possible match for the one ordered by Refia Sultan.

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

3 Inheritance Records, Market, and Ownership

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

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

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

26 For a short entry on Mehmed Şevket, see İnal, Son Hattatlar, 405–406.
titles and values. İsmail Erünsal presents valuable research about the buying and selling of books in the Ottoman Empire based on such records. He demonstrates that several devotional books appeared in the inheritance records of booksellers and merchants along with other objects, such as calligraphic panels (sing. levḥa), schematic and calligraphic descriptions of the Prophet’s physical characteristics (sing. hilye), and qibla compasses (sing. kıbilenümâ). Book-sellers and merchants sold manuscripts as finished objects and texts blocks, which could have been bound, illuminated, or illustrated upon the request of buyers. As one would expect, these recorded manuscripts could have been acquired as second hand or produced for the speculative market.

Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt manuscripts and prints frequently feature in price lists of the deceased’s belongings, either separately or as part of a total sum for bundles. Erünsal notes that a printed copy of Karadavudzade’s Turkish commentary on the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt could sell for up to 16,800 aḳçe in the late-nineteenth century, a manuscript copy of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt by Yesarizade (İsmail or Mustafa İzzet) for 48,000 aḳçe in 1872, a copy by Mustafa İzzet (Kadiasker or Yesarizade) for 31,040 aḳçe in 1887, and a copy by Şeyh Hamdullah for 16,200 aḳçe in 1910. In 1872, a Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt by Çemşir Hafız Mehmed Salih Efendi (d. 1236/1820) was sold for 96,000 aḳçe, whereas a Qurʾān copy by the same calligrapher was sold for 840,000 aḳçe. In 1879, the daily

27 Tahsin Özcan, “Muhallefât,” in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi, vol. 30 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2005), 406–407.
28 İsmail E. Erünsal, Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar (İstanbul: Timas Yayınları, 2013), 131–132, 163, 169–170.
29 Ibid., 131–132.
30 Erünsal, Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar, 181, 192, 197. For the value of silver ḣaruş (120 aḳçe) in the nineteenth century, see the table in Şevket Pamuk, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Paranın Tarihi (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 208. A miscellany of the Enʿām-ı Şerīf and the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt (1155/1742) and a copy of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt (1171/1757–1758) by İsmail Yesarizade (d. 1765) are preserved in the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (103–0359) and the Konya Mevlana Museum (İhtisas Kütüphanesi 5917). See “Dua Mecmuası,” Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi Dijital Koleksiyonlar ve Arşivleri. Available at https://digitalssm.org/digital/collection/Kitapvehat/id/193277/rec/2 last accessed 22 November 2020; and Bağcı, Konya Mevlâna Müzesi Resimli Elyazmaları, 20–21, cat. 1.2. Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet (d. 1849) was a master of taʿlīq calligraphy and the majority of Ottoman Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies were written in naskh script. For a copy of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt (1251/1835–1836) that Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet copied in taʿlīq, see A 5559 in the Istanbul University Library. A copy of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt (1258/1842–1843) copied by Kadiasker Mustafa İzzet (d. 1876) and preserved in the Istanbul University Library (A 5557) will be subsequently mentioned.
31 Erünsal, Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar, 197. For the calligrapher, see İnal, Son Hattatlar, 352–353.
wages of a common labourer (rençber) and a mason (duvarci) in Istanbul were 958 and 1,704 āḳçe, respectively; thus, the purchase of one of these manuscripts would have cost the equivalent of one to several months of salary.32

Similarly, based on a selection of inheritance records, both M. Şükrü Hanioğlu and Henning Sievert provide a glimpse into book collections of the Ottoman ruling class (askerî). According to Hanioğlu’s statistics from 1164/1750–1751 and 1215/1800–1801 (44 members of the ruling class from each year), Dalâ’il al-Khayrât was among the most common religious books (10 and 15 copies in the respective years) owned by the elite after copies of the Qur’ān (muṣḥaf, pl. maṣāḥif), the Ḥanafī jurist İbrahim al-Ḥalabî’s (d. 1549) Multaqa al-Abḥur (Confluence of the Seas), and Birgivi Mehmed Efendi’s (d. 1573) catechism (ʾilm-i ħâl) Vasiyyet-i Birgivi (or Vasiyetnâme, the Testament).33

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

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32 Şevket Pamuk, İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469–1998 (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 196.
33 M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 38–41. See also Burak, “Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Supplicant,” 242.
34 Henning Sievert, “Verlorene Schätze. Bücher von Bürokraten in den Muḥallefāt-Registern,” in Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, eds. Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 237–238. See also Henning Sievert, “Eavesdropping on the Pasha’s Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Bureaucrat,” Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies XL1 (2013): 159–195.
35 Sievert, “Verlorene Schätze,” 211–212, 239–241. For the value of silver ğurüş (120 āḳçe) in the eighteenth century, see the table in Pamuk, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Parannın Tarihi, 178.
36 Pamuk, İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469–1998, 194.
37 Erünsal, Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar, 193–199.
### Table 1: Values of Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies based on inheritance records across the empire

