

**DEPICTING THE HOLY:
REPRESENTATIONS OF MECCA, MEDINA, AND JERUSALEM
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

by

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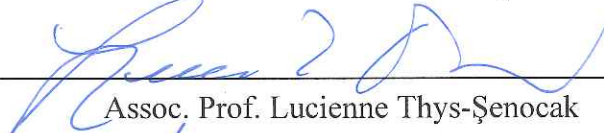
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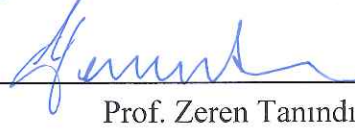
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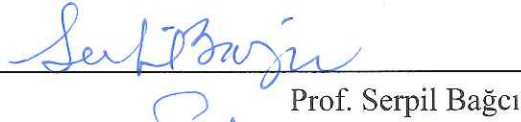
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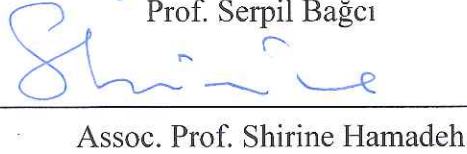

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To my sister

ABSTRACT

This dissertation offers a systematic and comparative study of a large repository of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem depictions from the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. It provides an in-depth analysis of the content, form, and function of representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. It not only focuses on manuscript paintings in two popular prayer books entitled the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, but also covers other media and settings such as wall, reverse glass, and canvas paintings, ceramic panels, prayer rugs, engravings, lithographs, and photographs. This study begins with an examination of frequently encountered image-and-image and text-and-image relationships based on the contents of religious architectural imagery. It then continues with an investigation of four modes of representation including multi-, paraline, perspectival, and photographic views, which coexisted and reinforced each other in the period's transregional contexts. Finally, it traces the production, circulation, patronage, and ownership of prayer books, various uses of religious imagery, and the principles governing visual arrangement and architectural placement of representations in late Ottoman visual culture. Overall, this dissertation presents a larger picture of religious architectural imagery based on changes in media, visual modes, and functions.

Keywords: Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, image-and-image, text-and-image, media change, modes of representation, functional diversity.

ÖZET

Bu tez, sistematik ve karşılaştırmalı olarak 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda çok yaygın olan Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs tasvirlerini ele almaktadır. Hac ve ziyaret yeri temsillerinin içerik, biçim ve işlev açısından ayrıntılı bir analizini sunmaktadır. *Delâ'ilü'l-Hayrât* ve *En'âm-ı Şerîf* isimli tanınmış dua kitaplarındaki tasvirlerin yanı sıra duvar resmi, camaltı resmi, tuval üzerine yağlı boya, çini pano ve seccadelerdeki tasvirler ile gravür, taş baskı ve fotoğraf gibi çeşitli teknik ve ortamdaki görsel üretimi kapsamaktadır. Bu çalışma, mimari ve dini tasvirlerin içerikleri üzerinden imgelerin birbirleriyle ve metinlerle olan ilişkilerinin incelenmesiyle başlamaktadır. Geç dönem Osmanlı görsel kültüründe mevcut olan çoklu görünüş (multiview), paralel (paraline), perspektif ve fotoğrafik temsil biçimlerinin araştırılması ve başka coğrafyalardaki örneklerle karşılaştırılmasıyla devam etmektedir. Dua kitaplarının üretim, dolaşım, hamilik ve temellük konuları ile dini imgelerin çeşitli kullanım, görsel düzenleme ve mimari yerleştirmelerinin ele alınmasıyla sonlanmaktadır. Bu tez, değişen ortam ve teknikler ile farklılaşan işlev ve temsil biçimleri açısından dönemin mimari ve dini imge çeşitliliğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mekke, Medine, Kudüs, imge ve metin ilişkileri, değişen ortam ve teknikler, temsil biçimleri, işlevsel çeşitlilik.

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Figure 107 “Vue de la Mecque.” Ignatius Mouradgèa d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman*, vol. 2, 1789, #45, engraved by Berthault after l’Espinasse, 49.2 x 63 cm. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YB 3441. **Source:** Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi.

Figure 108 “Médine.” Ignatius Mouradgèa d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman*, vol. 2, 1789, #53, engraved by Tilliard, 32.4 x 49.2 cm. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YB 3441. **Source:** Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi.

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Özsayiner, “Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi’ndeki Kutsal Kent Tasvirleri,” 102.

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- Figure 133** “Al-ṣalawat ḥawla al-Ka‘ba.” Albumen print, 19.5 x 25.5 cm, 31 x 39.5 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90789/4. **Source:** İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi.
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- Figure 135** Mecca and Medina. *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, 1333/1914, Cairo: ‘Abd al-Rahman Muhammad. Leiden University Library, 8203 C 15, p. 30–31. **Source:** Scanned by the author.

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Figure 138 Masjid al-Haram. Étienne Dinet, before 1914, oil and tempera on cardboard, 25.5 x 23 cm. Frédéric Lung Collection. **Source:** Brahim and Benchikou, *La vie et l'œuvre de Etienne Dinet*, 127.

Figure 139 “Die Ka‘bah.” Collotype, 17 x 21 cm, 27 x 36 cm. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder Atlas*, 1889, # 3. **Source:** “Die Ka‘ba,” The New York Public Library Digital Collections, accessed March 20, 2018, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47dc-47ad-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>.

Figure 140 Medina. Mahmud, 1332/1913–14 or 1916–17, oil on canvas, 80 x 115 cm. Istanbul, Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture. **Source:** Photograph taken by Orhan Çolak, Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture.

Figure 141 “Medīne-i Münevvere Şehri.” Albumen print, 51.5 x 87.4 cm, 16.7 x 38.3 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90743, 10a–b. **Source:** İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi.

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Figure 144 Interior panorama of the Fatih Mosque. **Source:** Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 145 Mecca, Medina, and Istanbul. Mimarzade Mehmed Ali, 27 Ramazan 1323 / 25 November 1905, oil on canvas, 174.2 x 239.7 cm (with the frame), 130.4 x 195.4 cm. Istanbul, Fatih Mosque. **Source:** Photograph taken by the author with the permission of Fatih Müftülüğü.

Figure 146 Medina detail. Mimarzade Mehmed Ali, 27 Ramazan 1323 / 25 November 1905, oil on canvas, circa 135 x 190 cm. Istanbul, Fatih Mosque. **Source:** Photograph taken by the author with the permission of Fatih Müftülüğü.

Figure 147 “Medīne-i Münevvere Yādigāri.” Chromolithograph, 8.9 x 13.8 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, ARC.PC 473. **Source:** Photograph taken by the author.

- Figure 148** Medina. 11 Zilkade 1315 / 3 April 1898 or after, chromolithograph, 53 x 69 cm. Istanbul, National Palaces, Painting Collection, no. 54/2500. **Source:** Milli Saraylar, Dolmabahçe Resim Koleksiyonu.
- Figure 149** “Medīne-i Münevvere Manzara-i Mübārekesi...” signed by Sadiq Bey, 1298/1880, albumen print, 24 x 62.5 cm, 16 x 38 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90770/4. **Source:** İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi.
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- Figure 176** “Kudüs-i Şerīf” and “mühr-i nübüvvet.” *En 'ām-ı Şerīf*, before 1282/1865–66, 15.5 x 9.7 cm. Istanbul University Library, A 5573, fol. 97b–98a. **Source:** İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi.
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- Figure 184** Levḥa. Hand colored print on paper with a wooden mount, 39 x 22 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 15317. **Source:** Photograph taken by the author.
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- Figure 187** Talismanic bowl. Before 1746, cast bronze, incised, inlaid with silver, d.: 18.7 cm, h.: 5 cm. Florence, National Museum of Bargello, Collection of the Grand Ducal Armory, Bronzi 316. **Source:** Photograph taken by Eryn Kropf.
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- Figure 190** “‘Ayn-i şerīf” and “dā'ire-i şerīf.” *En 'ām-ı Şerīf*, 15.5 x 10.8 cm. Süleymaniye Library, Yazma Bağışlar 7627, fol. 5b–6a. **Source:** Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı.
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- Figure 197** “Makkahatten. Collage.” X-Architects, 2014. **Source:** “Makkahatten,” X-Architects, accessed April 5, 2018, <http://www.x-architects.com/x-architects/louisiana-museum-exhibition/93>.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

The transliteration system used in this dissertation for Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and Persian follows the standards set by the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES). Terms and book titles are transliterated according to the orthography of their perspective systems (e.g., *En 'ām-ı Şerīf* for the Ottoman prayer book that has also Qur'anic excerpts and *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* for the Arabic-language prayer book). Arabic and Persian place and personal names are transliterated without diacritics, except for 'ayn and hamza, which are preserved. For the names of places and persons that belonged to the Ottoman realm, modern Turkish spelling is used (e.g., İsmail instead of 'Īsma'īl). Place names (e.g., Hijaz) and terms (e.g., minbar) familiar to English speakers are written according to common usage. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the author's own. Where translations by other authors are consulted or used, appropriate references appear in the footnotes. The translations from the Qur'an are by Abdel Haleem.

ABBREVIATIONS

AEM	Ankara Etnografya Müzesi (Ankara Ethnography Museum)
BL	British Library, London
BOA	T.C. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (National Library of France)
CBL	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
İÜK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University Library)
LoC	Library of Congress
TsMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Topkapı Palace Museum Archives)
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

INTRODUCTION

On September 5, 2014, a reenactment of the pilgrimage procession known as *şurre alayı* took place in Üsküdar to commemorate the ninety-ninth anniversary of the last Ottoman pilgrimage procession that reached Mecca. Following the Friday prayer at the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, an Ottoman-style military band (*mehterân*) performed on a stage set up in front of the mosque. Rice and sherbet were distributed to the audience who were also performers in the procession that moved from Üsküdar to Harem. The procession was led by men dressed in costumes and a group of future pilgrims, as well as decorated horses and camels, one of which carried a red velvet palanquin (*maḥmal*) embroidered with gold (Figure 1). Funded by the municipality of Üsküdar, this celebratory event was accompanied by an open-air exhibition of reproductions from historical Mecca and *şurre* images that were displayed in front of the municipality building. The procession was also preceded by a symposium entitled “Sacred Journey” (*Kutsal Yolculuk*) on the evening of September 4, 2014, to which a large general public attended.

The procession moved against the background of a skyline of tall buildings and a seascape of container ships, which is undoubtedly very different from an early-twentieth-century Istanbul panorama. Leaving aside the careless choice of costumes and decorations that created a timeless “Ottoman-ness,” this two-day event aimed at creating a carefully-designed nostalgia for the Ottoman past based on former pilgrimage practices. Ironically, the image chosen for publicizing such a procession

in Istanbul was Stefano Ussi's painting of the Egyptian *maḥmal* leaving Cairo (1873), held in the Dolmabahçe Palace.¹ With this dissertation, I contribute to the accumulation of knowledge regarding representations of Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. As a result, I hope that the texts and images that form the basis of this scholarly work will not be taken out of their context and used for similar nostalgic strategies.

The Scope of the Dissertation

This study brings together a broad array of representations from various media and contexts that have never been systematically and comparatively examined before. For centuries, the holy cities and their holy mosques have been depicted by artists working under different dynasties and in many parts of the world. However, the existing scholarship has only selectively dealt with representations within a single medium, region, or collection in exhibition catalogues or articles. Unlike previous studies, this dissertation focuses on both textual and visual representations of architecture and urban space to investigate their content, form, and function. With “textual representations,” I mean passages that describe the Islamic holy sites and written words that are incorporated into pictorial compositions. With “visual representations,” I acknowledge the translation of three-dimensional information about the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites onto a two-dimensional plane. The translation of an actual place into visual and textual spheres, as well as the transfer

¹ For the painting, see no. 11/246 in Gülsen Sevinç Kaya, *Milli Saraylar Tablo Koleksiyonu* (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2010), 365.

between successive visual modes and media (e.g., from prints to paintings or vice versa) involve reductions and expansions, thus require caution in handling the migration of pictorial and verbal data.²

Today, as “new mobilities” research has shown, information, images, and materials are on the move with very high intensity and speed.³ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ottoman artistic and architectural cultures also experienced and benefited from the mobility and fluidity of technologies, people, and objects. To illustrate, sultans’ portraits migrated across manuscripts, canvases, prints, ivory, and porcelain; curtain motifs appeared in tents, wall paintings, and architectural decorations; “novelty” and “change” found emphasis in literature and architecture; depictions of buildings and landscapes reconfigured wall paintings, tombstones, ceramics, textiles, and cut-out paper (*kāṭ’i*) works.⁴ Like architecture itself, images of architecture were also disseminated in a dynamic motion and free flow and interplay.⁵ Printed books gradually replaced manuscripts towards the end of this period; nevertheless, prolific

² James Duncan and Derek Gregory, eds. “Introduction,” in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 5.

³ Mimi Sheller and John Urry, “The New Mobilities Paradigm,” *Environment and Planning* 38 (2006): 209–12; and Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007), 3–6. See also the third volume (2014) of the *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* which is reserved for “Islamic Architecture on the Move.”

⁴ Shirine Hamadeh, “Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the ‘Inevitable’ Question of Westernization,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004), 32–34; Ashley Dimmig, “Fabricating a New Image: Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Empire,” *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3 (2014): 351–56; Günsel Renda, “Ottoman Painting and Sculpture,” in *Ottoman Civilization*, eds. Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002), 935–47; and Rüşçan Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1976), 99–118. See also Julian Raby et al., *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: İş Bank, 2000), cat. 131–88; Hülya Bilgi and İdil Zambak, *Skill of the Hand, Delight of the Eye: Ottoman Embroideries in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, 2012), 39–55, 320–33, cat. 134–39; and Filiz Çağman, *Kat’i: Cut Paper Works and Artists in the Ottoman World* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2016), 257–67.

⁵ Christiane Gruber, “Islamic Architecture on the Move,” *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3 (2014): 244.

copyists and calligraphers continued to produce works in other media such as lithographic print, reverse glass (*camaltı*) painting, and calligraphic panels.⁶ Depictions of the Islamic holy cities also responded to these artistic and cultural changes, and energetically circulated across different regions and production spheres.

The major Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*) and visitation (*ziyāra*) sites were depicted in different media and various compositional arrangements, architectural drawing techniques, and pictorial attributes in the late Ottoman Empire. They appeared in a variety of media and settings such as canvas, manuscript, reverse glass, and wall paintings; ceramic and wood panels; engravings; lithographs; and photographs. The largest bulk of representations from this period exist in manuscript and print copies of prayer books, as well as photographs and their various reproductions. However, one also encounters them unexpectedly on objects such as a writing desk,⁷ in albums (*muraqqa*'),⁸ and in manuscripts as headpieces (*unvan*),⁹ verse separators (*durak*),¹⁰ and division markers (*hizib gülü*).¹¹

⁶ Zeren Tanındı and Ayşe Aldemir Kilercik, *Sakıp Sabancı Museum Collection of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy* (Istanbul: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2012), 22–27; Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, “Illustration and the Art of the Book in the Sufi Orders in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Sufism and Sufis in the Ottoman Society: Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature, Fine Arts, and Modernism*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), 523–27; and Stephen Vernoit, *Occidentalism. Islamic Art in the 19th Century* (London: Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, 1997), 73–93.

⁷ On this late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century writing desk, the perspectival views of Mecca and Medina were used with the calligraphic renditions of “Allāh,” “Muḥammad,” “Māṣāllāh,” *al-kalimat al-ṭayyiba*, and the *basmala*. *Sancak Müzayede: Osmanlı Modern Çağdaş ve Karma Sanat Eserleri Müzayedesini, 16 Mayıs 2015* (İstanbul: Sancak Müzayede, 2015), lot 271.

⁸ Vladimir Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958), 83–85; Yıldız Demiriz, “Sadberk Hanım Müzesindeki Rokoko Süslemeli Yazma Eserler Hakkında,” *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Yıllığı. Palmet* 3 (2000): 44–46; and Lale Uluç, ed. *Yıldız Sarayı’ndan İstanbul Üniversitesi’ne / From the Yıldız Palace to the Istanbul University* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015), 69.

⁹ For two Qur’an copies with illuminated headpieces depicting Mecca and Medina, see *Asar-ı Atika Müzayede: Osmanlı ve Karma Eserler Müzayedesini, 22 Şubat 2014* (İstanbul: Asar-ı Atika, 2014), lot 105; and M. Uğur Derman, *Doksandokuz İstanbul Mushaftı* (İstanbul: Türk Petrol Vakfı, 2010), 304–5. For a commentary on the *Dalil al-Khayrāt* with an illuminated headpiece depicting Medina, see Isl.

Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem were visualized as three-dimensional models and in two-dimensional drawings, paintings, prints, and photographs on various surfaces and settings. Such representations provide a great deal of information about the changing architecture and urban fabric of both cities, which have been drastically altered since the second half of the twentieth century. They provide an array of images, at least from the twelfth century onwards, that provide clues about architectural and urban transformations of the holy mosques and cities. Such a reservoir of images also demonstrates changing methods and preferences in depicting architecture and urban space, as well as the image of the holy in the Islamic world.

There exist a number of three-dimensional models of the holy structures and mosques together with their textual and visual records. For instance, scale models of the Ka'ba, the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Dome of the Rock have been preserved in the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts at the Topkapı Palace.¹²

Ms. 672 held in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library). “Tevfik muvaffikü'l-hayrât li-neyli'l-berekât fi hizmet menbai's-saadât,” Mirlyn Catalog, accessed April 15, 2017, <https://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/006817689/Description#tabs>.

¹⁰ For a prayer miscellany (including the *En 'âm-ı Şerîf* and the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât*) depicting Mecca and Medina as verse separators, see *Portakal Kış Müzayedesi, 20 Aralık 2014* (Istanbul: Portakal Sanat ve Kültür Evi, 2014), lot 92. For a Qur'an copy depicting Mecca and Medina as verse separators, see Yıldız Demiriz, “Topkapı Kütüphanesi'ndeki Y. 1122 Sayılı Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Kitap Süslemelerinde Rokoko Hakkında Notlar,” in *Oktay Aslanapa Armağanı*, eds. Selçuk Mülayim, Zeki Sönmez, and Ara Altun (İstanbul: Bağlam, 1996), 77–94.

¹¹ For a Qur'an copy with division markers depicting Mecca and Medina, see MS M. 19 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. For a Qur'an copy whose *serlevha* illumination incorporates diminutive images of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, see Mine Esiner Özen, *Türk Tezhip Sanatı* (İstanbul: Gözen Kitap ve Yayınevi, 2003), 176–77.

¹² Hilmi Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts: Pavilion of the Sacred Relics* (Somerset, NJ: Light, 2005), 198–99. For a model of the Dome of the Rock held in the Istanbul University, see Uluç, ed. *Yıldız Sarayı'ndan İstanbul Üniversitesi'ne*, 178. See also the scaled model of the Temple Mount prepared by the German architect and archaeologist Conrad Schick for the Ottoman Pavilion at the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna. Amnon Cohen, “1516–1917: Haram-ı Şerif – The Temple Mount Under the Ottoman Rule,” in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, eds. Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Austin; Jerusalem: University of Texas Press; Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2009), 224, fig. 119. For three-dimensional models of other buildings, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 175–76, fig. 149–50.

Furthermore, Gülru Necipoğlu shows that a model of the Masjid al-Haram was depicted in an interior view of the tomb of Sultan Süleyman I published in Julia Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1838), and a wooden model of the Ka'ba was mentioned by the seventeenth-century Ottoman historian Naima.¹³ Moreover, reliefs of Mecca and Medina dating from the early twentieth century can be found in auction catalogues in Turkey.¹⁴

Besides their cosmological and eschatological significance, the following factors encourage the depictions of the holy cities: In the Islamic world, Mecca is highly valued as the direction of prayer (*qibla*) and the site of pilgrimage (*hajj*). Medina, the "City of the Prophet," is praised for its esteemed role in the Prophet's emigration (*hijra*) and as the Prophet's burial place. Jerusalem is known as "All-Prophets' City" and the Muslims' first direction of prayer. In Ottoman material culture, one encounters depictions of the Ka'ba, the Masjid al-Haram, and Mecca the Blessed (*Makka al-Mukarrama*); the Minbar and the Burial Chamber (*Hücre-i Sa'âdet*), the Masjid al-Nabawi, and Medina the Illuminated (*Madīna al-Munawwara*); the Dome of the Rock and the Masjid al-Aqsa, the Haram al-Sharif, and Jerusalem in different combinations or with additional religious imagery. As with images in other cultures, Ottoman representations of the holy sites also carried latent energy and capacity to

¹³ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986): 236–40.