| Title of the book | Owner of the book | City | Year | Value | Notes | Daily wages of a common laborer (rençber) in Istanbul | Number of days a common laborer needed to work |
|-------------------|-------------------|------|------|-------|-------|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Canibi Ahmed Efendi | İstanbul (Galata) | 1114/1702 | 260 aḳçe |       | 30.2 aḳçe                                           | 9 days                                      |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Ebubekir Efendi b. Abdülbaki | İstanbul (Galata) | 1115/1703 | 100 aḳçe |       | 20.8 aḳçe                                           | 5 days                                      |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Ebubekir Efendi b. Abdülbaki | İstanbul (Galata) | 1115/1703 | 200 aḳçe |       | 20.8 aḳçe                                           | 10 days                                     |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Katip (Scribe) Ömer Efendi b. Osman | Istanbul (Galata) | 1158/1745 | 480 aḳçe |       | circa 29.3 aḳçe                                     | circa 16 days                               |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | es-Seyyid Şerif Mehmed Efendi | İstanbul (Galata) | 1193/1780 | 300 aḳçe |       | 59.5 aḳçe                                           | 5 days                                      |
| Maṭāliʿ al-Masarrāt | es-Seyyid Şerif Mehmed Efendi | İstanbul (Galata) | 1193/1780 | 600 aḳçe |       | 59.5 aḳçe                                           | 10 days                                     |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Molla Ali b. Abdullah | Sofia | 1175/1762 | 1,310 aḳçe | with a silver case | 31.1 aḳçe                                           | 42 days                                     |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | El-Hacc Salih Ağaba Abdullah Ağaba | Sofia | 1220/1805 | 3,600 aḳçe |       | circa 141.8 aḳçe                                    | circa 25 days                               |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Kethūdazade (Steward) Yerizade Süleyman Ağaba b. Ismail | Rusçuk | 1192/1779 | 300 aḳçe |       | circa 56.4 aḳçe                                     | circa 6 days                                |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | El-Hacc Mehmed Ağaba b. El-Hacc Mehmed | Ankara | 1250/1834 | 3,600 aḳçe |       | circa 600 aḳçe                                      | circa 6 days                                |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | El-Hacc Ahmed b. Abdullah | Ankara | 1252/1836 | 6,000 aḳçe |       | circa 980 aḳçe                                      | circa 6 days                                |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Kitapçı (Bookseller) Hüseyin Efendi b. Hüseyin Raşid | Trabzon | 1262/1846 | 7,200 aḳçe | illuminated | 639 aḳçe | 11 days |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Ali Efendioglu el-Hacc Mehmet Efendi b. Ali | Giresun | 1286/1869 | 2,400 aḳçe | print copy | 960 aḳçe | 3 days |
| Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt | Veloğlu Mustafa Efendi b. Abdullah | Giresun | 1304/1887 | 600 aḳçe |       | circa 960 aḳçe                                      | 1 day                                       |

**Sources:** Öktem 2017, 43–44, 61–69; Sabev 2003, 54, 81; Sabev 2011, 587; Aydin 2008, 100–101; Saydam 2006, 197; Doğan 2015, 162, 166; Pamuk 2000, 193–196
As eighteenth- and nineteenth-century inheritance records from all over the empire demonstrate, the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt and its commentaries were commonly owned and circulated along with other books such as Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi’s (d. 855/1451) Muḥammadīyā and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī’s (d. 1565) al-Mīzān al-Kubrā (The Supreme Scale). From Damascus to Trabzon and from Ankara to Sarajevo, Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt manuscripts were available in a wide range of prices, which meant they could be afforded by upper and middle classes.38 Already at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies could be found in inheritance records from Istanbul; al-Jazuli’s text perhaps gradually (or simultaneously) gained popularity in other parts of the empire, such as Sofia, Rusçuk, and Giresun [table 1]. A short survey of inheritance records published in secondary sources shows that Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies were purchased or commissioned in different calibres, were owned by people of various occupations, and did not necessarily become cheaper with its print production in the nineteenth century. These records only show cases taken to court and the registers that have survived and been studied. We can conclude, therefore, that the market for the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt must have been much much larger than what the sources suggest.

As Nelly Hanna shows based on inheritance records and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī’s (d. 1240/1825) ʿAjāʿib al-āthār fīʾl-tarājim waʾl-akhbār (Remarkable Remnants of Lives and Events), the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt was a “bestseller” in eighteenth-century Cairo.39 It was commercially produced and frequently

38 Nisa Öktem, “xviii. Yüzyıl Galata Terekelerine Göre Osmanlı’da Kitap Kültürü” (Master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2017), 43–44, 61–69; Asim Zubčević, “Book Ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo, 1707–1828” (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2015), 182, 267; Faruk Doğan, “Bir Eğitim Tarihi Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Giresun Şer’iye Siciliyor. Terekelerin Kayıtlarını Yansıyan Kitaplar,” Turkish Studies 10 (2015): 162, 166; Fatih Bozkurt, “Terekeler ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Değişim (1785–1875 İstanbul Örneği)” (Master’s thesis, Sakarya University, 2011), 45; İhsan Aydın, “Tanzimat Döneminde Ankara ve Gaziantep Terekelerinin Mukayeseli Bir Çalışması” (Master’s thesis, Cumhuriyet University, 2008), 100–101; Nazik Betül Çelik, “Terekelerde Tarihleme Göre 11. Mahmud Döneminde Tokat’ın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı” (Master’s thesis, Gaziosmanpaşa University, 2008), 48; Abdulrah Saydam, “Trabzon’dal Halkın Kitap Sahibi Olma Düzeni (1795–1846),” Milli Eğitim 170 (2006): 197; Orlin Sabev, “Okuyan Taşralı Bir Toplum. Rusçuk Müslümanlarının Kitap Seygisi (1695–1786),” in Balkanlar’da İslam Medeniyeti Uluslararası Üstünkül Nicepozyum Tebligi, 1–5 November 2006, Bucharest, ed. Ali Çaksu (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2011), 2.587; Sabev, “Private Book Collection in Ottoman Sofia, 1671–1833,” Études Balkaniques 1 (2003): 54, 81; and Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual, “Les livres des gens à Damas vers 1730,” Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée 87–88 (1999): 160, 164.

39 Nelly Hanna, In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo’s Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 94–96. For the popularity of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, see also Rachida Chih, Sufism in Ottoman Egypt: Circulation,
found in the private libraries of people from different social classes. Al-Jabarti mentions three avid copyists of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* in Cairo in their respective necrologies: Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 1187/1774); Shaykh Aḥmad (d. 1194/1780); and Ismāʿīl Efendi (d. 1211/1796–1797). If we combine this information with the references in biographical dictionaries and inheritance records, the prevalence and popularity of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* in the major centres of the empire, as well as smaller Balkan and Anatolian cities, becomes clear.

4 Royal Ownership

The *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* and other prayer books could be found in ordinary homes—as inheritance records confirm—and private spheres of the Ottoman palaces. Two lists in the Atatürk Library provide an insight into Pertevniyal Valide Sultan’s (d. 1883), the mother of Sultan Abdülabaz (r. 1861–1876), devotional practices. These documents recorded “personal scriptures/litanies that she had read for over forty-fifty years” (*kərk eˈlli sənˈɛj jʊˈtɛcɛˈviʃ ʃəˈɾat ˈbu`]yurˈməkda əlvəktəri evrəd-ˈi məḥʃʊşa*). They include a copy of the Qurʾān (Hafiz Osman, 1187/1773, 13 lines); a miscellany of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* (Hafız Hasan Raşid, 1253/1837–1838, 7 lines); a copy of Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī’s (d. 786/1384) *Awrād al-Fatḥiyya* (es-Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin Burusavi, 1278/1861–1862, 15 lines); a miscellany of the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* and *al-Dawr al-ʾAlā* (Abdüüssamed el-Hacc Rasim Mehmed, 9 lines); and a miscellany of prayers, the *Khatm al-Khwājagān* (a Naqshbandi dhikr), and the *Asmāʾ Awliyāʾ* (7 lines), as well as her prayer beads [figure 4].

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

40 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī’s *History of Egypt. Ajāʾib al-Āthār fil-Tarājim waʾl-Akhbār*, eds. Thomas Philipp and Moshe Perlmann (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 643–644 in vol. 1, 96 and 447 in vol. 2. See also Hanna, *In Praise of Books*, 95.

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

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

43 It is not possible to securely identify these manuscripts; however, there is a *Dalāʾil al-
A later document requested the placement of all these objects in the queen mother’s tomb; however, as three inventories of the tomb demonstrate, not all of them were sent there.\textsuperscript{44} The Valide Sultan was known for her piety, her 

\textit{Khayrāt} in the Suleymaniye Library (Pertevniyal 33) and an \textit{En‘ām-i Şerīf} in the Istanbul University Library (A 6386) that are close matches for the two miscellanies mentioned in the lists. For the Naqshbandi \textit{dhikr}, see Reşat Öngören, “Hatm-i Hācegān,” in \textit{Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi}, vol. 16 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1997), 476–477. For the commentaries of the \textit{Awrād al-Fatḥiya}, see Burak, “Prayers, Commentaries, and the Edification of the Ottoman Supplicant,” 240–241.

\textsuperscript{44} For the placement of the objects, see Atatürk Library, pvs. Evr. 855. For the inventories, see Atatürk Library, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Evraki (pvs. Evr.) 3857–3859. Among these documents, pvs. Evr. 3857 is dated to 20 Ramazan 1301/14 July 1884. These lists include an \textit{En‘ām-i Şerīf} and a \textit{Da‘ūd Rısalesi} among four Qurʾān copies, one to two printed catechisms, a scroll of seven gracious verses (\textit{āyet-i kerīme muḥarrer tomār}), two printed seals/magic squares (\textit{vefḳ-i mühr-i şerīfler}), the beard of the Prophet (\textit{liḥye-i saʿādet}), and blessed objects (\textit{teberrükāt-i celîle}). Among the blessed objects are a piece of the golden waterspout of the Ka‘ba (\textit{altun oluḳdan kat'a}), the keys/locks to Mecca and Medina (\textit{miftāḥ-i şerīfler}), the veil of ‘Aisha (\textit{nukāb-i şerīf}) with her name inscribed on it, the cap of Uways al-Qarani (\textit{tāc-i şerīf}), and the mantles of Hasan and Husayn (\textit{ḫırḳa-i saʿādetler}), which were kept in a box lined with silver. See also Bahar Bilgin, “The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide
closeness to Sufi orders, and her charitable works, which extended to Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. The contents of her library and personal scriptures attest to her interest in devotional texts, as well as to her status, which allowed her to endow and own highly-valued items, such as the miscellany of the *Awrād al-Fathiyya* (Litanies of Revelations), the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, and other awrād and prayers preserved in the Topkapi Palace Museum Library (H 93). This 1285/1868–1869 manuscript was copied by Mehmed Nazif and illuminated by Hasan Pertev for the queen mother. The compilation of these two texts and others in a single volume must have been practical for Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's silent reading or for the recitations of these texts.

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

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

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

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

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

For a short entry on Huşyar Kadınefendi, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülümün Kadın Sultanları*, 544–546; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadinları ve Kızları*, 121–123.

Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Küttüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 134, cat. 392. For a short entry on the calligrapher, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 337–339. For a corpus of three *Enʾām-ı Şerīf* copies by the calligrapher, see Sabiha Göloğlu, “Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in Late Ottoman Illustrated Prayer Books,” in *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art*, Naples, 14–16 September 2015, eds. Michele Bernardini, Alessandro Taddei, and Michael Douglas Sheridan (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2018), 323–338.
be contemporary with the illumination [figures 5 and 6]. The golden inscription in the crescent-shaped medallion reads: “O Muḥammad, intercede [on her behalf] Huṣyar is your believer and your slave” (Yā Muḥammed, ḳıl şefāʿat ümmetindir, cāriyendir Huṣyār).⁵⁰ The same line, but with the name “Şemsiye,” appears in a red marginal inscription at the end of a miscellany of the al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam and the Ḥizb al-Baḥr in the Kubbealtı Foundation Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA IX/2).⁵¹ Mehmed Emin Rüşdi copied this prayer

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⁵⁰ According to the Hijaz yearbook of 1886, nine reciters of Qurʾān sections (sing. eczāḥān) were supported from Huṣyar Kadınefendi’s endowment. Selman Soydemir, Kemal Erkan, and Osman Doğan, Hicaz Vilâyet Sahnamesi, H. 1303/M. 1886 (Istanbul: Çamlıca, 2008), 81.