¹⁴ These are low reliefs of embossed and carved plaster and wood: see *Ares Antik Müzayede, 23 Kasım 2014* (Istanbul: Ares Antik, 2014), lot 484; *Alif Art: Osmanlı & Karma Sanat Eserleri Müzayedesini, 26 Mayıs 2013* (Istanbul: Alif Art, 2013), lot 185; and *Asar-ı Atika Müzayede: Osmanlı Eserleri ve Klasik Tablo Müzayedesini, 16 Mart 2013* (Istanbul: Asar-ı Atika, 2013), lot 160. See also Ekrem Işın and Selahattin Özpabıyıklar, eds. *Hoş Gör Yâ Hü: Osmanlı Kültüründe Mistik Semboller* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 146–47.

act.¹⁵ Even though people might have lost their intimate connection with architectural religious imagery today, contemporary Ottoman beholders would have approached and responded to images differently. With their power, images of the Islamic holy sites had the capacity to activate memory, arouse sentiments, deliver prophylactic and apotropaic effects, and animate virtual reality.

Based on such a rich and energetic pictorial accumulation, I examine text and image contents of late Ottoman representations of the Islamic holy sites in Chapter 1. I analyze common text and image formulae in prayer books and in other contexts. I argue that there was a diversification of religious imagery in this period, because different attitudes to image and text coexisted. In Chapter 2 and 3, I synthesize my findings of visual modes utilized to depict the major pilgrimage and visitation sites in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chapter 2 covers multi-, paraline, and perspectival views, whereas Chapter 3 concentrates on photographic views. In both chapters, I also relate Ottoman examples to their counterparts from different periods and regions, with an emphasis on international networks and transregional contacts. Finally, in Chapter 4, I focus on various uses of representations of the Islamic holy sites, as well as the principles governing their visual arrangement and architectural placement. I also reflect on the production, circulation, reception, patronage, and ownership of prayer books, in which images of religious architecture are frequently encountered.

¹⁵ David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), xxii–xxiii, 429–31; Gerhard Wolf, “From Mandyion to Veronica: Picturing the ‘Disembodied’ Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West,” in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation. Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, eds. Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 177–79; and Horst Bredekamp, “The Picture Act: Tradition, Horizon, Philosophy,” in *Bildakt at the Warburg Institute*, eds. Sabine Marienberg and Jürgen Trabant (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 3–5.

This study brings together an extensive number of late Ottoman images of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites preserved in institutions in Turkey and elsewhere, demonstrating that there exists immense diversity as much as similarities in religious architectural imagery. Overall, this dissertation presents a larger picture of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman visual culture and image-making processes from a comparative aspect and firmly historicized viewpoint. My objective is not to set standards to study religious architectural imagery, but to suggest ways to explore the wealth of representations that requires a variety of approaches to content, form, and function. The aim of this present study is to show that late Ottoman visual culture was thriving with religious imagery in both public and private spheres based on media change and functional diversity.

Representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites can be studied in several different ways; nevertheless, what strikes me most about them is the variety of their pictorial modes, media, and functions, the richness of their verbal and pictorial contents, and the extent of their circulation. Based on this observation, I intend to answer the following research questions throughout the dissertation: How can one examine a representation, based on its physical properties, production, patronage, ownership, mobility, cultural context, and/or function? How did visual and textual depictions relate to each other and reinforce one another? What are the conventions and innovations in depicting the Islamic holy sites, in terms of content, media, visual modes, and/or use? I look for possible answers to these open-ended questions, while working with an immense repository of late Ottoman religious imagery that becomes richer and richer with each new publication, auction, digitization, and exhibition. The inexhaustible character of my source materials

required me to be extremely selective, but not too concise. Readers of this dissertation will surely have examples and interpretations of their own regarding these materials. I can only imagine how much richer this research area may become with further studies on different periods, regions, and media, and greater use of scientific methods such as chemical analysis and multi-spectral imaging.

Exhibitions and Catalogues

The last decade has witnessed great popular and scholarly interest in the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, the hajj. Most recently, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality initiated a travelling exhibition entitled *Haremeyn: Hac – Mukaddese Yolculuk* in 2017, based on the collection of the municipality's Directorate of Museums and Libraries (Kütüphaneler ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü).¹⁶ This exhibition featured a variety of objects such as *hilyes*, popular prints, textile covers for the Ka'ba, and souvenirs from Mecca and Medina. The Topkapı Palace exhibition *Surre-i Hümayun*, held in 2008, comprised hajj-related materials consisting of various representations of the Islamic pilgrimage sites, and textile covers for the Ka'ba and the Rawda.¹⁷

First shown in 2010, the travelling exhibition *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* covered a large timespan from the Paleolithic period until the foundation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. The

¹⁶ The exhibition opened on 2 June 2017 in Istanbul and travelled to other cities in Turkey, such as Ordu and Gaziantep. For the catalogue, see *Haremeyn: Hac – Mukaddese Yolculuk / Haremeyn: Hajj – Journey to Holiness* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2017).

¹⁷ The exhibition brought together diverse hajj-related materials held in the Topkapı Palace Museum (16 April – 25 May 2008). Seyit Ali Kahraman, ed. *Surre-i Hümayün* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2008).

exhibition included sections on “The Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina” and “Europe Discovers Arabia,” in which hajj-related materials were displayed.¹⁸ The travelling Aga Khan exhibition *Architecture in Islamic Arts* featured a section on “Sacred Topographies,” which also covered a similar selection of materials.¹⁹

The 2012 British Museum exhibition *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* in London was followed by similar ones in Leiden, Doha, Paris, and Abu Dhabi, demonstrating a widespread interest in the representations of the fifth pillar of Islam.²⁰ These hajj exhibitions comprised historical and contemporary art of the hajj, oral history accounts about pilgrimage experience, and information about hajj travel and rites.

Their catalogues have helped me in compiling some of my source materials such as

¹⁸ *Roads of Arabia* was first displayed at the Louvre Museum in Paris (14 July – 27 September 2010) and accompanied by a voluminous and extensive exhibition catalogue. Ali Ibrahim Al-Ghabban et al., eds., *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010). A virtual tour of the exhibition was created after its display at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin (26 January – 9 April 2012). “Roads of Arabia,” Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, accessed March 20, 2018, http://ww2.smb.museum/RoA_EN/RoA_EN.html. Some other destinations of *Roads of Arabia* were the CaixaForum in Barcelona (12 November – 27 February 2011), the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (17 May – 4 September 2011), the Smithsonian’s Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington, D.C. (17 November 2012 – 24 February 2013), the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City (25 April – 6 July 2014), and the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco (24 October 2014 – 18 January 2015).

¹⁹ *Architecture in Islamic Arts* was displayed at the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (8 December 2011 – 26 February 2012), the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur (7 April – 29 June 2012), and the Asian Civilizations Museum in Singapore (19 July – 19 October 2012). The catalogue follows the six sections of the exhibition, one of which is “Sacred Topographies.” Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod, eds., *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum* (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2012).

²⁰ *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* was displayed at the British Museum in London (26 January – 25 April 2012) and accompanied by an exhibition catalogue as well as a brief book only on a selection of objects. Venetia Porter, ed. *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* (London: British Museum, 2012); and Porter, *The Art of Hajj* (London: British Museum, 2012). The British Museum exhibition was followed by *Longing for Mecca: The Pilgrim’s Journey* at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (10 September 2013 – 9 March 2014). See Luitgard Mols, *Verlangen naar Mekka: De hadj in honderd voorwerpen* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde, 2013). *Hajj: The Journey through Art* was held at the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (9 October 2013 – 5 January 2014). See Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya and Cécile Bresc, *Hajj: The Journey through Art* (Doha: Museum of Islamic Art, 2014). *Hajj: The Pilgrimage to Mecca* was held at the Arab World Institute in Paris (23 April – 10 August 2014). See Omar Saghi and Fahad Abdulkareem, *Hajj: le pèlerinage à La Mecque* (Paris: Snoeck Publishers, 2014). *Hajj: Memories of a Journey* was held at the Sheikh Zayed Grand Mosque Center in Abu Dhabi (20 September 2017 – 19 March 2018). Abdullah bin Hamad Al-Haqeel et al., *Hajj: Memories of a Journey* (Edinburgh, UK: Akkadia Press, 2017).

paintings, maps, travelogues, and other documents that are scattered in archives, collections, museums, and libraries around the world. They also instigated further research with academic meetings such as the conference *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* in London, as well as the symposia *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage* in Leiden and *The Image of Mecca* in Uppsala.²¹ The Leiden exhibition also instigated the preparation of the book entitled *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections: Traces of a Colourful Past* with objects from the Leiden University Library and the Museum of Ethnology.²²

Other than temporary exhibitions focusing on the hajj, the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul hold permanent exhibitions of the Sacred Trusts (*Kutsal Emanetler*).²³ The former has a large collection consisting of objects such as the mantle of the Prophet Muhammad, the sword of David, the veil of ‘A’isha, two golden waterspouts of the Ka‘ba, and a three-dimensional model of the Masjid al-Nabawi.²⁴ The latter has a relatively smaller

²¹ The conference *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam* (22 – 24 March 2012), which was held in conjunction with the British Museum exhibition, resulted in a book. The essays in this book focus on three topics that are rituals, travel, and art of the hajj. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif, eds. *The Hajj: Collected Essays* (London: British Museum, 2013). The symposium of *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage* (28 – 29 November 2013), which was held in Leiden in conjunction with the National Museum of Ethnology exhibition, also resulted in a book: Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar, eds. *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage* (Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2015). The symposium *The Image of Mecca* (5 May 2014) was oriented to different aspects of the early eighteenth-century Mecca painting preserved at the Uppsala University Library.

²² Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections: Traces of a Colourful Past* (Leiden: Leiden Publications, 2016).

²³ According to Wendy Shaw, the Department of the Sacred Trusts opened in 1962, long after the opening of the Topkapı Palace Museum in 1924. The current exhibition of the Sacred Trusts, however, opened in 2008. Wendy Shaw, “Between the Secular and Sacred: A New Face for the Department of the Holy Relics at the Topkapı Palace Museum,” in *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 6 (2010): 129.

²⁴ For a short and early catalogue of the Sacred Trusts at the Topkapı Palace Museum, see: Tahsin Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet ve Emanat-i Mukaddese* (İstanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1953). For a trilingual catalogue see: *İslām Dünyasının Mukaddes Emanetleri / آثار الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم واصحابه / The Heritage of the Prophet (May Peace Be upon Him) and His Companions* (Ankara: Kültür Ofset

collection of objects such as the footprint and beard of the Prophet Muhammad, and a key to the Ka'ba. Overall, some of my primary and secondary sources come from exhibition catalogues and proceeding books mentioned above. There exists also other source materials (mainly archival documents) compiled and transcribed in publications such as *Belgelerle Osmanlı Devrinde Hicaz* and *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Surre Alayları*.²⁵

Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem

Scholars have dealt with visual representations of Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites for a long time; however, the majority of publications date from the last two decades. Most scholars have focused on a single region, period, or medium, except for a few who have examined depictions' changing media, contexts, artistic attributions, and drawing techniques. Among them, Richard Ettinghausen, Zeren Tanındı, Hassan El-Basha, Charlotte Maury, Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya, David Roxburgh, Zeynep Atbaş, and Juan Campo have brought together different media and contexts with various other aspects of representations.

Limited Şirketi, 1987). For a recent catalogue, see: Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*; or Aydın, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Kutsal Emanetler* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2004). For a more comprehensive study and catalogue, see: Sevgi Ağca, *Hırka-i Saadet: Teşkilatı, Törenleri ve Kutsal Emanetleriyle Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi* (İstanbul: Korpus Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2013).

²⁵ Ömer Faruk Yılmaz, ed. *Belgelerle Osmanlı Devrinde Hicaz: Mekke-i Mükerrerme*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008); Mustafa Güler, ed. *Belgelerle Osmanlı Devrinde Hicaz: Medîne-i Münevvere-Cidde-Surre-Muhtelif*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008); and Mustafa Budak et al., eds. *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Surre Alayları* (Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010).

Ettinghausen's "Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im islamischen Kulturkreis" is one of the earliest studies on representations of the Islamic pilgrimage sites.²⁶ Here, the author suggests three categories, topographical, painterly, and symbolic representations (*topographische, malerische, and symbolische Darstellungen*), which are applicable to different media such as ceramic panels and manuscript paintings. In her article entitled "İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri," Tanındı briefly introduces a pilgrimage scroll and various manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace Museum. The author suggests that some of these examples intend to document charitable architectural works carried out in the holy cities during the reigns of different Ottoman sultans.²⁷ It is also worth noting that El-Basha examines works from the Museum of Islamic Arts in Cairo and demonstrates how the presence or absence of certain architectural elements can help determine the period of undated representations of the Masjid al-Nabawi and Medina.²⁸

In *Mémoires du Hajj*, Chekhab-Abudaya focuses on a variety of hajj-related objects held in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha: from photographs to manuscript paintings, from textiles to Ka'ba keys.²⁹ Maury, in the catalogue section entitled "Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries," studies representations of

²⁶ Richard Ettinghausen, "Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im islamischen Kulturkreis," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 12 (1934): 111–37.

²⁷ Zeren Tanındı, "İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (1983): 407–37.

²⁸ Hassan el-Basha, "Ottoman Pictures of the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīna as Historical and Documentary Sources," *Islamic Art* 3 (1988/89): 227–43.

²⁹ Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya, *Mémoires du Hajj: Le pèlerinage à La Mecque vu à travers les Arts de l'İslam, la production intellectuelle et matérielle de l'époque médiévale à l'époque contemporaine* (Rueil-Malmaison: Les Cahiers de l'İslam, 2014).

Islamic pilgrimage sites in manuscripts and ceramic tiles.³⁰ She defines two main types of representations — i.e., “topographical diagrams” and “perspectival views” — and provides examples for each type, as well as their hybrid combinations. Roxburgh, in the catalogue section entitled “Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,” deals with a variety of media including photography in relation to objects from the Aga Khan Museum. He notes that the depictions of the Islamic pilgrimage sites recall their cosmological and eschatological associations and thus display geography as religious topography.³¹

In “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” Atbaş follows a track similar to that of Tanındı and formally examines a number of objects from the Topkapı Palace Museum.³² These include an engraving, a printed qibla compass, and paintings from a variety of scrolls and manuscripts. In “Visualizing the Hajj,” Campo follows a more comprehensive approach than other scholars and examines representations of the hajj as “pre-modern” and “modern” forms of mediation.³³ He touches upon textual depictions of the Ka’ba and Mecca, as well as electronic and digital media such as films, video recordings, and websites.

³⁰ Charlotte Maury, “Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries: From Topographical Diagrams to Perspectival Views,” in *Roads of Arabia: Archaeology and History of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, eds. Ali Ibrahim Al-Ghabban et al. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2010), 548–59.

³¹ David J. Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,” in *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum*, eds. Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2012), 38.

³² Zeynep Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları: Elyazma Kitaplarda Mekke ve Medine Resimleri,” in *Surre-i Hümayün*, ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2016), 129–59.

³³ Juan E. Campo, “Visualizing the Hajj: Representations of a Changing Sacred Landscape Past and Present,” in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, eds. Eric Tagliacozzo and Shawkat M. Toorawa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 269–87.

A number of scholars have exclusively studied a single medium or an object depicting Islamic pilgrimage sites, especially ceramic panels, pilgrimage scrolls, prayer and pilgrimage manuals, and photographs.³⁴ For instance, Kurt Erdmann, Sabih Erken, and Charlotte Maury have examined a variety of Ottoman ceramic panels from different collections and mosques.³⁵ Erdmann, in his “Ka‘bah-Fliesen,” categorizes ceramic panels in four groups according to their visual modes, forms, and placement of architectural elements of the Masjid al-Haram.³⁶ Erken in his “Türk Çinçiliğinde Kabe Tasvirleri,” on the other hand, studies each panel one by one with their formal characteristics and inscriptions, and then comes up with a wider typology of seven groups based on the qualities that Erdmann considered.³⁷ Maury provides a more detailed study by building on the work of Ettinghausen, Erdmann, and Erken.³⁸ She deals with various aspects of panels such as their artists, formal characteristics, inscriptions, patrons, and spatial context. She provides a list of Mecca

³⁴ Other media and objects such as a stone slab, a lacquer plaque, oil and wall paintings, prints, and prayer rugs have also received some attention. For instance, see Sadi Dilaver, “Osmanlı Sanatında Kâbe Tasvirli Bir Fresk,” *TTK Belleten* 134 (1970): 255–57; Vincenzo Strika, “A Ka‘bah Picture in the Iraq Museum,” *Sumer* 32 (1976): 195–201; Aysen Aldoğan, “Kâbe Tasvirli Osmanlı Seccadeleri,” *Antik Dekor* 42 (1997): 162–64; Eva Baer, “Visual Representations of Jerusalem’s Holy Islamic Sites,” in *Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997/98), 384–92; Zübeyde Cihan Özsayiner, “Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi’ndeki Kutsal Kent Tasvirleri,” *Antik Dekor* 84 (2004/05): 96–102; Özsayiner, “Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi’ndeki Kutsal Kent Tasvirleri,” *Milli Saraylar* 10 (2012): 145–53; Ann Parker, *Hajj Paintings: Folk Art of the Great Pilgrimage* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2009); and Anton Schweizer and Avinoam Shalem, “Translating Visions: A Japanese Lacquer Plaque of the Haram of Mecca in the L.A. Mayer Memorial Museum, Jerusalem,” *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 148–73.

³⁵ For works on single ceramic panels, see: E. Emine Naza-Dönmez, “Nevşehir Müzesi’nde Bulunan Medine Camii Tasvirli Bir Çini Levha,” in *Prof. Dr. Şerare Yetkin Anısına Çini Yazıları*, ed. Yıldız Demiriz (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1996), 109–14; and Zühtü Yaman, “Küre Hoca Şemseddin Camii’nde Kâbe Tasvirli Çini Pano,” in *Prof. Dr. Şerare Yetkin Anısına Çini Yazıları*, ed. Yıldız Demiriz (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1996), 187–96.

³⁶ Kurt Erdmann, “Ka‘bah-Fliesen,” *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 192–97.

³⁷ Sabih Erken, “Türk Çinçiliğinde Kabe Tasvirleri,” *Vakıflar* 9 (1971): 297–320.

³⁸ Charlotte Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles: Content and Context,” in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, eds. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 143–59.

tiles based on their architectural diagrams. She also adds a list of Medina tiles, which is missing in the studies of Erdmann and Erken.

Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine; Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein; Zeren Tanındı; Ulrich Marzolph; Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya, Amélie Couvrat Desvergnès, and David Roxburgh; and Luitgard Mols study pilgrimage scrolls and certificates from various periods. Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, as well as Aksoy and Milstein examine the Seljukid, Burid, Ayyubid, or Mamluk pilgrimage scrolls held in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (originally found in the Great Mosque of Damascus).³⁹ Furthermore, Chekhab-Abudaya, Couvrat Desvergnès, and Roxburgh deeply examine a fifteenth-century Mamluk scroll in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha; Tanındı focuses on a sixteenth-century Ottoman scroll in the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul; Marzolph textually and visually analyzes a nineteenth-century Shi'i scroll from the Qajar period preserved in a private collection; and Mols works with late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century printed certificates.⁴⁰ The first and the third publications are especially important in that they provide very detailed analysis of the textual contents of the pilgrimage

³⁹ Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Une Collection médiévale de certificats de pèlerinage à la Mekke conservés à Istanbul," in *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, ed. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983), 167–273; Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, "Certificats de pèlerinage par procuration à l'époque mamlouke," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 212–33; Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide: Contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie de l'islam au temps des croisades* (Paris: L'académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2006); and Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," in *M. Uğur Derman Festschrift: Papers Presented on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Irvin Cemil Schick (Istanbul: Sabancı University, 2001), 101–34.