⁵¹ Eryavuz, Sakin, Göloğlu, and Duran, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation, 270–271, cat. 96.
book only a year later, in 1233/1817–1818, for Huşyar Kadınefendi’s head servant (başkalfa) Şemsiye.52

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

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

53 For a short entry on Atiyye Sultan, see Sakaoglu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 557–559; and Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kazları*, 134–135.
(teberdâr-i serây-i ʿatik), in 1245/1829.54 In a golden, lobed medallion preceding the colophon, the manuscript was prominently noted as belonging to the princess (ʿişmetli ʿAtîyye Sultan ʿaleyhiʿş-şân efendimiz hażretlerinindir).

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

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

54 For the visual aspects of this manuscript, see Hüseyin Gündüz and Faruk Taşkale, Esmâʿîn-Nebî. Hz. Muhammed ʿin İsimleri (Istanbul: Artam Antik A.Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 124–127.
55 For a short entry on Düzdidil Kadın Efendi, see Sakaoğlu, Bu Mülkiin Kadın Sultanları, 599; and Uluçay, Padişâhların Kadinları ve Kızları, 142.
56 Emine Küçükbay, “Das sogenannte Dalâʾil ül-Ḫayrât. Eine Untersuchung der Handschrift [Cod. Turc. 553] der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München” (Master’s thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2010), 39–41.
57 For a short entry on Hafız Hasan Raşid, see İnal, Son Hattatlar, 300.
58 Nabil F. Safwat, Golden Pages: Qurʾans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker (Oxford: Oxford University Press for Azimuth Editions, 2000); 268–275, cat. 69. For another copy of the Dalâʾil al-Khayrât by Mehmed Rasim, see Pertiaevniyal 35 in the Süleymaniye Library. Gündüz and Taşkale, Esmâʿîn-Nebî, 148–151.
59 Safwat, Golden Pages, 268.
Besides these royal women, there are at least two Ottoman sultans who had personal copies of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt. In the Istanbul University Library, there are two luxury Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies of palatial production that mention the names of Mahmud II and his son Abdülmecid in their colophons. A 5757 was copied by Şeyh Süleyman Vehbi el-Burusavi in 1253/1837–1838, illuminated by Ser-Mücellid es-Seyyid Mehmed Salih in 1262/1845–1846, and presented to Mahmud II.60 A 5557, however, was copied by es-Seyyid el-Hacc Mustafa İzzet (Kadiasker), a disciple of Mustafa Vasif, in 1258/1842–1843, upon the order of Sultan Abdülmecid.61 All these manuscripts, as well as the book and recitation endowments that will be subsequently discussed, attest to Mahmud II and his close family’s interest in devotional texts. The sultan himself, his wives (Bezmialem Valide Sultan, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, and Huşyar Kadin), his daughter (Atiyye Sultan), his son (Abdülmecid), his daughter-in-law (Düzdidil Kadın Efendi), and his granddaughter (Refia Sultan) owned and/or endowed copies of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt or the Enʿām-ı Şerīf.

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

60 For a short entry on A 5757, see Yıldız Demiriz, Osmanlı Sanatında Natural Üslupta Çiçekler (İstanbul: Acar Matbaacılık Tesisleri, 1986), 232–233.
61 For a short entry on A 5557, see Ibid., 209–212.
62 İnal, Son Hattatlar, 56.
63 For a genealogy of Khedive Ismāʿīl Pasha, see From the Shores of the Nile to the Bosphorus: Traces of Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha Dynasty in Istanbul / Nil Kıyısından Boğaziçi’ne. Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa Hanedanı’nın İstanbul’daki İzleri (İstanbul: Istanbul Research Institution Publications, 2011), n.p.
64 For a short description of the copy, see Günsel Renda, “Ankara Etnografiya Müzesindeki Minyatürli Yazmalar” (Prof. diss., Hacettepe University, 1989), cat. 14.
Two decades later, in 1314/1896–1897, another lithograph edition of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* in Kayışzade’s hand was printed at Matbaa-i Osmaniyye with a colophon dated to 1305/1887–1888.65 A manuscript copy of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* by Kayışzade dated to 1305/1887–1888 is also extant and now preserved in the Kubbealtı Foundation’s Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA IX/7).66

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

66 Eryavuz, Sakin, Göloğlu, and Duran, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the Kubbealtı Foundation*, 232–235, cat. 85.
The Medina and Mecca depictions in this manuscript [figure 8] and those in Ibrāhīm Ḥilmī Pasha’s lithographic copy [figure 7] are very similar and both mirror images. They must have been drawn and printed after similar models, even though the former images are smaller and vertical, and the latter are larger and horizontal.67 In figure 8, the grisaille aesthetic of the ink drawing was maintained by only colouring the surrounding houses and hills. In figure 7, however, the monochrome print was coloured with a thick layer of paint and gold, disguising the original lithograph. That is to say, this humble printed copy of the Dalā’il al-Khayrāt was carefully illuminated, painted, and bound to match the status of its prestigious owner, a son of Khedive Ismā’il Pasha. Other printed

67 For a possible connection between these depictions and the engravings of Mecca and Medina published in Ignatius Mouradjea d’Ohsson’s (1740–1807) Tableau général de l’Empire othoman (1787–1823), see Göloğlu, “Depicting the Holy,” 164–166.
copies of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt with similar treatments exist. The majority of prints remained unadorned and that would gradually dominate the Ottoman production of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt from the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century.68

5 Book Endowments and Collections

Copies of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt were held at the Ottoman palaces and in the Medina libraries, endowed to various institutions, and owned by many individuals. In the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts (Emānāt-i Muḳaddese), or the Apartment of the Holy Mantle (Ḥırḳa-i Saʿādet Dâʿiresi), at the Topkapi Palace, prayer books could be found among the sacred trusts (emānāt), blessed objects (teberrükt), and copies and commentaries of the Qurʾān.69 The sacred trusts and blessed objects, the core of which were brought to the palace following Selim I’s (r. 1512–1520) victory at the Battle of Ridaniye (1517), were kept in different parts of the Topkapi Palace, including the Privy Chamber (Ḫāṣṣ Oda) that was specifically assigned for this purpose during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839).70 In an inventory of the Apartment of the Holy Mantle (Ḫırḳa-i Şerīf Saʿādet-Redīf Odası) dated to 1269/1853, four Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt were listed before and after copies of Kitāb al-Shifāʾ and Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam.71 These Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies were recorded with the following information about the copyists, endowment, and/or number of lines and volumes: Mustafa Kütahtyevi (or Mustafa Kütahi, endowment of Nuri Ağa, 11 lines, 1 volume), Mehmed Hıfzı (11 lines, 1 volume), Edirneli es-Seyyid Abdullah (13 lines, 1 volume), and Veliyüddin (endowment of the calligrapher who lives in Bursa, 11 lines, 1 volume).72

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

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

70 Aydın, The Sacred Trusts, 10.

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

72 These manuscripts are catalogued under “Ḥırḳa-i Saʿādet” (in the same order as men-
Another inventory listed the manuscripts kept in the room of the Prophet’s noble standard (Sancak-ı Şerif Odası) also in the third courtyard of the Topkapi Palace. Twenty-six copies of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, two of its commentaries, and a copy of Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī’s (d. 838/1435) litanies/scriptures (vird, pl. evrād) were grouped after Qurʾān and Enʿām-ı Şerīf copies and before traditional prayer books (kitāb-ı edʿiye-i meʾşūre) and commentaries on the Qurʾān (tefāsīr-i şerīf).

Even though these manuscripts were listed under the title “Delāʾil-i-Ḥayrāt,” some of them were also noted to include the al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam, the Enʿām-ı Şerīf, Mevlana’s (d. 672/1273) Awrād-i Kabīr (The Greater Litanies), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s (d. 110/728) prayers for forgiveness (istiğfār), and litanies/scriptures of day and night (evrād-i-eyyām veʾl-leyālī). These manuscripts were numbered (except for the last six ones) and recorded with the names of their copyists or as “without colophon” (bilā ketebe) and the number of lines.

Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies also existed in other book collections in the Topkapi Palace, including a rather late addition. In a notebook that recorded the objects that Fahreddin Paşa (d. 1948) sent from Medina to Istanbul in 1917 during World War I, several Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, Enʿām-ı Şerīf, al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam, and Kitāb al-Shifā’ copies were recorded among numerous maṣāḥif in Medina libraries.

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

75 This notebook is dated to 11 Kanunusani 1335/1 January 1919 and kept in the Topkapi Palace Museum Library (yy 827). See 22b–34b for the prayer books. See also Karatay, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu, vol. 1, 618, cat. 1910; and Seyiṭ Ali Kahraman, ed., Sürre-i Hümayûn (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükshehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2008), 214, 237.
Eleven copies of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, its two commentaries, and its two miscellanies with the *al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam* were transferred from the libraries of the Ravza-i Mutahhara, Mahmudiyye Madrasa, Şifa Madrasa, Hamidiyye Madrasa, and Emin Paşa to the Topkapi Palace [table 2]. The copyists of only nine manuscripts and the dates of five were noted in this notebook; more can be identified and matched with extant copies in a further study. At this point, such a record of *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* copies in Medina libraries firmly confirms that the Prophet Muḥammad was also venerated via this prayer book in the city where he was buried.

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

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

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

78 For Muḥammad Labib al-Batanūnī’s 1327/1909 report of *Qurʾān* and *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* copies donated to al-Masjid al-Nabawi, see Jan Just Witkam’s article in the present volume.

79 Ayşe Buluş, “15–18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphane Vakfıyerleri (İstanbul Kadi Sicillerine Göre Metin ve İnceleme)” (Master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2019), 449–452, 510–517; and İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik. Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (İstanbul: Timas Yayınları, 2015), 188, 458.

80 Burak Delibaş, “19–20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphane Vakfıyerleri (İstanbul Kadi Sicillerine Göre Metin ve İnceleme)” (Master’s thesis, Marmara University, 2019), 126–143; and Erünsal, *Osmanlarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik*, 257.
### Table 2

| Name of the library                          | Notebook inv. no. | Library inv. no. | Title of the book                      | Copyist                                      | Date             |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Library of Ravza-i Mutahhara                 | 250               | 2                | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | Hocazade Mehmed Şamizade Abdullah            | 1177/1763–1764   |
|                                              | 251               | 6                | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | Şamizade Abdullah                            | 1172/1758–1759   |
| Library of the Mahmudiyye Madrasa            | 276               | 43               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | Mehmed Şakir                                  | 1171/1757–1759   |
|                                              | 278               | 48               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt and Ḥizb al-ʿAẓam   | Ahmed b. Ismail                              |                  |
|                                              | 279               | 49               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | Seyyid Mehmed Şükri                           |                  |
|                                              | 301               | 9                | Şerh-i Delāʾiʾl-i-Khayrāt              |                                               |                  |
|                                              | 317               | 52               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | El-Hacc Ahmed Berberzade                      | 1179/1765–1766   |
|                                              | 318               | 27               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     |                                               |                  |
|                                              | 319               | 29               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     |                                               |                  |
|                                              | 353               | 153              | Maṭāliʿ al-Masarrāt                   |                                               |                  |
|                                              | 355               | 174              | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     |                                               |                  |
| Library of the Şifa Madrasa                  | 657               | 49               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     |                                               |                  |
| Library of the Hamidiyye Madrasa             | 664               | 15               | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | Seyyid Ali Zühdı                              | 1215/1800–1801   |
|                                              | 665               | 84               | Ḥizb al-ʿAẓam and Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt  | Hafız Osman                                   |                  |
| Emin Paşa Library                             | 668               | 3                | Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt                     | Veliyüddin                                    |                  |

**Source:** 1919 Copy of the Fahreddin Paşa Notebook, Topkapi Palace Museum Library, YY 827, fols. 228–348

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

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81 For three examples from Urfa, see Mehmet Kurtoğlu and Enver Karakeçili, “Urfa’da Vakif Kitaplar Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” Vakıflar Dergisi 43 (2015): 119–147.