⁴⁰ Mounia Chekhab-Abudaya, Amélie Couvrat Desvergnès, and David J. Roxburgh, "Sayyid Yusuf's 1433 Pilgrimage Scroll (Ziyaratnama) in the Collection of the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 345–407; Zeren Tanındı, "Resimli Bir Hac Vekaletnamesi," *Sanat Dünyamız* 28 (1983): 2–6; Ulrich Marzolph, "From Mecca to Mashhad: The Narrative of an Illustrated Shi'i Pilgrimage Scroll from the Qajar Period," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014): 207–42; and Luitgard Mols, "Souvenir, Testimony, and Device for Instruction: Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Printed Hajj Certificates," in *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, eds. Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2015), 185–212.

scrolls. Examples in these publications altogether demonstrate a long-lasting tradition of illustrating and certifying the major (*ḥajj*) and minor (*‘umra*) pilgrimages at least from the end of the twelfth century to the early twentieth century.⁴¹

Rachel Milstein, Rasul Jafarian, and Guy Burak examine the Persian poet Muhyi al-Din Lari’s (d. 933/1526–27) *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* (Revelation of the Two Sanctuaries) dedicated to Muzaffar b. Mahmud Shah (r. 1511–26) of the Gujarat Sultanate. This Persian-verse illustrated pilgrimage manual was very popular in the Ottoman lands from the sixteenth century onwards and quoted by many authors in their literary accounts of the holy sites. Milstein dedicates one article to the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* and one article to a pilgrimage guide entitled the *Kitāb Shawq-nāma* (Book of Longing), in which the author Sayyid ‘Ali al-Husayni compiled the majority of Muhyi al-Din Lari’s work.⁴² She examines the paintings of sixteenth-century *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* copies preserved in institutions in Europe and Israel and those of the *Kitāb Shawq-nāma* held in the National Maritime Museum in Haifa. In his book *Negār o Negāre*, Jafarian similarly analyzes the paintings of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* copies held in libraries in Tehran.⁴³ Burak, however, approaches the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* and the Meccan scholar Jar Allah Muhammad Ibn Fahd’s (d. 1547) *Nukhbat bahjat al-zamān bi-‘imārat Mekka li-mulūk Banī*

⁴¹ In the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul, the earliest pilgrimage scrolls date to 476/1084; however, it only comprises calligraphy and is not illustrated. The earliest illustrated pilgrimage scroll from the collection dates to 589/1193. Aksoy and Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,” 102, 104.

⁴² See Rachel Milstein, “Futuh-i Haramayn: Sixteenth-Century Illustrations of the Hajj Route,” in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, eds. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 166–94; and Milstein, “Kitāb Shawq-nāma – An Illustrated Tour of Holy Arabia,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 275–345.

⁴³ Rasul Jafarian, *Negār o negāre: naqqashī ḥāyī az aṣṣār-i tārikh-i ḥaramayn-i sharīfeyn* (Tehran: Nashre Elm, 1392/2013–14).

’Uthmān (The Best of Joy of the Time for the Construction of Mecca by Kings of the Ottoman Dynasty) with textual analysis and competitive discourse.⁴⁴ Burak argues that the Gujarati and Ottoman dedications of these books were strategic in that the authors took sides in the power struggles between the empire and the sultanate and formed their narratives accordingly.

Prayer Books and Photographs

Paintings and prints in prayer books and photographic images constitute the majority of my source material in this study. There have been studies separately focusing on representations of the holy sites in prayer books and photographs of Mecca and Medina; nevertheless, exchanges between painting, printing, and photography have not been addressed yet. Hiba Abid, Alexandra Bain, Jan Just Witkam, Frederike-Wiebke Daub, and Christiane Gruber have studied prayer books from different parts of the Islamic world. In her article, Abid focuses on Magribi copies of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and explores the text’s popularity in comparison to the Qur’an.⁴⁵ In her doctoral dissertation and a related essay, Bain examines the religious imagery in late Ottoman copies of the *En ‘ām-ı Şerif* and the book’s prevalence among Ottoman elite and Sufi circles.⁴⁶ In his book and two articles, Witkam studies copies of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* held in the Leiden

⁴⁴ Guy Burak, “Between Istanbul and Gujarat: Descriptions of Mecca in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean,” *Muqarnas* 34 (2017): 287–320.

⁴⁵ Hiba Abid, “Un concurrent du Coran en Occident musulman du X^e/XVI^e à l’aube du XII^e/XVIII^e siècle: les *Dalā’il al-khayrāt* d’al-Jazūlī,” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 19 (2017): 45–73.

⁴⁶ Alexandra Bain, “The Late Ottoman *En ‘ām-ı Şerif*: Sacred Text and Images in an Islamic Prayer Book” (PhD diss., University of Victoria, 1999); and Bain, “The *En ‘ām-ı Şerif*: Sacred Text and Images in a Late Ottoman Prayer Book,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19 (2001): 213–38.

University Library, which are mostly from the Ottoman lands, North Africa, and Southeast Asia.⁴⁷ He draws attention to a number of points about this prayer book such as its various image compositions, use for benediction (*taṣliya*), and public recitation in Morocco. Daub presents a codicological analysis of the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* with a focus on manuscripts from the Leiden University Library.⁴⁸ Gruber, in “A Pious-Cure All,” examines an Ottoman illustrated prayer manual (can also be entitled as an *En'ām-ı Şerīf*) in the Lilly Library of Indiana University and argues that contemporary users of the prayer manual attributed protection and healing functions to it.⁴⁹

There are numerous exhibition and collection catalogues that consist of entries for prayer books. Manuscript, calligraphy, or arts of the book catalogues of the Chester Beatty Library by Vladimir Minorsky and later by Elaine Wright, the New York Public Library by Barbara Schmitz, Konya's Mevlana Museum by Serpil Bağcı, the Sakıp Sabancı Museum by Zeren Tanındı and Ayşe Aldemir Kilercik, and the Collections of Ghassan I. Shaker and Cengiz Cetindoğan by Nabil Safwat provide more detailed descriptions of prayer books than many others.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the

⁴⁷ Jan Just Witkam; *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek. De geschiedenis van de Dalā'il al-Khayrāt van al-Ġazulī* (Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum, 2002); Witkam, “Images of Makkah and Medina in an Islamic Prayer Book.” *Hadeeth ad-Dar* 30 (2009): 27–32; and Witkam, “The Battle of the Images: Mekka vs. Medina in the Iconography of the Manuscripts of Al-Jazuli's Dalā'il Al-Khayrat,” in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts*, eds. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2007), 67–82, 295–300.

⁴⁸ Frederike-Wiebke Daub, *Formen und Funktionen des Layouts in arabischen Manuskripten anhand von Abschriften religiöser Texte: al-Būṣīrīs Burda, al-Ġazulīs Dalā'il und die Šifā' von Qāḍī 'Iyād* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

⁴⁹ 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. Gruber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 117–53.

⁵⁰ Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library*; Elaine Julia Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture: Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala, 2009); Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the*

catalogue of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* exhibition in the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia presents manuscript and print copies of the prayer book from various parts of the Islamic world including the Ottoman lands, North Africa, India, China, and Southeast Asia.⁵¹ Besides these catalogues, there are also a number of theses, which formally examine and/or catalogue *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies preserved in libraries in Turkey and elsewhere.⁵²

A number of publications on photographs and postcards of Mecca and Medina have appeared in Turkey within the last decade. Among them, the voluminous trilingual publication of the Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture (IRCICA) is the most comprehensive one. It is entitled *Makka Al-Mukarrama and Al-Madina Al-Munawwara in Photographs from the Ottoman Period* and catalogues a selection of photographs from the Abdülhamid Albums and the Fahreddin Paşa Collection.⁵³

New York Public Library (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; New York Public Library, 1990); Serpil Bağcı, *Konya Mevlânâ Müzesi Resimli Elyazmaları* (Konya: Konya ve Mülhakatı Eski Eserleri Sevenler Derneği, 2003); Tanındı and Aldemir Kilercik, *Sakıp Sabancı Museum Collection of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*; Nabil F. Safwat, *Golden Pages: Qur'ans and Other Manuscripts from the Collection of Ghassan I. Shaker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for Azimuth Editions, 2000); and Safwat, *Understanding Calligraphy: The Ottoman Contribution from the Collection of Cengiz Çetindoğan* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2014).

⁵¹ Nurul Iman Rusli, ed. *Dala'il al-Khayrat: Prayer Manuscripts from the 16th – 19th Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, 2016).

⁵² Osman Nuri Solak, “Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi’nde Bulunan Bazı Delâilü’l-Hayrât’lardaki Tasvirler” (Master’s thesis, Selçuk University, 2008); Emine Küçükbay, “Das sogenannte Dalā'il ül-Ḥayrāt – eine Untersuchung der Handschrift [Cod. Turc. 553] der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München” (Master’s thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2010); Aslıhan İnce, “Ankara Milli Kütüphane Yazma Eserler Koleksiyonundaki Delâilü’l-Hayrat’larda Yer Alan Mekke ve Medine Minyatürleri” (Master’s thesis, Gazi University, 2015); and Gönül Urvasızoğlu, “Manisa Yazma Eser Kütüphanesinde Bulunan 2 Adet Delâil-i Hayrât’ın Kitap Sanatları Bakımından İncelenmesi” (Master’s thesis, Atatürk University, 2017). See also the brief entries in Günsel Renda, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar” (Prof. diss., Hacettepe University, 1980). There exists also Semra Güler’s doctoral dissertation (Uludağ University, 2017) on manuscript paintings of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* preserved in libraries in Turkey. The title of her dissertation is “Türkiye Kütüphaneleri’ndeki Delâilü’l-Hayrâtlar’da Minyatür;” however, I did not have access to this work.

⁵³ For this publication, see: *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn / Makka Al-Mukarrama and Al-Madina Al-Munawwara in Photographs from the Ottoman Period / صور الحرمين الشريفين في العهد العثماني* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2013).

There are also more accessible books on photographs of Mecca and Medina published in bilingual formats or in separate Turkish or English volumes, which do not go beyond picture catalogues.⁵⁴

Furthermore, there exist voluminous publications that have come out of Saudi Arabia, such as *The Illustrated Atlas of Makkah and the Holy Environs* by Meraj Nawab Mirza and Abdullah Saleh Shawoosh and *Atlas of Makkah Maps* by Mirza. In the former, the authors list a variety of media with a focus on nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs of Mecca.⁵⁵ In the latter bilingual publication, the focus is rather on maps and drawings of Mecca from different periods.⁵⁶ There is also an earlier publication by Badr el-Hage on photographs of Saudi Arabia that was first published in Arabic in 1989 and then in extended form in English in 1997.⁵⁷

In Europe and the USA, major publications on photographs of the Hijaz or the larger Saudi Arabia date to earlier years. Carney E. S. Gavin has extensively written on photographs of Mecca.⁵⁸ Books and catalogues such as *Saudi Arabia by the First*

⁵⁴ Mehmet Bahadır Dördüncü, *Mecca-Medina: The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II* (Somerset, NJ: Light, 2006); Dördüncü, *II. Abdülhamid Yıldız Albümleri: Mekke ve Medine* (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2006); Anees Bashir Chaudhry, *Medeniyet Yâdigârları: Mekke-i Mükerrerme, Medine-i Münevvere, Taif (1967–1984) / Views into the Architectural Aspects of Makkah, Madinah & Taif*, eds. Emira Bayraktar and İbrahim Coşkun (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2011); and Murat Kargılı, *Kutsal Yolculuk Hac: Kartpostallarla Hac Yolu / The Holy Journey Hajj: The Hajj Route through Postcards* (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi, 2014).

⁵⁵ This English version was published after the two Arabic editions of 2003 and 2007: Meraj Nawab Mirza and Abdullah Saleh Shawoosh, *The Illustrated Atlas of Makkah and the Holy Environs: From the 11th Century to the Present Day* (Mecca: The Center of Makkah History, 2011).

⁵⁶ Meraj Nawab Mirza, *Atlas of Makkah Maps / اطلس خرائط مكة المكرمة* (Mecca: Umm Al-Qura University, 2013).

⁵⁷ Badr el-Hage, *Şuwar min al-mādī, al-Mamlaka al-‘Arabiyya al-Su‘ūdiyya 1861–1939* (London: Riad El-Rayyes Books, 1989); and el-Hage, *Saudi Arabia: Caught in Time, 1861–1939* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1997).

⁵⁸ For Gavin and his co-authors, see: Frederick H. S. Allen and Carney E. S. Gavin, *Mecca: The First Photographs* (Cambridge: Harvard Semitic Museum, 1981); Carney E. S. Gavin, “Messengers from Mecca: Photography and Social Studies in Light from Ancient Lands,” in *The Invention of*

Photographers by William Facey and Gillian Grant, *Photographies D'arabie* by Henry Laurens, *To the Holy Lands* by Michael Tellenbach, Claude W. Sui, and Alfried Wieczorek cover a large array of photographs taken in the holy lands.⁵⁹ Some of these and other publications also focus on the works of specific photographers such as the Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the Meccan doctor al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, the Indian photography studio of H.A. Mirza and Sons, and the Egyptian officials Sadiq Bey, Muhammad ‘Ali Efendi Sa‘udi, and Ibrahim Rif‘at Pasha.⁶⁰ Among other areas, photographs in Dutch collections and Snouck Hurgronje have received special emphasis in the scholarship of Arnoud Vrolijk, Durkje van der Wal, Dirry Oostdam, and Jan Just Witkam.⁶¹

Photography and Its Impact on Learning: Photographs from Harvard University and Radcliffe College and from the Collection of Harrison D. Horblit, eds. Louise Todd Ambler and Melissa Banta (Cambridge: Harvard University Library, 1989), 48–61; and Ali S. Asani and Carney E. S. Gavin, “Through the Lens of Mirza of Delhi: The Debbas Album of Early-Twentieth-Century Photographs of Pilgrimage Sites in Mecca and Medina,” *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 178–99.

⁵⁹ William Facey and Gillian Grant, *Saudi Arabia by the First Photographers* (London: Stacey International, 1996); Henry Laurens, *Photographies D'arabie, Hedjaz, 1907–1917* (Paris: Institut du monde arabe, 1999); and Alfried Wieczorek, Michael Tellenbach, and Claude W. Sui, eds. *To the Holy Lands: Pilgrimage Centres from Mecca and Medina to Jerusalem: Photographs of the 19th Century from the Collections of the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums, Mannheim* (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2008).

⁶⁰ Claude W. Sui, “Pilgrimages to the Holy Sites of Islam and Early Photography,” in *To the Holy Lands: Pilgrimage Centres from Mecca and Medina to Jerusalem: Photographs of the 19th Century from the Collections of the Reiss-Engelhorn Museums, Mannheim*, eds. Alfried Wieczorek, Michael Tellenbach, and Claude W. Sui (Munich; New York: Prestel, 2008), 40–63; Farid Kioungi and Robert Graham, *A Photographer on the Hajj: The Travels of Muhammad ‘Ali Effendi Sa‘udi (1904/1908)* (Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2009); Stephen Sheehi, *Arab Imago: Social History of Portrait Photography, 1860–1910* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 163–92; and Asani and Gavin, “Through the Lens of Mirza of Delhi,” 178–99.

⁶¹ Dirry Oostdam and Jan Just Witkam, *West Arabian Encounters: Fifty Years of Dutch-Arabian Relations in Images (1885–1935)* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2004); Carel van Leeuwen, Dirry Oostdam, and Steven Vink, *Dutch Envoys in Arabia 1880–1950: Photographic Impressions* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2011); Durkje van der Wal, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: The First Western Photographer in Mecca, 1884–1885* (Amsterdam: Manfred & Hanna Heiting Fund, Rijksmuseum, 2011); Arnoud Vrolijk, “An Early Photograph of the Egyptian Mahmal in Mecca,” in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 206–13; and Vrolijk, “Appearances Belie: A Mecca Centered World Map and a Snouck Hurgronje Photograph from the Leiden University Collections,” in *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, eds. Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2015), 213–27.

So far, no thorough comparative study between the photographs in the Abdülhamid Albums held in Istanbul and those in the books of Snouck Hurgronje and in institutions abroad has been undertaken. Even though some of these publications mentioned here touch upon interactions between early photographers of the Haramayn, they do not provide a systematic way to examine these photographs, nor do they connect different photographic collections. In Chapter 3, I analyze photographic oeuvres of early photographers of Mecca and Medina, with a focus on two major collections in the Istanbul and Leiden University Libraries.

Pilgrimage Literature

Similar to today, the hajj received a surge of interest in the nineteenth century, as can be traced through the multitude of travelogues. John Lewis Burckhardt, Léon Roches, Sir Richard Burton, Charles Montagu Doughty, John Fryer Thomas Keane, and several other European travelers published their travelogues in the nineteenth century.⁶² By the beginning of the twentieth century, there had already been a number of Europeans who managed to penetrate the Haramayn in disguise. This access enabled Augustus Ralli to write his book *Christians at Mecca* in 1909.⁶³ In the

⁶² John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 1–2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1829); Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, vol. 1–3 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1855–56); Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1888); John F. Keane, *Six Months in Meccah: An Account of the Mohammedan Pilgrimage to Meccah* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1881); and Keane, *My Journey to Medinah: Describing a Pilgrimage to Medinah* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1881).

⁶³ In his book, Ralli quotes from the travelogues of the following Europeans who had been to the Haramayn: Ludovico di Varthema (1503), Vincent Le Blanc (1568), Johann Wild (1607), Joseph Pitts (1680), Domingo Badia y Leblich (Ali Bey al-Abbasi, 1807), Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1809–10), John Lewis Burckhardt (1814–15), Giovanni Finati (1814), Léon Roches (1841–42), George Augustus Wallin (1845), Sir Richard Burton (1853), Heinrich von Maltzan (1860), Herman Bicknell (1862), John Fryer Thomas Keane (1877–78), Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1885), and Jules Gervais-Courtellemont (1894). Augustus Ralli, *Christians at Mecca* (London: William Heinemann, 1909).

last two decades, William Facey and Michael Wolfe have shown special attention to European travelers in their publications. In his book entitled *One Thousand Roads to Mecca*, Wolfe takes an approach similar to that of Ralli in providing a collection of pilgrimage narratives.⁶⁴ In his article, however, Facey exclusively deals with British travelers who performed the hajj.⁶⁵

There exist also a number of Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian travel accounts that were translated into European languages in the nineteenth century. For instance, two very important medieval travel accounts (sing. *riḥla*) by Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta were translated into English and French, the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi's *Seyāhatnāme* (Book of Travels) was translated into English, and the eighteenth-century Ottoman traveller Mehmed Edib's *Nehceti'l-Menāzil* (Path of Stations) was translated into French, as was the eleventh-century Persian traveller Nasir Khusraw's *Safarnāma* (Book of Travels).⁶⁶ Similar to the travelogues by Burton or Roches, these works also attest to the rising European interest in Islamic pilgrimage.

⁶⁴ Michael Wolfe, *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage* (New York: Grove Press, 1997). See also Wolfe, "Eldon Rutter and the Modern Hajj Narrative," in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, eds. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 131–35.

⁶⁵ William Facey, "Pilgrim Pioneers: Britons on Hajj before 1940," in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, eds. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 122–30.

⁶⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr: Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. William Wright (Leiden: Brill, 1852); Ibn Battuta, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, trans. Sanguinetti C. Defrémery, vol.1–4 (Paris: Société Asiatique, 1853–58); Evliya Çelebi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, vol.1–2 (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1834); Mehmet Edib, *Itinéraire de Constantinople à la Mecque: extrait de l'ouvrage turc intitulé: Kitab menassik el-hadj*, trans. Thomas Xavier Bianchi (Paris, ca. 1840); and Nassiri Khosrau, *Sefer Nameh: Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie, et en Perse, pendant les années de l'Hégire 437–444 (1035–1042)*, trans. Charles Schefer (Paris: Libraries de la Société Asiatique, 1881).