82 Delibaş, "19–20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphane Vakfiyeleri," 350–359; and Erünsal, Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik, 283.
Several printed catalogues of Istanbul libraries also include a number of Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies and its commentaries, indicating the availability of this prayer book in the major libraries of the capital in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These catalogues list titles of books with a selection of the following criteria: author's name; number of volumes; language (e.g. ʿArabī and Türkī); size (e.g. şagīr and vasiṭ); date; copyist's name; calligraphic style (e.g. nesiḫ and taḥlīk); number of folios; number of lines; headpiece (e.g. müzeheb and müzeeyen); ruling (e.g. müzeheb and sūrh); endowment details; and print information (e.g. maṭbuʿ and taš baṣması).

In these library catalogues, Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies and its commentaries can be found under the section “books of ḥadīth” (kütübü'l-ėḥādīs̱), unless there are more specialized sections such as “books of prayers and special learnings” (kütūb-i edʿiye ve īvāts̱), as in the Library of Laleli Mosque. Some of these catalogues consist of only one commentary (e.g. the libraries of the Kılıç Ali Paşa and Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa complexes while others include more than six Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies (e.g. the libraries of the sultanic mosques of Laleli and Nuruosmaniye)). The catalogue of the library of the Pertevniyal Valide Mosque has separate sections for the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt (five copies and six commentaries) and the Enʿām-ı Şerīf (five copies). Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's vakfīyye lists eleven Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt among a total of 828 volumes endowed to her mosque.

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83 Aḳsarāy Vālide Cāmiʿ-i Şerīf Kütüphānesi Defteri (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 4–5; Defter-i Fātiḥ Kütüphānesi (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, c. 1303/1885), 44, 47–48; Defter-i Hekimoğlu ʿAlī Paşa Kütüphānesi (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 14; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i ʿAmuca Hüseyin Paşa (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 13; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Aqīr Efendi (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, 1306/1888), 13, 101; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Āṭif Efendi (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 27, 29; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Aya Sofya (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, 1304/1886), 35, 38; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Beşir Ağa (Istanbul: Mṭbaʿaʾaʾ-ʾi Āmire, 1303/1885), 9; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Çelebi ʿAbdūlhāf Efendi (Istanbul: ʿĀṭim Mṭbaʿaʾesi, 1311/1893), 4–5; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Dāmādızâde Każasker Mḥmūd Mūrād (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 34, 37; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Esʿad Efendi (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, c. 1303/1885), 22; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Hālet Efendi (Istanbul, 1312/1894), 7; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Hūsev Paşa (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, c. 1303/1885), 5–6; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Lāleli (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 11, 14–15; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Medrese-ı Servīlī (Istanbul: 1313/1893), 5; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Mḥris̱ah Sultān (Istanbul: Şīrket-ı Mūrrettibīyye Mṭbaʿaʾesi, 1302/1882), 7–8; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Nūruosmānīyye (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, 1303/1885), 47, 55; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Rāḡb Paşa (Istanbul, 1305/1887), 19–19; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Velyyyûdān (Istanbul: Mḥmūd Bey Mṭbaʿaʾesi, 1304/1886), 32, 37; Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Yahya Efendi (Istanbul, 1310/1892), 46; Hamīdīyye Kütüphānesinde Maḥfūz Bulunan Kütüphāne-i Mevcedēnîn Defteridir (Istanbul: Mṭbaʿaʾaʾ-ʾi ʿOs̱mānīyye, 1990/1882), 17; Kılıç ʿAlī Paşa Kütüphānesi Defteri (Istanbul, 1311/1893), 15; and Kıpūlūzāde Mḥmūd Paşa Kütüphānesinde Maḥfūz Kütüphāne-i Mevcedēnîn Defteridir (Istanbul, c. 1303/1885), 19. I would like to thank Serpil Bağcı for bringing these catalogues to my attention.

84 Defter-i Kütüphāne-i Lāleli, 109.
85 Aḳsarāy Vālide Cāmiʿ-i Şerīf Kütüphānesi Defteri, 4–5.
in Aksaray (1872), which correspond to the total number of the prayer book and its commentaries in the catalogue (1893). Such high numbers correspond to the array of prayer books in Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's personal possession, which were addressed in the previous section.

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

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

86 Bahar Yolaç-Pollock, “Ottoman Imperial Women's Contribution to the Tanzimat (1839–1876), The Case of Bezmialem and Pertevniyal Valide Sultans” (PhD thesis, Koç University, 2020), 37, 277. See also Bilgın, “The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque Complex,” 95–96; and Nimet Bayraktar, “İstanbul’da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulmuş Kütüphaneler,” Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni 12 (1963): 94.
87 Arzu Terzi, Bezmialem Valide Sultan (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2018), 213, 219–223, 334, 336–337.
88 For various seals of Bezmialem Valide Sultan, see ibid., 119–122.
89 B 1267 does not have a colophon. B 1268 was copied by es-Seyyid Osman (son-in-law of İbrahim Afif) and dates to 1208/1793–1794. B 1270 is a miscellany of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam, Asmā Aṣḥāb al-Badr, and Qaṣīdat al-Burda. It was copied by Mahmud Raci (disciple of Mustafa Kütahi) and Ali Şükru (disciple of Veliyüddin), illuminated by Mehmed Şevki (disciple of Kalyuni), and dates to 1191/1777–1778.
90 B 1265’s colophon is missing; however, in the catalogue of the Beyazıt Library, it is attri-
Prophet’s belongings (muḫallefāt) were frequently included in Enʿām-i Şerīf manuscripts and sometimes integrated into Mecca and Medina compositions of printed Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies, but rarely appeared in Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt manuscripts.91