Representations of the Haramayn can be found in some of these European publications such as Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia* and the translation of Nasir Khusraw's *Safarnāma*, as well as others. In Europe, one of the earliest known realistic representations of the Masjid al-Haram appeared in the 1717 edition of the Dutch scholar Adriaan Reland's (d. 1718) *De religione Mohammedica* (1705).⁶⁷ In 1721, another realistic image of Mecca, but an imaginary one of Medina, was published in the Viennese architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*.⁶⁸ Şurre images as well as a dyad of Mecca and Medina also appeared in the *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman* (1787–1820) by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807), the Ottoman-Armenian translator who served at the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul.⁶⁹ Other prints and paintings were reproduced after the Haramayn engravings in the second volume of the *Tableau Général*. The similarities between the Mecca and Medina engravings from the *Tableau Général* and a four-partite painting on the doublure of an album presented to Selim III are also striking, as I discuss in Chapter 2 (Figures 107, 108, and 109).

⁶⁷ Adriaan Reland, *De religione Mohammedica* (Trajecti ad Rhenum: Briedelet, 1717).

⁶⁸ Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur: in Abbildung unterschiedener berühmten Gebäude des Alterthums und Fremder Völcker* (Wien: Selbstverl, 1721). See the following article for an analysis of Mecca and Medina representations in the above-mentioned book: Oleg Grabar, "A Preliminary Note on Two Eighteenth Century Representations of Mecca and Medina," in *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, vol. 2 (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 261–68.

⁶⁹ Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire othoman*, vol. 2 (Paris: de l'imprimerie de monsieur, 1789), 56–57, 94–95. For general information about the *Tableau Général*, see Sture Theolin et al., *The Torch of the Empire / İmparatorluğun Meşalesi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002). See also Carter V. Findley, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807): Liminality and Cosmopolitanism in the Author of the 'Tableau général de l'Empire othoman'," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22 (1998): 21–35; and Elisabeth A. Fraser, "'Dressing Turks in the French Manner': Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Panorama of the Ottoman Empire," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 198–230.

In Turkey, there exist several editions of popular prints of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century pilgrimage accounts in Arabic and Turkish, which appeal to a large audience. Among them are Süleyman Şefik Söylemezoğlu's *Ḥicāz Seyāhatnāmesi* (Book of Travels to the Hijaz), Eyüb Sabri Paşa's *Mir'ātü'l-Ḥaremeyn* (Mirror of the Two Sanctuaries), El-Hac Hüseyin Vassaf's *Ḥicāz Hātırısı* (Memories of the Hijaz), and İbrahim Rif'at Pasha's *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn* (Mirror of the Two Sanctuaries), whose manuscript and print versions were enriched by visuals such as watercolors, photographs, and/or postcards.⁷⁰ Among these, Eyüb Sabri Paşa's *Mir'ātü'l-Ḥaremeyn* is frequently referenced by authors writing about histories of the holy cities and the hajj.

Pilgrimage literature from the Ottoman world constitutes an important part of the primary sources underlying this study. In his doctoral dissertation and book, Menderes Coşkun gives a general introduction to Ottoman pilgrimage literature.⁷¹ He then focuses on the seventeenth-century *Tuḥfetü'l-Ḥaremeyn* (Gift of the Two Sanctuaries), in which the author Nabi frequently quotes from Muhyi al-Din Lari's *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* (Revelation of the Two Sanctuaries). In two short articles,

⁷⁰ Süleyman Şefik Söylemezoğlu, *Hicaz Seyahatnamesi* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2013); Eyüp Sabri Paşa, *Mir'āt-ı Haremeyn: Hac ve Umre Yolcularına Mekke-Medine Rehberi* (İstanbul: İslami İlimler Araştırma Vakfı, 1986); El-Hac Hüseyin Vassaf, *Hicaz Hatırası*, ed. Mehmet Akkuş (İstanbul, Kubbealtı: 2011); and İbrahim Rifat Paşa, *Mir'atü'l Haremeyn*, trans. Lütfullah Yavuz, ed. Salih Gülen (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2010). For the manuscript versions of the former two texts, see T 4199 and T 6082–83 in the Istanbul University Library.

⁷¹ Coşkun divides Ottoman works on pilgrimage into four groups which have slight distinctions: pilgrimage manuals (*hac el kitapları*), guide books of pilgrimage travel (*rehber nitelikli hac seyāhatnāmeleri*), books of pilgrimage travel as reports and memoirs (*hatıra ve rapor nitelikli hac seyāhatnāmeleri*), and literary books of pilgrimage travel (*edebî hac seyāhatnāmeleri*). Menderes Coşkun, *Manzum ve Mensur Osmanlı Hac Seyahatnameleri ve Nābî'nin Tuḥfetü'l-Ḥaremeyn'i* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002), 6. See also Coşkun, "Ottoman Pilgrimage Narratives and Nabi's Tuḥfetü'l-Ḥaremeyn" (PhD diss., University of Durham, 1999); and Coşkun, "Nābî'nin Tuḥfetü'l-Ḥaremeyn Adlı Seyahatnamesinin Edebî Kaynakları," *İlmî Araştırmalar* 12 (2001): 63–72.

Coşkun also provides an overview of Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian pilgrimage literature.⁷²

In *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places*, Francis Edwards Peters chronologically presents a series of themes based on direct quotations from pilgrimage accounts from Europe and the Islamic world.⁷³ For instance, he quotes from al-Azraqi, Ibn ‘Abbas, and Ibn Ishaq to provide information about the Abrahamic roots of the Ka‘ba and from Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Battuta to describe the hajj in the medieval era. In his ten-volume *Records of Hajj*, Alan Rush brings together a variety of primary sources from pilgrimage literature to maps and scrolls. He covers rites of pilgrimage in the first volume and the health affairs of hajj in the ninth volume, presents visual materials in the tenth volume, and focuses on the hajj in different periods in the remaining volumes.⁷⁴

Scholars have dealt with the pilgrimage to Mecca from different regions and its idiosyncratic routes, risks, demographics, and politics. In *The Longest Journey*, Eric Tagliacozzo provides a multifaceted history of the hajj from Southeast Asia, with reference to European travelogues and Arabic pilgrimage accounts besides Malay and Javanese texts.⁷⁵ He presents a political and social history of Southeast Asian pilgrimage from the perspective of common and elite pilgrims, as well as European

⁷² Menderes Coşkun, “Ottoman Attitudes towards Writing about Pilgrimage Experience,” *Milli Folklor* 24 (2012): 72–82.; and Coşkun, “Pilgrimage Narratives in Arabic and Persian Literature,” in *The Great Ottoman – Turkish Civilization*, ed. Kemal Çiçek (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), 510–25.

⁷³ Francis Edwards Peters, *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

⁷⁴ Alan Rush, ed. *Records of the Hajj: A Documentary History of the Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 10 vols. (London: Archive Editions, 1993).

⁷⁵ Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

colonial powers. Jan Just Witkam also writes about pilgrimage literature of Southeast Asia and focuses on the journey, emotions, and nostalgia of the hajj.⁷⁶ Barbara D. Metcalf, however, deals with different aspects of South Asian accounts of the hajj such as travel, different cultures, and religious significance.⁷⁷

In *Across the Savannas to Mecca*, J. S. Birks focuses on pilgrimage from a different part of the Islamic world, West Africa.⁷⁸ He closely examines patterns of routes, the number of pilgrims, and costs of the pilgrimage journey. Both Tagliacozzo and Birks cover pre-modern and modern pilgrimage with an emphasis on the increasing travel security and mobility in the colonial period. They not only focus on the pilgrimage journey, but also deal with the mobility of people springing from Southeast Asia and West Africa. Furthermore, Michael N. Pearson examines the hajj from India, and articles in the edited volume of *Central Asian Pilgrims* deal with various topics such as pilgrimage traffic and pilgrims' accounts.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Jan Just Witkam, "The Islamic Pilgrimage in the Manuscript Literatures of Southeast Asia," in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, eds. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 214–23.

⁷⁷ Barbara D. Metcalf, "The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian Accounts of the Hajj," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, eds. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 85–107.

⁷⁸ J.S. Birks, *Across the Savannas to Mecca: The Overland Pilgrimage Route from West Africa* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1978).

⁷⁹ Michael N. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca: An Indian Experience 1500–1800* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996); and Alexandre Pappas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone, eds. *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asian and the Hijaz* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012).

History, Ritual, and Architecture

Some of the early histories of Mecca and Medina are the ninth-century *Akhhbār Makka* by al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makka* by al-Fakihi, *Akhhbār al-Madīna* by ‘Umar b. Shabba al-Numayri, and the fifteenth-century *Wafā’ al-Wafā* by al-Samhudi.⁸⁰ Based on such histories and linguistic links, Uri Rubin examines pre-Islamic and early Islamic functions and locations of the Ka‘ba, as well as other significant components of it and the holy mosque, such as the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) and the station of Abraham (*maqām Ibrāhīm*).⁸¹ Yehuda D. Nevo and Judith Koren assert that some rites of the hajj and architectural features of the Ka‘ba had pagan origins in addition to their monotheistic aspects.⁸² G. R. Hawting, on the other hand, attributes some features of the Meccan sanctuary to Jewish tradition.⁸³

The rites of the hajj have received the attention of contemporary scholars such as Marion Katz, William R. Roff, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, and Juan Campo. In “The Hajj and the Study of Islamic Ritual,” Katz focuses on the nature and function of the hajj rituals by presenting and elaborating on debates about ritual efficacy and the

⁸⁰ For a short essay on histories of Mecca and Medina, see Hamad al-Jāsir, “Manuscripts in the History of Mekkah and Medinah,” in *The Significance of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation*, ed. John Cooper (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1992), 107–13.

⁸¹ Uri Rubin, “The Kaaba: Aspects of Its Ritual Functions and Positions in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 97–131.

⁸² The authors base their assertion on archeological findings at Sde Boqer in Negev, Israel. Yehuda D. Nevo and Judith Koren, “The Origins of the Muslim Descriptions of the Jāhili Meccan Sanctuary,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (1990): 23–44.

⁸³ G. R. Hawting, “The Origins of the Muslim Sanctuary at Mecca,” in *Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society*, ed. G. H. A. Juynboll (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1982), 23–48. In an earlier article, the author associates *zamzam* with Jewish tradition. G. R. Hawting, “The Disappearance and Rediscovery of Zamzam and the ‘Well of the Ka‘ba’,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980): 44–54.

symbolism of pilgrimage.⁸⁴ Roff, in his article “Pilgrimage and the History of Religions,” suggests exploring possible approaches to the hajj by taking into account its religious significance in historical and analytical studies.⁸⁵ Lazarus-Yafeh, in two different articles, focuses on the pre-Islamic roots of the rituals and places of the hajj, together with contemporary discussions revolving around the Ka‘ba and the hajj.⁸⁶ In his article “Authority, Ritual, and Spatial Order in Islam,” Campo asserts that the rituals of the hajj confirm certain ideologies within the given places.⁸⁷

Scholars have focused on various aspects of the hajj such as political, economic, and cultural ones.⁸⁸ Jean Sauvaget exclusively writes about the Umayyad history of the Masjid al-Nabawi in his book entitled *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*.⁸⁹ Emel Esin, in her book entitled *Mecca the Blessed, Madinah the Radiant*, provides a general history of Mecca and Medina from the pre-Islamic period to the end of the

⁸⁴ Marion Katz, “The Hajj and the Study of Islamic Ritual,” *Studia Islamica* 98/99 (2004): 95–126.

⁸⁵ William R. Roff, “Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the Hajj,” in *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, ed. Richard C. Martin (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 78–86.

⁸⁶ Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, “The Religious Dialectics of the Hadj,” in *Some Religious Aspects of Islam: A Collection of Articles* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1981), 17–37; and Lazarus-Yafeh, “Modern Muslim Attitudes toward the Ka‘ba and the Hadj,” in *Some Religious Aspects of Islam: A Collection of Articles* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1981), 106–29.

⁸⁷ Juan E. Campo, “Authority, Ritual, and Spatial Order in Islam: The Pilgrimage to Mecca,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 5 (1991): 65–91.

⁸⁸ Several publications in Turkey focus on these issues. Among them are Zekeriya Kurşun, “Hac ve İktidar: Haremeyn’de Erken Dönem Osmanlı İmar Faaliyetleri,” *FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* 9 (2017): 281–311; Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, *Abbasilerden Osmanlılara Mekke-Medine Tarihi* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2007); Sadık Erarslan, “Osmanlıların Haremeyn-i Şerife’ye Hizmetleri,” *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 35 (1999): 207–30; and Münir Atalar, *Osmanlı Devletinde Surre-i Hümayun ve Surre Alayları* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1991). There also exist several theses on Mecca, Medina, and the hajj written at universities in Turkey. For instance, see Tuğba Aydeniz, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Mekke’nin Yönetimi (1517–1617)” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2010); An’am Mohamed Osman Elkabashi, “Osmanlı Medinesi: XVI. YY’da Mukaddes Bir Şehrin İdarî, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2006); and Betül Ayaz, “Hilafet ve Siyaset: Osmanlı Devleti’nin Hac Hizmetleri (1798–1876)” (PhD diss., Marmara University, 2014).

⁸⁹ Jean Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine: Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique* (Paris: Vanoest, 1947).

Ottoman caliphate.⁹⁰ In *Mekke-i Mükerrerme Emirleri*, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı spares half of his book to biographies of Meccan *emīrs*, and, in the other half, he shortly deals with topics such as *şerīfs* (descendants of Hasan) and *seyyids* (descendants of Husayn), the *naķībū'l-eşrāf* (the head of the descendants of the Prophet), the *şurre*, and the textile covers for the Ka'ba and the Rawda.⁹¹ In *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları*, Mustafa Güler focuses on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Haramayn endowments with a focus on the funded building and infrastructure works, recitations, residents' allowances, as well as their financial sources and operational organizations.⁹² In *Pilgrims and Sultans*, Suraiya Faroqhi examines political and socio-economic aspects of the hajj under the Ottomans. She emphasizes the responsibilities that came with the prestige of the caliphate, such as providing security for the hajj routes and caravans, patronage of art and architecture, and financial support to pilgrims and locals of Mecca and Medina.⁹³ Similarly, in two lengthy articles, İbrahim Ateş focuses on the architectural patronage of Ottoman sultans in Medina and the *şurre* sent to Mecca and Medina.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Emel Esin, *Mecca the Blessed, Madinah the Radiant* (London: Elek Books, 1963).

⁹¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Mekke-i Mükerrerme Emirleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013).

⁹² Mustafa Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Haremeyn Vakıfları (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar)* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2011).

⁹³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517–1683* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996). See also Suraiya Faroqhi, "Keepsakes and Trade Goods from Seventeenth-Century Mecca," in *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 89–98.

⁹⁴ İbrahim Ateş, "Mescid-i Nebevī'nin Yapıldığı Günden Bu Yana Geçirdiği Genişletme Girişimleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 24 (1994): 5–50; and Ateş, "Osmanlılar Zamanında Mekke ve Medine'ye Gönderilen Para ve Hediyeler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981): 113–70.

Gülden Sarıyıldız, William R. Roff, and Michael Christopher Low deal with sanitary aspects of the hajj.⁹⁵ The former author adopts a more informative approach and the latter two base their arguments on Pan-Islamic and colonial ideologies. Russel King analytically studies the hajj traffic with the number of pilgrims, their country of origin, and their routes, whereas William Ochsenwald, Said Öztürk, and Metin Hülagü focus specifically on the Hejaz Railway.⁹⁶

Studies on Jerusalem set good examples for this dissertation, since the city has been the subject of seminal works. For instance, Oleg Grabar examines the architectural and liturgical forms of Jerusalem in *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*, while he presents an architectural and photographic survey in *The Dome of the Rock*.⁹⁷ In *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, Amikam Elad surveys the movement in and around the city during pilgrimage.⁹⁸ Several essays in the edited book *Jerusalem as Narrative Space* provide different ways to examine a city based on text and image.⁹⁹ Other edited volumes present research about medieval European

⁹⁵ Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilâtı (1865–1914)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996); William R. Roff, “Sanitation and Security: The Imperial Powers and the Nineteenth Century Hajj,” *Arabian Studies* 6 (1982): 143–60; and Michael Christopher Low, “Empire and the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam under British Surveillance, 1865–1908,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40 (2008): 269–90.

⁹⁶ Russell King, “Pilgrimage to Mecca, Some Geographical and Historical Aspects,” *Erdkunde* 26 (1972): 61–73; William Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980); M. Metin Hülagü, *The Hejaz Railway: The Construction of a New Hope* (New York: Blue Dome Press, 2010); and Said Öztürk, “Hicaz Demir Yolu,” in *Osmanlı Devleti’nin 700. Kuruluş Yıldönümünde Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Paneli (II)* (İstanbul: Bilge Yayıncılık, 2000).

⁹⁷ Oleg Grabar, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); and Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁹⁸ Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1995).

⁹⁹ See especially the following book sections: Ingrid Baumgärtner, “Erzählungen Kartieren: Jerusalem in Mittelalterlichen Kartenräumen,” in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem*, eds. Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 231–61; Claudia Olk, “The Poetics of Jerusalem in Mandeville’s Travels,” in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum*

representations of Jerusalem, the history of the Temple Mount (Haram al-Sharif), and architecture and urban space in Ottoman Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, exhibition catalogues such as *Jerusalem 1000–1400* feature multifaceted approaches to the city based on art, architecture, patronage, pilgrimage, religion, trade, and war.¹⁰¹

Dalā'il al-Khayrāt and En'ām-ı Şerīf

Even though I examine a variety of media and contexts in this dissertation, a large array of my source materials come from late Ottoman copies of two Sunni prayer books: the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*. In addition to prayer and pilgrimage manuals, images of the holy sites also exist in some Qur'an copies and books such as Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi's (d. 855/1451) *Muḥammediyye*, the fourteenth-century poet Darir's *Siyer-i Nebī* (Life of the Prophet), and Ibn al-Wardi's (d. 749/1349) *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* (Pearl of Wonders).

The *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa-shawāriq al-anwār fī dhikr al-ṣalāt 'alā al-nabī al-mukhtār* (Proofs of Good Deeds and the Brilliant Burst of Light in the Remembrance of Blessings on the Chosen Prophet) consists of prayer blessings (sing. *ṣalā*, pl.

Jerusalem, eds. Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 211–30; Pnina Arad, “Mapping Divinity: Holy Landscape in Maps of the Holy Land,” in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem*, eds. Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 264–76; and Rachel Milstein, “Jerusalem in Islamic Painting: An Object in a Narrative Space,” in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem*, eds. Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 463–75.

¹⁰⁰ Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, eds. *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar, eds. *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade* (Austin; Jerusalem: University of Texas Press; Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2009); and Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand, eds. *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City 1517–1917*, vol. 1–2 (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000).

¹⁰¹ Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, eds. *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People under Heaven* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016).

ṣalawāt) for the Prophet Muhammad, which were compiled by the Moroccan Sufi leader Sulayman al-Jazuli (d. 870/1465).¹⁰² As Vincent Cornell notes, al-Jazuli linked the “competing traditions of Shadhili and Qadiri Sufism” and the Jazuliyya order highly influenced the Moroccan Sufism based on the concept of sainthood.¹⁰³ The popularity of this prayer book exceeded North Africa and ensured that it was disseminated to various parts of the Islamic world including the Ottoman lands, the Indian Subcontinent, China, and Southeast Asia, due to its ultimate congruity for reciting prayer blessings for the Prophet (*taṣliya*).¹⁰⁴

The *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* features a standard content, except for the initial and final additions to the main body of the text. Its copies might display slight organizational variations of two, three, four, and/or eight sections (*aḥzāb*), which can be recited daily or at other intervals (e.g., from Monday to Monday).¹⁰⁵ An Ottoman copy of this prayer book often consists of an introduction (*muqaddima*), the 201 Names of the Prophet (including the name *Dalīl al-Khayrāt*), the description of the Rawda, eight *aḥzāb*, and closing prayers. Even though earlier copies exist, the *Dalāʾil al-*

¹⁰² For two Magribi facsimiles of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, see Tarif al-Samman, ed. *Al-Ġazūlī. Dalāʾil al-ḥayrāt und andere Texte ‘Anthologie’* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1987); and Ahmed Toufiq and Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, eds. *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt wa Shawāriq al-Anwār fī aṣ-Ṣalāt clā an-Nabiyy al-Mukhtār* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2003). See Süleyman Uludağ, “Dealāilü’l-Hayrāt,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 113–14.