Another royal woman who prominently endowed prayer books was Hatice Sultan (d. 1822), a daughter of Mustafa III (r. 1757–1774) and a sister of Selim III (r. 1789–1807).92 Hatice Sultan founded a library for the zāwiya of the Shādhiliyya order in Unkapanı (Istanbul). It is no surprise that the fifty-five
volumes she registered at court in 1231/1816 included the order’s founder al-Shādhili’s litanies (e.g. Ḥizb al-Baḥr and al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr) and al-Jazūlī’s Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt, in addition to their commentaries. The Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt was frequently compiled with al-Shadhlili’s litanies in North African and Ottoman prayer miscellanies; therefore, the contents of Hatice Sultan’s book endowment to the zawīya was more or less expected. However, it is one thing to have all these Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies and miscellanies in library, madrasa, mosque, palace, and zawīya collections, it is another thing to understand their different uses.

93 Delibaş, "19–20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kütüphane Vakfiyeleri," 144–154; and Erünsal, Osmanlılda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik, 254–255.
6 Recitation and Transmission

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

Based on the Haramayn endowments of Ottoman sultans, royal women, and viziers, Güler lists the duties, number, and salaries of reciters of Qurʾān sections (sing. eczāʾḫān) and blessings for the Prophet (sing. ṣalavāṯān) assigned to al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and al-Masjid al-Nabawi.97 In endowment deeds of other mosques, one can point to similar tasks that were carried out by ṣalavāṯāns. For instance, in each of the following mosques commissioned by royal women, one person was employed to chant odes praising the Prophet (sing. naʾṭḥān):98

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

95 As Simon Rettig has noted, a copy of the Enʿām-ı Şerīf could have been more suitable for the public recitation of Sūrat al-Anʿām, rather than an entire muṣḥaf. Simon Rettig, “The Rise of the Enʿam-ı Şerif,” The Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, The Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KF3XSkx9I70 last accessed 22 November 2020.

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

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

98 For Ottoman royal women’s presence in acoustic space, see Nina Ergin, “Ottoman Royal Women’s Spaces: The Acoustic Dimension,” Journal of Women’s History 26 (2014): 98–111. For epigraphic and recitation programs of sixteenth-century Ottoman mosques, see Nina
the Sultan Mosque in Manisa; the Yeni Valide Mosque in Eminönü; and a mosque in Chios (Sakiz).99

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

99 Mehtap Maçal, “Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Üç Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi Mukayesesi” (Master’s thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2011), 27, 33, 40.

100 Cornell, Realm of the Saint, 183; and Witkam, Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek, 131–132. For the recitation of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in Central and Southeast Asia, see Alexandre Papas’ and Farouk Yahya’s articles in the present volume.

101 For a brief mention of the recitation of the Şalāt al-Mashīshīya and the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in the Ottoman branch of the Shadhili order, see Ö. Tuğrul İnançer, “Rituals and Main Principles of Sufism during the Ottoman Empire,” in Sufism and Sufis in the Ottoman Society: Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature, Fine Arts, and Modernism, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Oacak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), 144. See also İnançer, “Şazelilik,” 141.

102 For a brief mention of dalāʾil-khānas and salawāt-khānas in Central Asia, see Fritz Meier, “The Mystic Path,” in The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture, ed. Bernard Lewis (Thames and Hudson: London, 1976), 123. See also Chih, Sufism in Ottoman Egypt, 99.

103 Buluş, “15–18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Küütüphane Vakfiyeleri,” 518–531.

104 It was Şeyhülislam Ismail Efendi (d. 1725), the father of Mehmed Esad Efendi, who founded the mosque. Muhammet Nur Doğan, “Ebūishak İsmāıl Efendi,” in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi, vol. 10 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 278–279.

105 Buluş, “15–18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Küütüphane Vakfiyeleri,” 521, 524, 529.
recited by students, but they were also among the inheritance records of madrasa students.

In his endowment deed dated to 1173/1760, Şeyhülislam Dürrizade Mustafa Efendi (d. 1188/1775) also allocated a budget for the recitation (tīlāvet) of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in multiple locations. Dürrizade Mustafa Efendi requested the daily recitation of one hīzб of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in the Hacegi Mustafa Rakım Efendi Mosque in Fatih (Istanbul) by three different people, with the chief (reʾīs) getting 8 aḳçe per day and the other two getting 6 aḳçe each. He also reserved a monthly payment of 2 ǧuruş (240 aḳçe) for the shaykh’s daily recitation of the entire Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt at his grandfather Kazasker Abdulkadir Efendi’s zawīya in Edirnekapı (Istanbul). Finally, he granted an annual salary of 12 ǧuruş each to four residents of Medina to recite the entire Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt every day, which was half the cost of the recitations performed by the chief and the shaykh in Istanbul. It was specified that the recitations should be followed by one Sūrat al-Fāṭiḥa and three Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, all for the merit (ṣevāb) of the waqf.

As the highest ranking figure in the Ottoman learned class (ʿulemā), the endowment deed of this important religious leader (şeyhül-islām or shaykh al-islām) indicates the permissibility of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in the political and spiritual centres of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-eighteenth century. Its embracement by Ottoman ʿulemā is in stark contrast with the teachings of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), who disapproved of the veneration of the prophets and saints, the visitation of their tombs and shrines, and the recitation of texts such as the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt.

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

107 Bilgin Aydın and İsmail E. Erünsal, “Tereke Kayıtlarına Göre Osmanlı Medrese Talebelerinin Okuduğu Kitaplar (xvii–xx. Yüzyıllar),” in Osmanlı Kültür Tarihinin Bilinmeyenleri (İstanbul: Timas Yayınları, 2019), 185.

108 Murat Erten, “Dürrizāde Mustafa Efendi Vakfiyesi” (Master’s thesis, Selçuk University, 2007), 12–16, 31–32, 62–64.

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

110 Erten, “Dürrizāde Mustafa Efendi Vakfiyesi,” 12–16, 31–32, 62–64.

111 Eyüp Sabri Paşa, Tarih-i Vehhābyan, trans. Süleyman Çelik (İstanbul: Bedir Yaynevi, 1992), 64–65; Mehmet Ali Büyükara, “Vehhābîlik,” in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi, vol. 42 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), 611–615; and Betül Ayaz, “Hilafet ve Siyaset. Osmanlı Devleti’inin Hac Hizmetleri (1798–1876)” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2014), 71.
Another recitation example from the same period comes from Aleppo. In his endowment deed dated to 1177/1763, al-Ḥājj Mūsā al-Amīrī, a wealthy dignitary of the city, designated the recitation of this popular text in his mosque. Almost a century later, an official report hints at the continuous presence of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in the soundscape of the city. This document (1274/1858) approved the increase of Shaykh Ma’rūf Efendi’s monthly salary from 100 ġuruṣ to 250 ġuruṣ for reciting the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt and Sūrat al-Kahf at the Great Mosque of Aleppo every Friday.

As Şeyhülislam Dürrizade Mustafa Efendi’s endowment deed (1173/1760) and a number of nineteenth-century documents point out, the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt also had an auditory prevalence in the Haramayn. Based on the endowment deed of Bezmialem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), Bahar Yolaç-Pollock has noted that the valide sultan donated three Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies and one Enʿām-i Şerif copy to al-Masjid al-Nabawi and commissioned three delāʾilhāns for the former’s daily recitation in 1257/1841 (each person reciting one ḥizb a day).

In a report dated to 1273/1857, the annual sum (6,000 ġuruṣ) that Bezmialem Valide Sultan endowed for the delāʾilhāns was recorded among gifts and allowances sent to the Haramayn (ṣurre). A payroll dated to 1263/1847 further documents salaries funded from Mahmud II’s (r. 1808–1839) endowments, which were paid to the teachers (mūderrisīn) and students (ṭalebe) of the Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī, and Mālikī schools, as well as other employees (ḥademe) respon-

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

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

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

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

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

117 The Republic of Turkey’s Presidency State Archives, Ev.d.. 16317 (11 Receb 1273/7 March 1857). See also Mustafa Budak et al., eds., Osmanlı Belgelerinde SURRE ATAYLARI (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürliği, 2010), 45.
sible for reciting Qurʾān chapters (sing. sūreḫān), Muhammad al-Bukhārī’s (d. 256/870) collection of ḥadīths, the Kitāb al-Shifāʾ, and the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt (sing. delāʾilḫān) at al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (more likely al-Masjid al-Ḥarām or al-Masjid al-Nabawī rather than the Temple Mount). Only two years later, in a document dated to 1265/1849, a teacher of the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt named Melik Paşazade Şeyh Ali Efendi is listed as one of the former recipients of the şurre. Together, these two documents show that al-Jazuli’s renowned text was not only recited, but also taught in the Ḥaramayn.

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

118 The Republic of Turkey’s Presidency State Archives, Ev.d. 32282 (25 Zilhicce 1263/4 December 1847).
119 The Republic of Turkey’s Presidency State Archives, Ev. HMK. SR, 3926. See also Ayaz, “Hilafet ve Siyaset,” 260–262.
120 According to the Hijaz yearbook of 1886, the Sufi lodge (zāwiya) of the Jazuliyya order was located in the Kuşaşiyye quarter of Mecca at the northeast of al-Masjid al-Ḥarām. Soydemir, Erkan, and Osman Doğan, Hicaz Vilayet Salnamesi, 81.
121 Zehra Öztürk, “Osmanlı Döneminde Kıraat Meclislerinde Okunan Halk Kitapları,” Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi 9 (2007): 421–423.
122 Ibid., 405.
123 For more information on certificates, see İrvin Cemil Schick, “İslami Kitap Sanʿatlarında Standartlaşma. Usta-Çırak İlişkisi ve İcāzet Geleneği,” The Journal of Ottoman Studies 49 (2017): 231–266; Mohammad Ali Karimzadeh Tabrizi, İjazatname—İcāzetname: The Most Unique and Precious Document in Ottoman Calligraphy, trans. Telli Karimzadeh Tabrizi (London: Published by the author, 1999); Jan Just Witkam, “The Human Element between Text and Reader: The Ijaza in Arabic Manuscripts,” in The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, ed. Yasin Dutton (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1995), 123–136; and M. Uğur Derman, “Türk Yazi San’atında İcāzetnāmeler ve Taklid Yazılar,” in vii. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 25–29 Eylül 1970 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972), 2.716–728.
the recitation (tilāvet), teaching (tedrīṣ), and transmission (icāzet) of the text in 1181/1767, shortly after the completion of the copying.\(^\text{124}\)

Several other ījāzas added to Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt copies or miscellanies exist. In a particularly interesting manuscript of al-Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam and the Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt in the Kubbealtı Foundation Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection (EHA VII/7), one can find two ījāzas for recitation (ḳırāʿat) given to Hacı Mustafa by Hafiz Süleyman el-Erzurumi at the end of the respective texts (1170/1757–1758).

\(^\text{124}\) For a description of this manuscript, see Evyn Kropf’s detailed entry at “Muntij al-barakāt ‘alá Dalāʾil al-khayrāt,” Mirlyn Catalogue. Available at http://mirlyn-classic.lib.umich.edu:80/F/?func=direct&doc_number=006782183&local_base=AA_PUB last accessed 22 November 2020.
1756–1757) and one later ījāza of Dalāʾīl al-Khayrāt recitation given to İsmail Hakkı Paşa by el-Kadiri el-Nakşibendi el-Hacc Mustafa at the end of the manuscript (1240/1824). The regional spread and temporal continuation of the Dalāʾīl al-Khayrāt in written and auditory spheres owed as much to such authorized transmissions and public recitations as it did to simply copying and reading the text.

7 Conclusion

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

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

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