¹⁰³ Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 173–76, 285. For encyclopedia entries on the author, see Süleyman Uludağ, “Muhammed b. Süleyman Cezūlī,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 515–16; and M. Bencheneb, “al-Djāzūlī,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, accessed August 16, 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2060.

¹⁰⁴ For more information about the *taṣliya*, see Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

¹⁰⁵ Kashmiri copies of the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt* could be recited from Friday to Friday. Iman Rusli, *Dalāʾil al-Khayrat*, 22–23.

Khayrāt was a particularly popular prayer book in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, first in manuscript and then in print formats, and its print editions are still sold in Turkey today.¹⁰⁶ Luxury copies of the text regularly feature at auction, while hundreds of copies are preserved in collections, libraries, and museums around the world.¹⁰⁷ Meeting such a high demand required producing manuscripts in large numbers or printing them in several editions.

Although the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* was relatively less copied, it nevertheless was popular in this period as well. According to Bain, the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* was widely copied and read among Sufi orders, especially that of the Naqshbandi.¹⁰⁸ However, this prayer book’s popularity cannot be solely explained via its production and dissemination in Sufi circles, as it had several different uses and its copies could be found in various libraries and personal collections.¹⁰⁹ The *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* was of flexible content and organization in that it depended on its patron, copyist/calligrapher, illuminator, painter, and/or patron.¹¹⁰ An *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* often comprised a selection of religious

¹⁰⁶ For three brief lists of nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century print copies of the *Dalā’ il al-Khayrāt* and Karadavudzade’s commentary, see Fehmi E. Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Basmalar Alfabe Kataloğu*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1953), 441; Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Basmalar Alfabe Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1956), 542; and M. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: Fatih Yayınevi Matbaası, 1977), 1645. For two recent print copies of the *Dalā’ il al-Khayrāt* and Karadavudzade’s commentary, see Süleyman el-Cezuli, *Arapça Metin, Satır Arası Kelime Kelime Türkçe Okunuşu ve Türkçe Meālî ile Delāil-i Hayrāt*, ed. Fahri Altunkaynak (Konya: Haktan Yayın Dağıtım, no date); and Kara Davud, *Delāil-i Hayrāt Şerhi*, eds. Abdülkadir Akçiçek and Veli Ertan (İstanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2014).

¹⁰⁷ For devotional prayers from a wide range of prayer books including the *Dalā’ il al-Khayrāt*, see Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1997).

¹⁰⁸ Bain, “The Late Ottoman *En ‘ām-ı Şerif*,” 40–41.

¹⁰⁹ For an early illustrated copy in the palace collection, see Zeren Tanındı, “A Treasury for Bibliophiles: Ottoman Illuminated Books,” in *Distant Neighbour Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish - Polish Relations* (İstanbul: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2014), 103.

¹¹⁰ Bain, “The Late Ottoman *En ‘ām-ı Şerif*,” 49.

imagery, the Most Beautiful Names of God (*al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*), the Names of the Prophet (*Asmā' al-Nabī*), prayers (*'ād'iya*), and verses (*āyāt*) and chapters (*suwar*) of the Qur'an, especially the sixth chapter entitled *Sūrat al-An'ām* (the Cattle).¹¹¹ In library catalogues, inheritance records, and other archival documents, it is often hard or even impossible to differentiate whether a book listed as “En'ām-ı Şerīf” or “En'ām” is only the *sūra* or the more inclusive prayer book.

The religious imagery in the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* often displayed an array of images and/or graphic compositions including amulet seals such as the seal of prophecy (*mühr-i nübüvvet*), the seal of Solomon (*mühr-i Süleymān*), the great seal of God (*mühr-i kebīr*), and the spring/eye of 'Ali (*'ayn-i 'Alī*) or the eye upon God (*'ayn 'alā Allāh*); calligraphic renditions of the names of God (*İsm-i Celāl* or *Lafza-i Celāl*), the Prophet (*İsm-ī Nebī* or *Lafza-i Nebī*), and the Rightly Guided Caliphs; prophetic vestiges such as the Prophet's physical description (*ḥilye-i şerīf*) and belongings (*muḥallemāt*); and eschatological imagery such as the banner of praise (*livā'ü'l-ḥamd*) and the paradisiacal tree (*şecere-i tūbā*); as well as representations of the Islamic holy sites.

Several miscellanies with the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, and commentaries of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* also include representations of the Islamic holy sites. Illustrated prayer compendia most commonly consist of al-Jazuli's *Ḥizb al-Falāḥ* (Litany of Good Fortune), the Hanafi scholar and calligrapher 'Ali al-Qari's (d. 1014/1605) *Ḥizb al-A'zam* (The Greatest Litany); the Moroccan scholar and founder of the Shadhili order Abu Hasan al-Shadhili's (d. 656/1258) *Ḥizb al-Baḥr*

¹¹¹ For the Names of the Prophet in prayer books, see Hüseyin Gündüz and Faruk Taşkale, *Esmāü'n-Nebī: Hz. Muhammed'in İsimleri* (İstanbul: Artam Antik A.Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 2018).

(Litany of the Sea), *Ḥizb al-Barr* (Litany of the Land), *Ḥizb al-Kabīr* (The Greater Litany), and *Ḥizb al-Naṣr* (Litany of Victory); the Shafīʿī scholar and jurist Imam al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *awrād* (*Ḥizb al-Nawawī*); and/or the Sufi poet of the Shadhili order Saʿid al-Busiri's (d. 694–96/1294–97) *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* (Mantle Ode).¹¹² Among the most commonly illustrated commentaries are Karadavudzade's (d. 1170/1756) Turkish commentary *Tevfīku Muvaffīki'l-Ḥayrāt* (Guidance of Success of Good Deeds) and Mahdi al-Fasi's (d. 1109/1698) Arabic commentary *Maṭāliʿ al-Masarrāt* (Horizons of Delights).¹¹³

¹¹² The book was originally entitled *al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī madḥ khayr al-bariyya* (Pearly Stars in Praise of the Best of All Creation). For Busiri's *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* and other mantle odes, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, *The Mantle Odes: Arabic Praise Poems to the Prophet Muhammad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

¹¹³ Guy Burak, "Prayers, Commentaries and the Edification of the Ottoman Supplicant (1500–1750)," in *Rethinking 'Sunnitization' in the Ottoman Empire, 1450s–1750s*, eds. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); and Hatice Kelpetin Arpağuş, "Kara Dāvud," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 359.

CHAPTER 1

TEXT AND IMAGE

In this chapter, I focus on text and image contents of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century representations of the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. In late Ottoman visual culture, there existed unlimited text and image formulae for representations of the Islamic holy sites. In this chapter, I examine the most common textual and pictorial contents with a special focus on prayer books, as they constitute the majority of my source materials. My aim is to answer the following questions: Which holy sites were frequently visualized? Which texts accompanied visual representations? And finally, what other religious imagery accompanied representations of the Islamic holy sites?

This chapter is structured around late Ottoman visual preferences in depicting the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites, with a focus on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*. In these prayer books, the House of God (Mecca), the Tomb of the Prophet (Medina), the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina), and the Holy Triad (Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem) appeared in different combinations, or with additional religious imagery. There exists a rich array of religious imagery in late Ottoman visual culture including different seal designs and magic squares. However,

I focus only on prophetic vestiges and eschatological imagery in two sections of this chapter, as they have a more intimate relationship with representations of the holy sites.

The majority of late Ottoman prayer books included representations of the Haramayn such as paired images of the Ka‘ba and the Burial Chamber, the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, and Mecca and Medina. For instance, a late Ottoman circular prayer book preserved in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MSS 312), consists of a collection of texts and images including the representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, the calligraphic renditions of “Allah” and “Muhammad,” Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, the Throne Verse, the Most Beautiful Names of God, and the *ḥilye* (Figure 2).¹¹⁴ Another copy of this compact item is preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1121) with its elaborate box-like structure that has three openings and varying sizes of folios.¹¹⁵ These small circular prayer books were produced as luxurious and portable items in cut-out (*kāṭ‘i*) and embossed technique in paper and leather. In terms of size and form, they resemble banner (*sāncaḳ*) Qur’an copies and other small *maṣāḥif*, which could be used as amulets.¹¹⁶ As will be discussed in Chapter 4, diminutive objects with images of the holy sites,

¹¹⁴ J. Michael Rogers, *The Arts of Islam: Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007), 193, cat. 210.

¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, the book did not survive in its original form. *Aşk-ı Nebi: Doğumunun 1443. Yılında Hz. Peygamber* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı; Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2014), 106–107, 214, cat. 3.

¹¹⁶ Heather Coffey, “Between Amulet and Devotion: Islamic Miniature Books in the Lilly Library,” in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 79–115. See also Frederike-Wiebke Daub, “Sancaḳ Qurānı – A ‘Banner Quran’, Cod. in. scrin. 199,” *Manuscript Cultures* 9 (2016): 168–71; and Uluç, ed. *Yıldız Sarayı’ndan İstanbul Üniversitesi’ne*, 46–51.

such as the Topkapı and Khalili prayers books, provided portability and proximity for their users and could be carried or placed against the body as talismans.

Another common visual combination was the Minbar and the Burial Chamber, which usually appeared in *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies (Figures 32, 34, and 35). Less frequently, representations of the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif or Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem formed a holy triad in both the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerîf*. For instance, in an *En'ām-ı Şerîf*, held in the Chester Beatty Library (T 464), the representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Haram al-Sharif, and those of the Tomb of the Prophet and the Masjid al-Nabawi were paired on opposite pages and inscribed with labels and Qur'anic excerpts (Figures 3 and 4). The Chester Beatty manuscript belongs to a corpus of three manuscripts copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi (Teberdâr-i Serây-i 'Atîk) and completed between 1212–15/1797–1801.¹¹⁷ The second manuscript from the same corpus is also in the Chester Beatty Library (T 463), whereas the third one is in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 20665).¹¹⁸ In this corpus, each *En'ām-ı Şerîf* copy depicts the holy triad among other religious imagery.¹¹⁹ Among these are the seals of

¹¹⁷ For a short entry on Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, see İbntülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Hattatlar* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 337–39.

¹¹⁸ For the manuscripts, see Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library*, 100–2, cat. 463–64; Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture*, 157–63; and Renda, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar,” cat. 10.

¹¹⁹ I have come across other copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by the same calligrapher that have only representations of Mecca and Medina. Mehmed Emin Rüşdi copied a miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *Hizb al-Bahr* in 1232/1816–17, which is now preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1070). In the colophon of this manuscript, Mehmed Emin Rüşdi notes his master as (Laz) Ömer Vasfî, who was the instructor of calligraphy (*mu'allim-i meşk*) at the Enderûn-i Hümâyûn of the Serây-i Cedîd-i Şultânî. For this manuscript, see Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), 134, cat. 392. Mehmed Emin Rüşdi also copied a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in 1232/1816–17, which is held in the Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection of Kubbealtı Academy (no. IX/2). He copied another one in 1244/1828–29, which is preserved in the İstanbul University Library (A 4200). There is also a prayer miscellany including the *Hizb al-A'zam* and the *Hizb al-Bahr* in the Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection of Kubbealtı Academy (no. IX/3), which was copied by the same calligrapher in 1233/1817–18.

the name of God (*mühr-i ism-i Celāl*) and the Prophet (*mühr-i ism-i Muḥammed*), the spring/eye of ‘Ali, the seal of Ja‘far al-Sadiq (*mühr-i Ca‘fer eṣ-Şādīk*), the paradisiacal tree (*şecere-i tūbā*), the date palm of the Prophet (*şecere-i ḥurmā*), and the rose of the Prophet (*gül-i Muḥammedī*).

In addition to previously-mentioned combinations of religious architectural imagery, there is a rare collection of images in an eighteenth-century *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 17069).¹²⁰ In this lavishly-illustrated manuscript, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus (the holy quartet) are depicted along with other religious imagery some of which are loaded with cosmological and eschatological references (Figures 5–18). For instance, heaven and hell are represented with a greater focus on the former including the lote tree of the limit (*sidretü’l-müntehā*), the frequented house (*beytü’l-ma‘mūr*), the stations (sing. *maḳām*) of the Ten Promised of Paradise (*‘Aşere-i Mübeşşere*), and the minbars, pedestals (sing. *kürsī*), and basins (sing. *ḥavz*) of the prophets (Figures 5–14). Some of these themes also appeared in texts and images of the Prophet’s heavenly ascension (*mir‘āj*).¹²¹ The religious imagery in the AEM manuscript is enhanced with captions, labels, and marginal notes including Qur’anic excerpts and explicative texts (sing. *şerḥ*) about descriptions, virtues, and uses of images.

Mehmed Emin Rüşdi must have been active in calligraphy for at least thirty years based on the colophons of the prayer books he copied.

¹²⁰ The religious imagery from fol. 92b onwards might be a later addition to the manuscript, as there appears to be a change towards another copyist’s hand. There are some additional inscriptions providing the year 1164/1750–51 on fol. 91a–92a and some other providing the year 1203/1789 on fol. 122b. In this case, it is safer to consider the year 1789 as a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript’s production.

¹²¹ For two *mir‘āj* texts and images, see Christiane Gruber, *The Ilkhanid Book of Ascension: A Persian-Sunni Devotional Tale* (London: I.B. Tauris; British Institute for Persian Studies, 2010); and Gruber, *The Timurid Book of Ascension (Mi‘rajnama): A Study of Text and Image in a Pan-Asian Context* (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones; Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2008).

Several images of the Islamic holy sites bear inscriptions including captions, labels, and other texts such as Qur'anic verses, poems, invocations, blessings for the Prophet, *al-kalimat al-ṭayyiba* (*Lā ilāha illāllāh Muḥammadur rasūlullāh*), and the *basmala* (*Bismillāhirraḥmanirraḥīm*). Such texts can be an integral part of a composition or stand in isolation with no attachment. For instance, captions in prayer books are sometimes placed inside illuminated or plain cartouches; at other times, wherever space is available. Captions of religious imagery often identify, elaborate, and aid visual depictions in their immediate surrounding. As Bernard O'Kane demonstrates based on literary manuscripts, a caption can also describe what a viewer is expected to see and thus provide a very intimate link to an image.¹²² For instance, on the left-hand page in Figure 9, the caption defines the handprint of 'Ali (*pençe-i Hazret-i 'Alī*) across the double-bladed sword of 'Ali (*zūlfikār-i 'Alī*). Without the caption, the viewer might assume that this image rather belongs to the Prophet's handprint, as it is preceded by the representations of his sandal and footprint (Figure 8). In such cases, captions specify aspects of paintings that require clarification and imagination.

Inscriptions denominate pictorial contents of religious imagery via a number of terms including *naḳış* (Figure 90), *resim* (Figures 8, 9, and 46), *şūret* (Figure 149), *taşvīr* (Figure 48), *temsīl* (Figures 41 and 114), and *şekil* (Figure 190). These terms encompass a variety of meanings such as copy, depiction, design, drawing, figure, form, image, likeness, painting, picture, representation, and shape. As İrvin Cemil Schick notes based on captions of calligraphic renditions of "Allah" and

¹²² Bernard O'Kane, "The Uses of Captions in Medieval Literary Arabic Manuscripts," in *Arab Painting: Text and Image in Illustrated Arabic Manuscripts*, ed. Anna Contadini (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 144.

Muhammad” in prayer books, these texts can be perceived as images/icons rather than the proper names.¹²³ For instance, the caption on the right-hand page of Figure 190, addresses the text as if it is an image. The red caption in the golden cartouche reads as “this is the form of the noble spring/eye” (*hāzā şekl-i ‘ayn-i şerīf*), describing what is depicted below. Similar verbal descriptions of religious imagery such as those of the spring/eye of ‘Ali and the calligraphic renditions of “Allah” and Muhammad” demonstrate that these depictions were not perceived as mere texts to be recited or images to be gazed upon.

Besides captions, labels also prominently accompany images of the holy sites. They often communicate names of geographical entities, places, structures, and architectural and eschatological elements. Labels operate similar to toponyms in maps; however, they are distinct in that they not only mark geographical formations and places, but also denote names of specific architectural and eschatological features such as a mosque gate and the scales of justice. Such text-and-image relationship serves didactic purposes while providing well-rounded depictions that can aid a reader/viewer. Future pilgrims and other users must have benefitted from the tandem use of labels and visuals to identify features of pilgrimage and visitation sites. Labels were especially common in pilgrimage manuals and scrolls, and ceramic panels, but could also be seen in other contexts such as prayer books. In Figure 169, for instance, both labels and site-specific prayers were inscribed on the image of Mecca, enabling one to physically map the rites of pilgrimage.

¹²³ Irvin Cemil Schick, “The Iconicity of Islamic Calligraphy in Turkey,” *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 53/54 (2008): 212.

The Center of the World

The Ka‘ba, the Masjid al-Haram, and Mecca were depicted in several Islamic maps, qibla charts, and qibla compasses (*ḵiblenümā*). As I discuss in Chapter 4, when placed in mosques, the architectural placement of Ka‘ba images adhered to a spatial order that required their positioning in the qibla direction (Figures 117, 118, 144, 192, 193, and 194). Such pictorial enhancement and juxtaposition of the qibla direction with Ka‘ba and Mecca images were also possible via illustrated qibla compasses and prayer rugs. A textual enhancement, however, was achieved by the qibla verse inscribed on Ka‘ba coverings:¹²⁴

Many a time We have seen you [Prophet] turn your face towards Heaven, so
We are turning you towards a prayer direction [qibla] that pleases you. Turn
your face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque [Masjid al-Haram]: wherever
you [believers] may be, turn your faces to it. Those who were given the
Scripture know with certainty that this is the Truth from their Lord: God is
not unaware of what they do. (2:144)

With this verse from the Medinan Sūrat al-Baqara (2:144), the direction of ritual prayer changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, along with other qibla-prescribed traditions such as the burying of the dead. Finding the qibla for a given place posed challenges; therefore, several treatises on astronomy, cosmography, and geography dealt with this complex mathematical problem based on qibla charts.¹²⁵ Furthermore, qibla compasses and other instruments (e.g., astrolabes) provided solutions for the task of finding the ritual direction. For instance, a *ḵiblenümā* from the Nasser D.

¹²⁴ Hülya Tezcan, “Ka‘ba Covers from the Topkapı Palace Collection and Their Inscriptions,” in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Quran and Its Creative Expressions, Selected Proceedings from the International Colloquium, London, 18–21 October 2003*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 227–38.

¹²⁵ David A. King and Richard P. Lorch, “Qibla Charts, Qibla Maps, and Related Instruments,” in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, book 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 189–205.

Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (SCI 457)¹²⁶ and another in the Benaki Museum (GE 14715)¹²⁷ were designed to find the ritual direction based on a map (the former) and on sectors that corresponded to major cities of the Islamic world (the latter). These qibla compasses were reinforced by the images of the holy triad and the House of God (Figures 19 and 20). The holy triad in the Khalili compass, painted by Fahri in Constantinople, is an unusual choice for a *kıblenümā*. Depictions of the House of God, as in the Benaki compass, however, are more commonly encountered. Below the Mecca image in the Benaki compass is a depiction of a niche with a lamp labelled as *mihṛāb-ı āfākī* which might be interpreted as Meccan, objective, or imaginary mihrab.¹²⁸

Mecca was shown as the center of the world in several Islamic maps. As Christian Jacob points out, “[t]he center was the most valued space on the map,” and it was reserved for focal sites or cities that had the most symbolic power.¹²⁹ For instance, the Greek oracular sanctuary Delphi was considered to be the center of the world, the Capitoline Hill was placed prominently in representations of Rome, and Jerusalem occupied the center in most medieval world maps (*mappae mundi*) including those of

¹²⁶ Omar Saghi and Fahad Abdulkareem, eds., *Hajj: le pèlerinage à La Mecque* (Paris: Institut du monde arabe, 2014), 53. See also “Qiblah Compass,” The Khalili Collections, accessed August 16, 2017, <http://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage/khalili-collection-hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage-qiblah-compass-sci457/>.

¹²⁷ Porter, ed. *Hajj*, 152, fig. 105. See also “Wooden Compass,” Benaki Museum, accessed August 16, 2017, https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&view=collectionitem&id=117442&Itemid=540&lang=en.

¹²⁸ I subsequently elaborate on mihrab and lamp motifs in this chapter.

¹²⁹ Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography throughout History*, ed. Edward H. Dahl, trans. Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 133.

Hereford and Ebstorf.¹³⁰ Similar to Jacob, John Pinto relates such centrality to hierarchy of microcosm and macrocosm, saying that “[c]ity and world, urbs et orbis: both reflect the same cosmic order.”¹³¹ The Ka‘ba and Mecca were no exceptions in such a hierarchical view of the cosmos. In a number of circular maps, a Ka‘ba image or a Mecca toponym appeared in the visual, if not in the geometric center.

Nevertheless, Arnoud Vrolijk questions the common recognition about the centrality of Mecca in Islamic maps and notes that he has not come across any traditional maps which have Mecca as the visual or geometric center.¹³² He asserts that the world map in a copy of the anonymous *Tārīḥ-i Hind-i Ġarbī* at Leiden University Library (Or. 12.365) is an exception, as it has an image of the Ka‘ba in its visual center (Figure 21).¹³³ In her lavishly-illustrated book, Karen Pinto focuses on a variety of medieval Islamic maps frequently comparing them to the maps in al-Istakhri’s (d. 346/957) *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* (Book of Routes and Realms) as a model.¹³⁴ Maps that were based on this model were oriented to the south with the Arabian Peninsula surrounded by a hook-like body of water springing from the Indian Ocean. A Ka‘ba

¹³⁰ For the Hereford and Ebstorf maps, see David Woodward, “Medieval Mappaemundi,” in *History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 286–370.

¹³¹ John A. Pinto, “Origins and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan,” *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976): 36; and Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 133.

¹³² This is a miscellany of three works. Vrolijk, “Appearances Belie,” 214–21. See also Jan Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 115–121.

¹³³ Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Americana* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990). For the facsimile of the *Tārīḥ-i Hind-i Ġarbī* (A History of the Discovery of America) copy preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (R 1488), see *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbī veya Hadīs-i Nev* (A History of the Discovery of America) (Istanbul: Historical Research Foundation, 1987).

¹³⁴ The author calls these maps “KMMS” models that stand for the initials of the title *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and the word *ṣūra* (picture). Karen C. Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 3.

image and/or a Mecca toponym could be found within this curving piece of land, as in the world map added to the *Tomār-ı Hümāyūn* (Imperial Scroll) of Ottoman genealogy.¹³⁵

In a number of copies of Ibn al-Wardi's (d. 864/1457) *Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa-farīdat al-gharā'ib* (Pearl of Wonders and Uniqueness of Strange Things), a world map and a qibla chart appear with images of the Ka'ba. Vrolijk shows that the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* was frequently referenced in the *Tārīḥ-i Hind-i Ġarbī* (History of the West Indies) and considers the world map in *Tārīḥ-i Hind-i Ġarbī* as a synthesis of “traditional secular cartography and qibla charts” in the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib*.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, he does not consider the Ka'ba in the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* maps as the focal point just because the representation of the Ka'ba is slightly off-center. This is a very strict way of approaching the Ka'ba as the “center,” even though Vrolijk is practically correct.

In a Turkish translation of the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* at the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford (MS Turk. D.5), the image of the Ka'ba is slightly south-west of the map's center, which does not diminish the impression of its centrality (Figure 22).¹³⁷ The image of the Ka'ba is marked by the toponym “Mecca the Honored” (*Mekke-i Müşerrefe*) inside the circular form of the Arabian Peninsula. Another representation from the same manuscript also emphasizes the centrality of the Ka'ba, but this time in the context of the qibla (Figure 23). This qibla chart depicts the

¹³⁵ Ibid., 35–37.

¹³⁶ Vrolijk refers to the copies of the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* held in the Leiden University Library (Or. 158) and the Library of Congress (G93). Vrolijk, “Appearances Belie,” 219.

¹³⁷ Günay Kut, *Supplementary Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 215–16, cat. 301.

Ka‘ba in the middle of the Masjid al-Haram. The elevation of the Ka‘ba is placed as if it is the plan, and its corners are inscribed in red as the “Iraqi corner” (*rüknü’l-Irākī*) in the north, the “Syrian corner” (*rüknü’s-Şāmī*) in the west, the “Yemeni corner” (*rüknü’l-Yemenī*) in the south, and the “Black Stone corner” (*rüknü’l-ḥacerü’l-esved*) in the east.

In such charts or *kıblenümā*, sometimes only a black square is sufficient to mark the Ka‘ba without actually inscribing its name or showing its architectural details. However, in some instances, the area of circumambulation (*mataf*), the semi-circular wall (*ḥaṭīm*), or the arcades accompany the Ka‘ba and further articulate the setting. The centrality of Mecca is an outcome of the qibla that radiates from the Ka‘ba to other parts of the world, wherever Muslims perform the daily prayer. The four corners of the Ka‘ba roughly coincide with the cardinal points of the compass that enable an approximate orientation for worshippers. According to David King, such qibla charts are “late manifestations of a non-mathematical sacred geography” rooted in former Islamic traditions and are “related only in spirit to the Mecca-centered maps.”¹³⁸ In a copy of the *Meṭāli’ü’s-Sa‘ādet* (Book of Felicity) at the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS M 788), the Ka‘ba and the Tomb of the Prophet are depicted on opposite pages (Figure 24).¹³⁹ Under the golden title of “depiction of the world’s qibla, the mighty Ka‘ba” (*şūret-i kıble-i ‘ālem Ka‘be-i Mu‘azzama*), the aim of the qibla chart is explained as the following:

¹³⁸ David A. King, *World-Maps for Finding the Direction and Distance to Mecca: Innovation and Tradition in Islamic Science* (Leiden; London: Brill; Al-Furqan Islamic Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1999), 54.

¹³⁹ See Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 71–84, cat. 22. For the facsimile of the *Meṭāli’ü’s-Sa‘ādet* copy preserved in the National Library of France in Paris (Ms. Suppl. Turc 242), see Miguel Ángel de Bunes et al., *The Book of Felicity* (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2007).

Her memleketiñ kıblesine semte idüği bu dā'ireden ma'lūm olur. Maşriğ ve mağrib ve cenūb ve şimāl ma'lūm olıcağ zīrā Hāğ Teālā Ka'be-i Mu'azzamayı 'ālemiñ ortasında yer itmişdur. Bu dā'irede heb gösterilmişdur. Cenūbda Süheyl yıldızıdır ve şimālde Cüdey yıldızıdır ki Demurkazığ dirler ma'lūm idinmek gerekdir.

The direction of every region's qibla is known from this circular chart. East and west, and south and north are known because the Exalted God placed the mighty Ka'ba in the center of the world. It is all shown in this circular chart. One needs to know Canopus is in the south, and Polaris, which is also known as Demurkazıg, is in the north.

Here, the Ka'ba is explicitly defined as the center of the world, at the intersection of the four cardinal directions.¹⁴⁰ The circle around the image of the Ka'ba is divided into eleven sectors, each of which textually describes a region's direction of the qibla based on the corners (*erkān*) or the golden spout (*altun oluğ*) of the Ka'ba as well as Canopus and Polaris. The centrality of the Ka'ba can also be found in Ottoman pilgrimage literature. For instance, in *Nehcetü'l-Menāzil* (Path of Stations), Mehmed Edib describes the holy city as the following: "Mecca the Blessed is situated in the middle of the Arabian Peninsula and the House of God in the middle of the city. Those who are able are required to reach it [for pilgrimage]" (*Mekke-i Mükerrreme şehri Ceziretü'l-'Arabiñ ortasında vāki'dir ve Beytullāh daği şehriñ ortasındadır. Ve kādır olan kimesneler varmağ ile me'mūrlardır*).¹⁴¹

He emphasizes the Ka'ba's location as the center of the holy city and the Arabian Peninsula. As Samer Akkach points out, the Ka'ba was not only considered to be the center of the earth, but also the midpoint of a cosmic axis in Islamic cosmology.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ For Yorgos Dedes's translation of the same text, see de Bunes et al., *The Book of Felicity*, 332.

¹⁴¹ Mehmed Edib, *Nehcetü'l-Menāzil* ([Cairo]: Maṭba'at Būlāq, 1250/1834–35), 221. A digital copy of this print is available at "Nehcet ül-Menazil," Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed April 8, 2018, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/Vta2/bsb10251926/bsb:BV004726342?page=13>.

¹⁴² Samer Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 181–85.

This cosmic axis connected infraterrestrial (*jahannam*), terrestrial (*ard*), celestial (*samāʿ*), and supracelestial (*janna*) terrains. From the navel of the earth (the Kaʿba) to the Throne of God (*ʿarsh*), the cosmic axis passed through Polaris and the frequented house (*al-bayt al-maʿmūr*) in the celestial and supracelestial terrains.¹⁴³ This axis can also be traced in the cosmic diagrams of İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi’s (d. 1194/1780) encyclopedic work *Maʿrifetnāme* (Book of Gnosis).¹⁴⁴ In illustrated versions of this text, heaven and hell occupy upper and lower registers of both right- and left-hand pages, whereas the space in between defines more specific locations (Figure 49).¹⁴⁵ The Kaʿba is shown in the center right as the heart of the cosmos, while Jerusalem is depicted in the center left as the land of gathering (*ard al-maḥshar*) after the resurrection.¹⁴⁶

The House of God

Representations of the Kaʿba, the Masjid al-Haram, and Mecca dominate the Ottoman religious imagery in various media and settings. From compasses to posters,

¹⁴³ Ibid., 184.

¹⁴⁴ For other cosmic diagrams, see Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Cosmographical Diagrams,” in *History of Cartography*, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, book 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 71–89.

¹⁴⁵ Here, I have used a double-page painting of the eschaton from a *Maʿrifetnāme* copy (Isl. Ms. 397) held in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library). This manuscript was copied by Seyyid Ubeydullah b. Seyyid Feyzullah on 27 Ramazan 1237 / 17 June 1822. For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Eryn Kropf and Nick Krabbenhoef’s entry at “Marifetname,” *Mirlyn Catalog*, accessed August 16, 2017, <https://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/006822255/Description#tabs>. See also Christiane Gruber and Ashley Dimmig, *Pearls of Wisdom: The Arts of Islam at the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 2014), 94–95, cat.73.

¹⁴⁶ Christiane Gruber, “Signs of the Hour: Eschatological Imagery in the Islamic Book Arts,” *Ars Orientalis* 44 (2014): 54–55. See also Nerina Rustomji, *The Garden and the Fire: Heaven and Hell in Islamic Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 138–40.

the House of God (*Beytullāh*) appears as an isolated cube or the focus of the holy mosque and the city. There are a number of texts that are associated with images of the House of God. For instance, the Mecca painting in the AEM prayer book lists two of these texts in the margins (Figure 16). First, two verses from Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān (3:96–97) and then a Persian poem is quoted in black *naskh* script with titles in red (*āyāt-i ‘azām* and *ḥakḳında nazım*). The same Qur’anic verses, as well as those before and after, were often inscribed when an association with the pilgrimage, the Ka‘ba, or Mecca was present. Based on material evidence such as pilgrimage scrolls and building inscriptions, and textual sources such as al-Azraqi’s *Akhbār Makka* and Ibn Jubayr’s *Rihla*, Sheila Blair notes that these verses were inscribed on the coverings (sing. *kiswa*) and keys (sing. *miftāḥ*) of the Ka‘ba, above the gates of the Masjid al-Haram, and at other Islamic visitation sites.¹⁴⁷

In addition to pilgrimage scrolls,¹⁴⁸ these verses (in changing lengths) were also quoted with representations of the Ka‘ba in several *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* copies (Figures 25 and 26), those of the Masjid al-Haram in the corpus of *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* copies (Figures 3 and 92) and on ceramic panels, and those of Mecca on a reverse glass painting (Figure 27):¹⁴⁹

The first House [of worship] to be established for people was the one at Mecca. It is a blessed place; a source of guidance for all people; there are clear signs in it; it is the place where Abraham stood to pray; whoever enters it is safe. Pilgrimage to the House is a duty owed to God by people who are

¹⁴⁷ Sheila Blair, “Inscribing the Hajj,” in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, ed. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: The British Museum, 2013), 160–67

¹⁴⁸ In pilgrimage scrolls, either a small section from the verses could be indistinctly inscribed on images of the Ka‘ba covering or the verses could be prominently inscribed above or below images of the Masjid al-Haram. For instance, see Porter, ed. *Hajj*, 60–61, fig. 34.

¹⁴⁹ All examples but the ceramic panels will be mentioned in this chapter. For the ceramic panels, see Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 154–55, pl. 1, pl. 5.

able to undertake it. Those who reject this [should know that] God has no need of anyone. (3:96–97)

These verses point out the Ka‘ba as the “first House” of worship, a place with “clear signs,” and the site of pilgrimage. According to David Roxburgh, prophetic history, and cosmological and eschatological links mark sacred topographies, most especially Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ To illustrate this point, the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) connects Adam, Abraham, and the Prophet Muhammad chronologically and commemoratively, and thus touching and kissing it during hajj or seeing its representations might recall pilgrims’ memories and experiences. Other components of the holy mosque and city such as the station of Abraham (*maqām Ibrāhīm*), the well of Zamzam, Safa and Marwa, Jabal Nur, Jabal Thawr, Jabal Qubays, and Jabal ‘Arafat, also stand out visually, due to their association with “clear signs.”¹⁵¹

In Figures 25 and 26, the verses from Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān surround the images of the Ka‘ba on four sides, whereas other inscriptions about protection of God are inscribed on the lower registers. To illustrate, in the *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* copy in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Cod. Turc 553), the protection verse “God is the best guardian [*ḥāfiẓ*] and the Most Merciful of the merciful” from Sūrat Yūsuf (12: 64) was inscribed below the Ka‘ba in large letters (Figure 25).¹⁵² The same verse was also

¹⁵⁰ Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,” 33–37

¹⁵¹ For the pilgrimage ritual, see Katz, “The Hajj and the Study of Islamic Ritual,” 95–126; and Roff, “Pilgrimage and the History of Religions,” 78–86.

¹⁵² This manuscript will be mentioned in Chapter 4 as well. For more information, see Küçükbay, “Das sogenannte Dalā‘il ül-Ḥayrāt,” and “Gebetbuch der Haremsdame Düzdilidil,” Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, accessed December 27, 2017, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/metaopac/search?View=default&db=100&id=BV035541106>. See also Christiane Gruber, ““Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected”: Seal Designs in Late Ottoman Amulet Scrolls and Prayer Books,” in *Visions of Enchantment: Occultism, Spirituality, and Visual Culture*, ed. Daniel Zamani (London: Fulgur, forthcoming), 22–35; and Ahmad Khomehyar, “Osmanlı Dönemi Resimli Dua Kitaplarında Kutsal Emanetlerin Tasvirleri,” in *Tasvir: Teori ve Pratik Arasında İslam Görsel Kültürü*, eds. Nicole Kaňal-Ferrari and Ayşe Taşkent (İstanbul: Klasik, 2016), 395, cat. 13.

repeated in an album of al-Busiri's *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, calligraphic panels, talismanic shirts, and magic/medicinal bowls for devotees seeking out the protection of God.¹⁵³ Similarly, the following Turkish text was quoted with an image of the Ka'ba in an *En 'ām-ı Şerīf* copy (Pertevniyal 43) in the Süleymaniye Library (Figure 26):¹⁵⁴

K̄ul k̄uluñ tenbīh verse [?] cürmünü ol dileye
 Az olur kim 'özrü anuñ maqbūl olmaya
 Sen ki Ğaffārü'z-zünüb Erhamü'r-rāḥimīnsin
 Hāṣā beytine yüz süren mağfūr olmaya

If a servant of God warns [?] another, he/she shall ask forgiveness for his/her sins

If there is an insignificant amount, his/her apology shall be accepted
 You are the most forgiving, gracious, and merciful
 He/she who rubs his/her face on Your House shall be pardoned

The poem suggests that, if one pays homage or rubs her/her face (*yüz sürmek*) on the Ka'ba (*Beytullāh*), then her/his sins will be forgiven. These lines might be an imitation (*naẓīre*) for Vankulu Mehmed Efendi's poem or vice versa, which is about touching of the face to the Tomb of the Prophet.¹⁵⁵ The coupling of the images of the House of God with the protection verse and poem shows that, not only the Ka'ba proper but also its representations granted divine protection via touch. As Christiane Gruber shows, rubbing an amulet seal on the face was a way to activate its protective and/or curative powers.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, at least in these two manuscripts, the inclusion of the

¹⁵³ The album is held in the Sadberk Hanım Museum (no. 11891-Y.31). It opens with a folio including this line and continues with al-Busiri's *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*. For a magic bowl inscribed with the verse, see Haluk Perk and İsmail Günay Aksoy, *Duanın Sudaki Gizemi Şifa Tasları: Haluk Perk Koleksiyonu* (İstanbul: Haluk Perk Müzesi Yayınları, 2011), 107, cat. 072. See also Rose E. Muravchick, "God is the Best Guardian: Islamic Talismanic Shirts from the Gunpowder Empires" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2014), 107–8.

¹⁵⁴ This manuscript was copied by Dürbinizade Mustafa Nazif and illuminated by Hafız Mehmed Nuri in 1208/1793–94. Bain, "The Late Ottoman En 'ām-ı Şerif," 257–66, cat. 18; and Khamehyar, "Osmanlı Dönemi Resimli Dua Kitaplarında Kutsal Emanetlerin Tasvirleri," 392, cat. 6.

¹⁵⁵ See section "The Tomb of the Prophet" in this chapter (Figures 2 and 17).

¹⁵⁶ Gruber, "Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected," 27–29.

Ka‘ba images in the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* was driven by the urge to provide protection for their users (Figures 25 and 26).

Verses from Sūrat al-Baqara were also inscribed with the *kiswa* and representations of the House of God. For instance, in a reverse glass painting dated to 1315/1897–98, a verse from Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān (3:96) is cited above the Masjid al-Haram and on the embroidered belt of *kiswa* (*hizām*), whereas three verses from Sūrat al-Baqara (2: 125–127) surround the mosque on the remaining sides (Figure 27).¹⁵⁷ Here, fully or partially, Verse 125 is inscribed at the bottom, Verse 126 on the left, and Verse 127 on the right:

We made the House a resort and a sanctuary for people, saying, ‘Take the spot where Abraham stood as your place of prayer.’ We commanded Abraham and Ishmael: ‘Purify My House for those who walk around it, those who stay there, and those who bow and prostrate themselves in worship.’ Abraham said, ‘My Lord, make this land secure and provide with produce those of its people who believe in God and the Last Day.’ God said, ‘As for those who disbelieve, I will grant them enjoyment for a short while and then subject them to the torment of the Fire– and evil destination.’

As Abraham and Ishmael built up the foundations of the House [they prayed], ‘Our Lord, accept [this] from us. You are the All Hearing, the All Knowing.’” (2: 125–127)

In the reverse glass painting, the selection of verses from Sūrat al-Baqara and Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān unmistakably draws attention to the Abrahamic associations of the sacred sanctuary. In the Mecca representation of an *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* held in the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (no. 101-0183), the textual focus shifts to other verses from Sūrat al-Baqara (Figure 92).¹⁵⁸ To illustrate, a small section from Verse 198, “When you surge down from Arafat remember God at the sacred place,” is inscribed in black below the

¹⁵⁷ This painting has been published in the exhibition catalogue *Camaltında Devr-i Ālem* (İstanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2005), 227.

¹⁵⁸ Tanındı and Aldemir Kilercik, *Sakıp Sabancı Museum Collection of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*, 24, 164–67, cat. 65.

image of the Jabal ‘Arafat. Furthermore, a longer section from Verse 158, “Safa and Marwa are among the rites of God, so far those who make major or minor pilgrimage to the House it is no offence to circulate between the two,” is inscribed in white below the image of the Masjid al-Haram, where Safa and Marwa are expected to be depicted. In his *Seyāhatnāme*, Evliya Çelebi notes that the same verse from Sūrat al-Baqara (2: 158) and another verse from Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān (3:133) were inscribed above the five gates of the *bāb al-Şafā*, which lead to three arches of Safa (Figure 128).¹⁵⁹

The other text accompanying the Mecca painting in the AEM prayer book (Figure 16) is a Persian stanza, which also appears with the Masjid al-Haram image in the Khalili prayer book (Figure 2).¹⁶⁰ This popular poem is inscribed with other representations of the holy sites in different media including a ceramic tile, a seal impression of the Masjid al-Haram in a copy of the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* (Figure 175), three bronze plates used for printing (Figure 182), and a *levha* printed by a similar plate (Figure 184).¹⁶¹ Furthermore, the poem is quoted at the end of Seyyid İbrahim Hanif’s pilgrimage manual *Hāşıl-ı Hacc-ı Şerīf li-l-Menāzili’l-Harameyn* (Outcomes

¹⁵⁹ Evliya Çelebi starts his description of the gates from the *bāb al-salām* on the northeast facade and lists them in the counterclockwise direction until he reaches the same gate. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz, 1671–1672*, vol. 9 (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), 731–32.

¹⁶⁰ The poem is attributed either to Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rumī or Nūr ad-Dīn ‘Abd ar-Raḥman Jāmī; however, I have not been able to confirm this information.

¹⁶¹ All examples but the ceramic tile will be mentioned in Chapter 4. This tile is in the David Collection in Copenhagen (no. 51/1979). For more information, see Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 150–51.

of the Hajj to the Stations of the Two Sanctuaries).¹⁶² Despite some minor variations in multiple works, the stanza reads and translates as:

Dil bedest-āver ki ḥacc-ı ekberest
Ez hezārān Ka‘be yek dil biherest
Ka‘be bünyād-ı Ḥalīl-i Āzerest
Dil nazargāh-ı Celīl-i Ekberest¹⁶³

Bring your heart in your hand; it is more important than a pilgrimage
A single heart is better than a thousand Ka‘bas
The Ka‘ba was built by Khalil [Abraham] son of Azar
The heart, in contrast, is scrutinized by the Majestic, the Greatest [God]¹⁶⁴

These verses emphasize the importance of winning the hearts of people over performing pilgrimage to Mecca and the acknowledgment of a person’s heart as the House of God. They reflect the Sufi understanding of spiritual pilgrimage taking place in one’s heart, which can be more rewarding than the physical performance of hajj.¹⁶⁵ In Sufi poetry, the distinction between the Ka‘ba of the heart (*del*) and the Ka‘ba of clay (*gel*) is frequently noted by praising the former over the latter.¹⁶⁶ Even though the physical structure of the Ka‘ba is depicted in all visual representations where the stanza is cited, it is still the pilgrimage in the heart that is implied to bring

¹⁶² See also a copy of this book is preserved in the Süleymaniye Library (Lala İsmail 220). See fol. 69b for the stanza. See also Coşkun, “Ottoman Pilgrimage Narratives and Nabi’s Tuhfetü’l-Harameyn,” 74.

¹⁶³ Here, I have transliterated the text in the seal impression (Figure 175). See also Necdet Tosun, “Hajj from the Sufi Point of View,” in *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, eds. Alexandre Papas, Thomas Welsford, and Thierry Zarcone (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012), 139.

¹⁶⁴ Here, I have used the translation from the following link that displays a ceramic tile inscribed with the poem: “Mecca and the Kaaba,” The David Collection, accessed August 16, 2017, <https://www.davidmus.dk/en/collections/islamic/cultural-history-themes/mecca/art/51-1979>. See also Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 150–51.

¹⁶⁵ Tosun, “Hajj from the Sufi Point of View,” 137–40.

¹⁶⁶ Omid Safi, “What If We Prayed Inside the Ka‘ba of the Heart?” On Being, accessed August 16, 2017, <https://onbeing.org/blog/what-if-we-prayed-inside-the-kaba-of-the-heart/>.

one closer to God. Therefore, such a text-and-image association was perhaps meant to mediate spiritual pilgrimage along its other functions.

Another popular poem inscribed with representations of the Ka'ba reads as follows, despite some small variants in different sources:¹⁶⁷ “Whoever gets to visit the Ka'ba, God shows him mercy / Everyone summons his beloved to his House” (*Her kime Ka'be naşib olsa Ĥudā raĥmet ider / Her kişî sevduđını ĥanesine da'vet ider*).¹⁶⁸ Evliya Ćelebi quotes this couplet twice, first at the beginning and then towards the end of his narrative regarding his pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁶⁹ The couplet also appears in two ceramic panels and a pilgrimage manual with representations of the Masĥid al-Haram (Figures 28 and 29). The ceramic panels are now held in the Louvre Museum (OA 3919/558) and the Benaki Museum (GE 124), but they could once be viewed in religious spaces, placed in the qibla direction.¹⁷⁰ The panels are very similar in terms of design, as they both are elaborately framed, composed of six tiles, drawn in orthographic and oblique projections, labelled with inscriptions, and shown with seven minarets topped with tulip-shaped finials (sing. *'alem*). The Benaki panel also

¹⁶⁷ The couplet is attributed to Sŭleyman Nahifi (d. 1151/1738); however, I have not been able to confirm this information. Nahifi is known for his translation of Rumi's *Maşnavĭ*, translation and *tahmĭs* of Busiri's mantle ode, *tahmĭs* of Ka'b's mantle ode, and *nażĭre* of Hakani's *ĥilye*. İrfan Aypay, “Nahifi Sŭleyman Efendi: Hayatı, Eserleri, Edebi Kişiliđi ve Divanının Tenkitli Metni” (PhD diss., Selĥuk University, 1992), 10–25. See also Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Mŭellifleri*, ed. M. A. Yekta Saraĥ, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Tŭrkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2016), 885–86.

¹⁶⁸ Here, I have transliterated the text as it appears on two ceramic panels (Figure 28). See Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 150, pl. 6; and Porter, *The Art of Hajj*, 42–43.

¹⁶⁹ Evliya Ćelebi, *Evliya Ćelebi Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz, 1671–1672*, 687, 761. If the poem is by Nahifi indeed, then he must have composed it in early years of his career for Evliya Ćelebi to have quoted from him.

¹⁷⁰ For the Louvre tile, see Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 150, pl. 6. For the Benaki tile, see Porter, *The Art of Hajj*, 42–43; and “Ceramic Wall Tiles Ornamented with the Holy Mosque of Mecca,” Benaki Museum, accessed December 27, 2017, https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&view=collectionitem&Itemid=540&id=117001&lang=en.

displays *al-kalimat al-ṭayyiba* (*Lā ilāha illāllāh Muḥammadur rasūlullāh*) under the southeast arcades (Figure 28).

The pilgrimage manual citing the poem is preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (A 3547) and was endowed by Mihrişah Sultan (d. 1805), the mother of Selim III (r. 1789–1807).¹⁷¹ The couplet is inscribed above the representation of the Maşjid al-Haram perhaps by the same hand that noted the labels (Figure 29). It emphasizes the spiritual journey of pilgrimage culminating in the House of God, which is open to the beloved. As in the Persian poem, these verses reflect the importance of reaching the Ka‘ba of the heart as much as the Ka‘ba of clay.

Another textual reminder of pilgrimage accompanying Mecca images is the *talbiya*, invocation recited upon entering the state of consecration (*iḥrām*). In a number of prayer books, either the full text of the *talbiya* or only “Here I am” (*Labbayk*) is inscribed with images of Mecca. For instance, in two copies of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* held in the Columbia University Library (Smith 180) and the Berlin State Library (Hs. or. 14299), the full text of the *talbiya* and a prayer blessing for the Prophet Muhammad (*taşliya*) are inscribed above the Haramayn representations and requested to be recited a thousand times.¹⁷² In another copy in the Atatürk Library (Belediye Yazmaları 1558), the *talbiya* and the *taşliya* accompany the Mecca and

¹⁷¹ This manuscript starts with a description (*şerḥ*) and depiction (*resm*) of *Şeceretü’l-’İmān* on fol. 1b–2a and continues with the Turkish prose pilgrimage text on fol. 3b. On fol. 4a, it is mentioned that the text is derived from two Arabic works titled *Ihyā’ al-Ḥajj* and *Qurra al-’Uyün*. For brief descriptions of the TSMK manuscript, see Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” 131–33; and Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” 409. See also Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1, 95, cat. 281.

¹⁷² For the latter manuscript, see “Hs. or. 14299,” Digitalisierte Sammlungen, accessed, April 8, 2018, https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN745182682&PHYSID=PHYS_0006.

Medina paintings on both sides (Figure 30).¹⁷³ Here, on the margins, the captions “Mecca the Blessed” (*Makka al-Mukarrama*) and “Medina the Radiant” (*Madīna al-Munawwara*) are written in black ink, whereas the invocations are in red. The full text of the *talbiya* (above the caption) and an auxiliary that could be added to it (below the caption) read and translate as:¹⁷⁴

Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka labbayka lā sharīka laka labbayka inna al-ḥamda wa-n-ni‘mata laka wa-l-mulka lā sharīka laka labbayka

Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka lā sharīka laka sa‘dayk wa-l-khayr kullihu biyadayka

Here I am! O Allah! Here I am! Here I am! Who has no associate! Here I am! To You are praise, grace, and power! Here I am!

Here I am! O Allah! Here I am! Who has no associate! I follow your command and all goodness is in Your Hands.

The *talbiya* is a pilgrim’s answer to God’s invitation to his house, which is also explicitly mentioned in the Turkish couplet inscribed on the ceramic panels. Upon reaching one of the five stations bordering the sacred precinct of Mecca (sing. *mīqāt*), pilgrims enter the *iḥrām* by means of ritual cleaning, appropriate clothing (also called *iḥrām*), two-*rak‘a* prayer, intention (*niyya*), and *talbiya*.¹⁷⁵ The *talbiya* is invoked loudly by men and only audibly by women after completing the *niyya*. During the hajj, it is frequently recited with the *taḥlīl* (*Lā ilāha illāllāh*) and the

¹⁷³ This copy of the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* was completed by Seyyid Ahmed Fuad in 1286/1869–70. Without any description specific to this manuscript, a color image of its double-page Mecca and Medina painting has been published in *Haremeyn: Hac – Mukaddese Yolculuk*, 155.

¹⁷⁴ See Salim Ögüt, “Telbiye,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 40 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2011), 396–97; and T. Fahd, “Talbiya,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 161.

¹⁷⁵ For pre-Islamic practices of *talbiya*, see Meir Jacob Kister, “Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayka... On a Monotheistic Aspect of a Jāhiliyya Practice,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 33–57.

takbīr (*Allāhu akbar*).¹⁷⁶ Someone looking at the image of Mecca is similarly expected to recite the *talbiya*, as if he/she entered the sacred site and saw the original.

The Rawda

Representations of the Burial Chamber, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and Medina were depicted in a variety of media and settings. They frequently appeared in prayer books, pilgrimage scrolls and manuals, and *ḥilyes*. However, they could also be seen in rare objects such as an eighteenth-century skullcap and an early-twentieth-century Rawda cover.¹⁷⁷ The majority of these single representations come from copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. As Jan Just Witkam notes, representations of the Tomb of the Prophet in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were inspired by the description of the Blessed Garden (*Rawḍat al-Mubārak*) in the book, whereas representations of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber were sourced from a hadith.¹⁷⁸ Representations of the Masjid al-Nabawi and Medina, however, seem to be included in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* because of their territorial sanctity that comprises the Burial Chamber and other religiously significant structures or sites such as the Garden of Fatima in the Masjid al-Nabawi and the Baqī' Cemetery in Medina. In several Medina representations, the Baqī' Cemetery is also shown within the same composition; however, few manuscripts

¹⁷⁶ *Hac Yolcusu Rehberi* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 2017), 15–16.

¹⁷⁷ The skullcap bears an image of the Masjid al-Nabawi embroidered in color. *Islam: Faith & Worship* (Istanbul: Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture; Heritage; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2009), 204–5, cat. 52. In 2016, Rahmi Koç presented the Rawda cover to Marmara University's Faculty of Theology Mosque as a gift in memory of Mustafa Koç. The cover displays the *tuğrā* of Memed Reşad (r. 1909–18) and a perspectival view of the Masjid al-Nabawi.

¹⁷⁸ Witkam, "Images of Makkah and Medina in an Islamic Prayer Book," 29–30; and *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 76.

depict the Masjid al-Nabawi and the cemetery on separate pages. For instance, in a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1018), a double-page painting of the Masjid al-Nabawi (Figure 91) is preceded by a painting of the Baqi' Cemetery and followed by a painting of sites outside Medina including Jabal Uhud and the Masjid al-Qiblatayn.¹⁷⁹ Such visitation sites were frequently depicted on separate folios of pilgrimage manuals; however, they were not common in prayer books.

In the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the description of the Rawda comes after the Names of the Prophet (*Asmā' al-Nabī*) and before the first section (*ḥizb al-awwal*) of prayers. Images of the holy sites are placed within this Rawda text, often between the introductory section and the narratives of 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr and 'A'isha:

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

The Tomb of the prophet: the blessing and peace of God be on him.

The Tomb of Abou Bekr, the truthful.

The Tomb of Omar, the man of knowledge.

This is the record about him of Orwat (Khairat), the son of Zobeir, may God favour him. He said: The prophet of God, the blessing and peace of God be on him, was buried in the sepulchre [*sahwa*]: so was Abou Bekr buried there, may God favour him, the successor of the Apostle of God, the blessing and peace of God be on him: and so was Omar buried there, the son of El Hatib, the favour of God most High be with him, with the men of Abou Bekr; and the remaining part of the sepulchre towards the east is empty; in it's the place of the tomb [*qabr*]: it is said, and God knows best, that Jesus the Son of Mary is buried in it. And thus the tale came down to me from the Apostle of God, the blessing and peace of God be on him: said Ayesha, the favour of God Most High be on her: I saw three moons [*aqmār*] descend in my chamber [*hujra*], and they burst in a shower upon Abou Bekr, and he said: O Ayesha, surely there will be buried in thy house [*bayt*] three that are the best people of the earth, every one of them: and when the prophet of God, the blessing and peace of God be on him, when he was taken to his rest and was buried in my house, Abou Bekr

¹⁷⁹ See Chapter 2, section "Multiviews of the Islamic Pilgrimage and Visitation Sites," for this manuscript.

said to me: This is one of thy moons, and he is the best of them: the blessing and peace of God be on him. Praise to be God, Lord of the worlds, and give a blessing of full measure to the prophet, the blessing and peace of God be on him.¹⁸⁰

It is this verbal description of the Rawda that led to visual representations of the tombs of the Prophet Muhammad, the caliphs Abu Bakr and ‘Umar, and of the more inclusive Burial Chamber, Masjid al-Nabawi, and Medina images in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*. A composite manuscript (including the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*) held in the Columbia University Library (Smith 217) illustrates this point very well.¹⁸¹ In the double-page painting of the Masjid al-Nabawi, three moons are depicted in the Burial Chamber, referring to the dream of ‘A’isha mentioned in the Rawda description (Figure 31). Each moon stands for the Prophet, Abu Bakr, and ‘Umar, who were buried in her house. A sun and a moon are also painted on each side of the dome, perhaps alluding to only prophetic light, or to divine and prophetic light, on which I focus in the following section.

Commentaries of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* provided possible configurations of the three tombs in the Burial Chamber, which in return became an external source for some representations. Such textual and visual exchange is expected, as some commentaries were illustrated and margins of some *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* copies were full of excerpts from commentaries. For instance, in one *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* manuscript, the facing Mecca and Medina paintings are preceded by a full-page drawing showing four different arrangements of the tombs in the Burial Chamber

¹⁸⁰ al-Jazūlī, *Guide to Happiness: A Manual of Prayer*, trans. John B. Pearson (Oxford: Printed for private circulation, 1907), 17–18.

¹⁸¹ This undated *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, possibly from India, must have been rebounded in the Ottoman lands with additional folios inserted into the beginning and the end.

based on al-Fasi's commentary (Figures 173 and 174).¹⁸² The spatial configurations of the tombs alone or inside the Burial Chamber were not arbitrary in prayer books, because they followed one of the several variants.

The following hadith about the Rawda catalyzed representations of the Minbar and Tomb of the Prophet in several *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and in some *En 'ām-ı Şerīf* copies: "The space between my house and my pulpit is like one of the gardens of paradise and my pulpit will stand next to my basin [*hawḍ*]." ¹⁸³ The word "house" (*bayt*) was alternated with the words "tomb" (*qabr*) and "chamber" (*hujra*) in collections of hadith compilers. This well-known hadith was frequently recorded in pilgrimage narratives such that in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyāhatnāme*,¹⁸⁴ Murad

¹⁸² This manuscript will be mentioned in Chapter 4 as well.

¹⁸³ Here, I have used Juynboll's translation of the hadith (al-Mizzi, IV, no. 5300). G. H. A. Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 313. See also the Rawda entry in A. J. Wensinck et al., *Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, vol. 1–2 (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1992), 319–20.

¹⁸⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz, 1671–1672*, 614; and Robert Dankoff, trans. *Evliyā Çelebī in Medina: The Relevant Sections of the Seyāhatnāme*, ed. Nurettin Gemici (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 40–41.

Nakşibendi's *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil*,¹⁸⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede's memoirs,¹⁸⁶ and Étienne Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim's *Le Pèlerinage a la Maison Sacrée d'Allah*.¹⁸⁷

The “tomb” version of the hadith was noted also in several Magribi and Ottoman copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* as well as the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* (Figures 4, 91, and 92).¹⁸⁸ For instance, a short version of the hadith without the *ḥawḍ* section is inscribed between the flaming halo and the minaret in the CBL prayer book (Figure 4, left). Based on an interpretation of the hadith, the Minbar and the Tomb of the Prophet define a space in the Masjid al-Nabawi that is considered to be more virtuous than the rest of the mosque complex. With the addition of the hadith inscription, the virtuous space is not only visually but also textually emphasized in prayer books.

In a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia (no. 2004.12.42), the Medina representation visually attests to the hadith.¹⁸⁹ Here, the space between

¹⁸⁵ The “house” version of the hadith was recorded in the *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil*. There is a copy of this book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H 116) and another one in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 1217). For the hadith, see fol. 24b in the TSMK manuscript (H 116) and fol. 36b in the Khalili manuscript (MSS 1217). For brief descriptions of the TSMK manuscript, see Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” 144–48; and Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” 410. For a short entry on the author, see Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. 1, 180.

¹⁸⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı İbrahim Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Süfînin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*, eds. Mustafa Koç and Eyyüp Tanrıverdi, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006), 1004. See also Carter V. Findley, “A Muslim Pilgrim's Progress: Aşçı Dede İbrâhîm Halîl on the Hâjj, 1998,” in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times. Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, eds. C. E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory, and A. L. Udovitch (Princeton; NJ: Darwin Press, 1989), 479–512.

¹⁸⁷ The “tomb” and “chamber” versions of the hadith were recorded in El Hadj Nacir Ed Dine E. Dinet and El Hadj Sliman Ben Ibrahim Baâmer, *Le pèlerinage a la maison sacrée d'Allah* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1930), 35, fn. 1.

¹⁸⁸ To illustrate, in a Magribi copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University (MS. Marshall Or. 82), the full hadith is inscribed diagonally between the minbar and the mihrab.

¹⁸⁹ Iman Rusli, *Dala'il al-Khayrat*, 46–47, 150, cat. 8.

the Burial Chamber and the Minbar is shown with winding green areas depicting the garden of Paradise. Furthermore, some *En'ām-ı Şerīf* copies also consist of representations of the Prophet's pulpit and basin, as mentioned in the Rawda hadith. Today, the Rawda is differentiated by green carpets from the rest of the masjid where red carpets are used.

The Rawda must have been perceived at least in two different ways in the Ottoman context: as synonymous with the Burial Chamber and/or as the space between the Minbar and the Burial Chamber. On one hand, the images of the Burial Chamber are textually defined as the Rawda in several examples. For instance, “Hāzā Ravzatü'l-Mübārek” is inscribed above the Burial Chamber in the CBL prayer book (Figure 4, right), and “Ravza-i Muṭahhara” is inscribed inside the Burial Chamber in the Khalili prayer book (Figure 2, left). Furthermore, in a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1014), a verbal description is made to differentiate the Rawda from the Minbar. Here, the representation of the Minbar is topped with the caption of “Hāzā Minber-i Şerīf,” whereas the three tombs or the Burial Chamber is identified as “Hāzā Ravzatü'l-Mübārek.”¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, the area between the Minbar and the Burial Chamber is identified as the Rawda in a number of examples. For instance, a richly colored double-page perspective view of the Rawda with an accompanying Turkish text precedes the dyad of Mecca and Medina in a number of prayer books.¹⁹¹ In the eighteenth-century Beyazıt Library miscellany including the

¹⁹⁰ The manuscript was copied by Yazıcı Derviş Mustafa el-Mevlevi b. Ali el-Konevi in 1158/1745–46. Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1966), 264, cat. 5473.

¹⁹¹ These manuscripts include *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies from the Süleymaniye Library (Pertevniyal 35), the İstanbul University Library (A 5767), and the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 1213), and a miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the Beyazıt Library (B 1270). Only the İÜK copy does not consist of the accompanying text. For the Süleymaniye and İÜK

Dalā'il al-Khayrāt (B 1270), the text reads and translates as the following (Figure 41):

İşbu bâbü's-selâmdan züvvārân-ı şefâ'atcüyân şalât ve selâm ile Harem-i Şerîfe duhûl idüb muvâcehe-i şerîfeye gelüb kıyâm ve muşûl iderler.

Muvâcehe-i şerîfede sîm-i hâlişden meşnû' şebeke-i şerîfeniñ öñünde turulduğda Harem-i Şerîfiñ içinden görinen maħaller işbu mücessem mişâli temşil olunub Hücre-i Muṭahharanıñ kisve-i şerîfesi ve bend olunan niṭâk-i şerîf ve kubûr-u pür-nür şelâşeye işâret olunan üç 'aded mânend-i mâh-ı münîr nokṭa-i siyâhlarıñ evvelki kebîrinde hâzâ kabri [sic.] nebiyyinâ Muhammeden şallallâhu 'aleyhi ve sellem ikincisinde hâzâ kabru Ebîbekren raḍiyallâhu 'anhu ve üçüncisinde hâzâ kabru 'Ömeri'bni'l-Ḥaṭṭâbi raḍiyallâhu 'anhu deyu altun kalem ile ḥaṭṭ-ı celîyy-i bî-naẓîr ile muḥarrerdir.

Ve kisve-i ḥazrâ ile müktesâ olan Hücre-i Şerîfe-i Muṭahhara ile Minber-i Şerîf mâbeyni – mâbeyne kabrî ve minberî ravzatun min riyâzi'l-cenneti – ḥadîs-i şerîf-i şaḥîḥ mâşadaķınca Ravza-i Muṭahhara olub ol daḥi al renk naķş olunan parmaķlık verâsından bir miḳdâr müşâhede olunur.

When visitors seeking intercession enter the Harem-i Şerîf from the bâbü's-selâm, they approach to the muvâcehe-i şerîfe [face-to-face area] and stand with respect.

Hereby, the three-dimensional representations of spaces seen in Harem-i Şerîf, when standing in front of the sheer silver lattice at the muvâcehe-i şerîfe, are shown. The three black circles on the noble covering and belt of the Hücre-i Muṭahhara denote the three tombs filled with light, like three radiant moons. The first big one is the Tomb of the Prophet, the second one that of Abû Bakr, and the third one that of 'Umar. These are recorded in unparalleled large script.

Between the Hücre-i Şerîfe-i Muṭahhara dressed in the green covering and the noble minbar is the Ravza-i Muṭahhara, as conformed by the authentic hadith: the space between my tomb and my pulpit is like one of the gardens of paradise. And it can partially be seen behind the railings depicted in red.

This passage describes the Rawda from the perspective of visitors of intercession and defines this virtuous space as quoted in the “tomb” hadith. Here, the tombs of the

manuscripts, see Gündüz and Taşkale, *Esmâü'n-Nebî*, 148–55. For the Khalili manuscript, see *Christie's. Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds, Thursday 23 April 2015* (London: Christie's, 2015), lot 224. For a slightly different perspective of the Rawda, see Hüseyin Gündüz, “Hat, Tezhib ve Tasvir Sanatının Görkemli Buluşması: Delâil'ül Hayrât,” *İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi El Sanatları Dergisi* 5 (2008): 134–45.

Prophet, Abu Bakr, and ‘Umar are denoted by three circles and described as three moons as in the dream of ‘A’isha narrated in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*.¹⁹² The Rawda is clearly specified as the area between the tomb and the minbar as seen behind the red balustrades. In an early pilgrimage manual entitled *Menāsikü’l-Ḥacc* by Şeyh Sinan el-Rumi (d. 1591–92), the Rawda is also deliberately described as the space between the noble tomb and the minbar.¹⁹³

Even though such monolithic three-dimensional images of the Rawda are quite rare (Figures 41 and 114), the set-apart representations of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber are widespread in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* (Figures 32, 34, and 35). Whether monolithic or set-apart, and whether placed on the same or opposite pages, images of the Burial Chamber (or the three tombs) and the Minbar operate in two ways. First, they represent a physical space in the holy mosque marked by two prominent features of the Masjid al-Nabawi. Second, they virtually define and envisage the garden of Paradise.

The Tomb of the Prophet

As with the House of God, there are a number of texts that are associated with images of the Tomb of the Prophet. For instance, the Medina painting in the AEM copy of the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* lists the related verses (*āyāt-i ‘azām*) and poem (*hakkinda*

¹⁹² These circles might also correspond to the three openings on the lattice enclosing the Burial Chamber.

¹⁹³ Two eighteenth-century copies of this book can be found in the Leiden University Library (Or. 12.373 and Or. 12.375). For the Turkish text about the Rawda, “[...] ravza deyu kabr-i şerīf ile minber arasına derler,” see fol. 132a in Or.12.373 and 96b in Or. 12.375. See also, Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 13 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), 164–65; and Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, vol. 3, 138–42.

nazım), as well as the gate names of the mosque and the city (*hakkinda bābları beyān ider*) in the margins (Figure 17). First, a verse from Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33:56), “God and His angels bless the Prophet— so, you who believe, bless him too and give him greetings of peace,” is quoted and then a stanza and the gate names follow. Hiba Abid describes the recurrence of this verse in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* as a way to emphasize God’s blessings on the Prophet.¹⁹⁴ As Blair points out, this verse was included in the epigraphic programs of the Dome of the Rock, the Shrine of Imam Reza, and minbars commissioned by the Mamluk sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–96).¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, as Selin İpek demonstrates, it was among the texts inscribed on the zigzag bands of the Burial Chamber’s Ottoman coverings.¹⁹⁶ The fifty-sixth verse of Sūrat al-Aḥzāb could also be found on a *maḥmal* covering dated to 1291/1874.¹⁹⁷ The same verse was also cited with images of the Masjid al-Nabawi in other spheres such as those in a sixteenth-century pilgrimage scroll and a seventeenth-century ceramic panel (Figures 86 and 87).¹⁹⁸

Another Qur’anic text associated with the Tomb of the Prophet is a verse from Sūrat al-Nūr (24:35), which could also be found on mosque lamps.¹⁹⁹ In the CBL

¹⁹⁴ Abid, “Un concurrent du Coran en Occident musulman du X^e/XVI^e à l’aube du XII^e/XVIII^e siècle,” 50–51.

¹⁹⁵ Sheila Blair, “Invoking the Prophet Muhammad through Word, Sound, and Image: Verbal, Vocal, and Visual Images in the Religious Arts of Islam,” *Religion and the Arts* 26 (2016): 29–42.

¹⁹⁶ Selin İpek, “Ottoman Ravza-ı Mutahhara Covers Sent from Istanbul to Medina with the Surre Processions,” *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 314.

¹⁹⁷ *Islam: Faith & Worship*, 286–87, cat. 85

¹⁹⁸ Tanındı, “Resimli Bir Hac Vekaletnamesi,” 2–6; and Porter, ed. *Hajj*, 82–83, 273, fig. 50. For more information, see Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁹ For an analysis of the verse based on the Qur’an itself and its Sufi commentaries, see Gerhard Böwering, “The Light Verse: Qur’anic Text and Sūfī Interpretation,” *Oriens* 36 (2001): 113–44. For a short discussion of the verse in Islamic art, see Walter B. Denny, “Reflections of Paradise in Islamic

manuscript, this verse was inscribed fully with the Burial Chamber representation (Figure 4, right) and partially with the Masjid al-Nabawi representation (Figure 4, left). The verse is closely linked with the iconography of light; therefore, it is spread on both sides of the flaming halo on the right-hand page and briefly inserted to the left of the flaming halo on the left-hand page:

God is the Light of the heavens and earth. His Light is like this: there is a niche, and in it a lamp, the lamp inside a glass, a glass like a glittering star, fueled from a blessed olive tree from neither east nor west, whose oil almost gives light even when no fire touches it— light upon light— God guides whoever He will to his Light; God draws such comparisons for people; God has full knowledge of everything. (24:35)

In this verse, the description of divine or prophetic light (*nūr*) is transitive through a niche (*mishkāṭ*), a lamp (*miṣbāḥ*), a glass (*zujāja*), a glittering/pearly star (*kawkab durrī*), and so on. Among these, motifs of a niche (or more precisely an arch) and a lamp frequently appear in different media and settings such as prayer books, prayer rugs, and tombstones. Several representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi in different media display lamps hanging in the arcades of the holy mosques. Furthermore, in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, many compositions of the Rawda depict an arch and a lamp above the three tombs and the minbar.

The labels in an eighteenth-century Magribi copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the National Library of France (Arabe 1194) help understand the connotations that Rawda representations might have had for a calligrapher, painter, or user (Figure 32).²⁰⁰ To illustrate, the rectangular object next to the minbar is labelled as the prayer niche (*miḥrāb al-ṣalā*) and the lamp above the minbar as the golden lamp (*qandīl al-*

Art,” in *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, eds. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991), 37, cat. 29.

²⁰⁰ For the catalogue entry, see “Arabe 1194,” BnF Archives et manuscrits, accessed December 27, 2017, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc90389d>.

dhahab), whereas the one above the Tomb of the Prophet is labelled as the glittering star (*al-kawkab al-durriyā*).²⁰¹ Hiba Abid notes that there are even earlier examples from the seventeenth century, in which “light upon light” and “glittering star” inscriptions accompany lamp images.²⁰² Such text-and-image relationship as in the BnF manuscript shows that, if not all, then at least some arch-and-lamp units in Rawda compositions were intended to evoke the concept of divine or prophetic light with reference to the light verse.

As Finbarr Barry Flood points out, “[t]he association between the cultic niche and light was common to many religious cultures in the pre-Islamic Near East, and this may have influenced the tendency in the early Islamic mosque to single out the mihrab and the area surrounding it for particularly brilliant illumination by means of hanging lamps, chandeliers, jewels, and translucent or reflective stones.”²⁰³ He asserts that the commemoration of the Prophet was formalized under the architectural patronage of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I (r. 705–15) by spotting the locations that the Prophet had prayed in the Ka‘ba, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Dome of the Rock with polished stone markers; and linking the prophetic light to motifs of niche and luminescent objects such as a lamp and a star.²⁰⁴ Based on Flood’s perspective,

²⁰¹ Inscriptions of “golden lamp” in compositions of the Rawda might simply attest to the material of the lamp or refer to the divine light of God. According to Christiane Gruber, the presence of God could be demonstrated in the form of golden clouds or flames in Timurid, Ilkhanid, and Safavid manuscript paintings. Christiane Gruber, “Realabsenz: Duyulur Olmayanı Betimlemek, 1300–1600 Yılları Arasında İslam Sanatında Tanrı Temsilleri,” in *Tasvir: Teori ve Pratik Arasında İslam Görsel Kültürü*, eds. Nicole Kançal-Ferrari and Ayşe Taşkent (İstanbul: Klasik, 2016), 164–74.

²⁰² Abid, “Un concurrent du Coran en Occident musulman du X^e/XVI^e à l’aube du XII^e/XVIII^e siècle,” 51–52.

²⁰³ Finbarr Barry Flood, “Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture,” in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns, part 2 (Oxford: Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 2000): 331.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 355–58.

one might interpret textual and pictorial representations of arch, lamp, and star units in Rawda compositions in terms of the prophetic light (*nūr Muḥammad*) and the veneration of the Prophet.

According to Nuha Khoury, a mihrab image with a lamp or candlesticks could have twofold interpretations. First, it could represent a mihrab or an arch, in which lamps could be hung in an architectural setting. Second, it could be associated with death and the eschaton, as it frequently featured the Throne Verse and appeared in shrines and tombs.²⁰⁵ Based on Khoury's argument, arch-and-lamp units in images of the holy sites might either connote links with the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, and 'Umar or simply demonstrate architectural and decorative details of the arcades and the Burial Chamber.²⁰⁶ Louis Massignon further identifies the lamp in Rawda representations of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* as the hanging lamp that provided face-to-face confrontation (*muwājaha*) and benediction (*taṣliya*).²⁰⁷ Massignon argues that the face-to-face lamp (*qandīl al-muwājaha*) was for honoring the Prophet and watch over his tomb, rather than symbolizing the prophetic light.²⁰⁸

Based on the mosaics and the mihrab of the Companions in the Great Mosque of Damascus, Flood argues that images of the pearl-like star and thus the lamp were associated with the luminosity of the paradisiacal garden in the early years of

²⁰⁵ Nuha N. N. Khoury, "The Mihrab Image: Commemorative Themes in Medieval Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 19–22.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 13, 21.

²⁰⁷ According to Massignon, there was a single lamp in the Burial Chamber until the fifteenth century. Louis Massignon, "La Rawda de Médine: Cadre de la méditation musulmane sur la destinée du Prophète," in *Opera Minora*, vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), 290–92.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 312.

Islam.²⁰⁹ Raya Shani shares a similar perspective stating that the established decorative schemes of paradisiacal gardens in the Umayyad period were applied on mihrab designs in Iran in the tenth to twelfth centuries.²¹⁰ Considering that images of the Minbar and the Tomb of the Prophet also invoke the paradisiacal garden (*rawḍa*), additional renderings of the niche and the lamp might have strengthened the iconography of Paradise in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Figures 34 and 35). Nevertheless, niche-and-lamp motifs elsewhere could have different connotations (e.g., qibla direction), as in prayer rugs (Figures 157 and 158) and qibla compasses (Figure 20).

Whether an arch-and-lamp unit signifies divine or prophetic light is open to interpretation; however, the flaming halo hovering above the Tomb of the Prophet or the Burial Chamber certainly connotes primordial and posthumous radiance of the Prophet. In manuscript paintings, as Gruber demonstrates, the prophetic light was visualized via a halo around the head or the body of the Prophet Muhammad.²¹¹ In prayer books, however, the halo does not girdle the physical presence of the Prophet; instead it surrounds the Tomb of the Prophet or the Burial Chamber (Figures 4, 33, 43, 92, 104, and 164). For instance, in a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy preserved in the Süleymaniye Library (Laleli 1541), only the Prophet's tomb possesses luminosity emerging from its upper structure (Figure 33).²¹² Similar to manuscript paintings of the Burial Chamber with a flaming nimbus, the Prophet's radiance is also

²⁰⁹ Finbarr Barry Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2001), 56.

²¹⁰ Raya Y. Shani, "Paradise Glimpsed By the Muslim Believer at Prayer," in *Image and Meaning in Islamic Art*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir Trust, 2005), 127–28.

²¹¹ Christiane Gruber, "Between Logos (Kalima) and Light (Nūr): Representations of the Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Painting," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 247–49.

²¹² This manuscript was copied by Hasan b. Abdullah in 1143/1730–31. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 268, cat. 5488.

emphasized in a couplet by the renowned Ottoman poet Zati (d. 1546),²¹³ which is inscribed in a seal stamp (Figure 181) and a seal impression of the Masjid al-Nabawi (Figure 179),²¹⁴ as well as a *hilye levha* (Figure 39) and a *hilye* bottle.²¹⁵ In the seal and the impression, the line “O Prince of the first and the last ones” (*Yā seyyide ’l-evvelīn ve ’l-āhīrīn*) and Zati’s couplet were written on four sides of the holy mosque: “Oh ornament of the eternal garden, your stature / Is a cypress of light that casts no shade on earth”²¹⁶ (*Ḳāmetüñ ey būstān-ı lā-mekān pūrāyesi / Nūrdan bir selvī düşmez zemīne sāyesi*).²¹⁷

In the framed *hilye*, the couplet was deliberately inserted inside cypress trees together with another couplet also referring to the Prophet’s slender silhouette resembling a cypress.²¹⁸ In Zati’s poem, two miracles of the Prophet Muhammad are implicitly and explicitly introduced. The first one is about the timelessness and placelessness (*lā-mekān*) of his ascension, whereas the second one is about his prophetic light and shadowless corpus.²¹⁹ The couplet comes from an ode (*ğazel*) praising the Prophet

²¹³ For more information about Zati, see Sooyong Kim, *The Last of an Age: The Making and Unmaking of a Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Poet* (London; New York: Routledge, 2018).

²¹⁴ See Chapter 4, section “Printing Protection,” for the seal stamp and the seal impression.

²¹⁵ Christiane Gruber, “Hilye Şişeleri,” in *Osmanlı İslam Sanatında Tapınma ve Tılsım* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, forthcoming).

²¹⁶ Here, I have used a translation from Kim, *The Last of an Age*, 59. See also Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 3 (London: Luzac, 1965), 54.

²¹⁷ Here, I have transliterated the text in the Khalili seal impression (Figure 179). See also *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadar Büyük Türk Klasikleri: Tarih, Antoloji, Ansiklopedi*, vol. 3 (İstanbul; Ankara: Ötüken; Söğüt, 1986), 296.

²¹⁸ This second couplet was also quoted in the same *hilye* bottle. Gruber, “Hilye Şişeleri,” forthcoming.

²¹⁹ In this chapter, I focus on the Prophet’s night journey and ascension under the section “The Holy Triad: Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem.” However, I would like to note here that, like the CBL and AEM manuscript paintings inscribed with the *isrā’* verse, the Khalili seal is inscribed with Zati’s couplet recalling the Prophet’s chief miracle.

(*naʿt*), whereas the line is essentially contained in a *ṣalā* ending with “Peace and blessing be upon you, O Prince of the first and the last ones,” which is read before Friday and funeral prayers.²²⁰ In a different couplet from the same ode, Zati also refers to this religious formula emphasizing the Prophet Muhammad’s unique position as the Prince of the first and the last ones.²²¹

These attributes are reserved for God in the third verse of Sūrat al-Ḥadīd (57:3): “He is the First and the Last; the Outer and the Inner; He has knowledge of all things.” As Uri Rubin demonstrates, the Prophet’s primordial substance and prophetic legacy also confirm these attributes. Rubin elaborates on the Prophet’s pre-existence and the transmission of his light with reference to the *taqallub* (motion of his luminous substance in cosmic spheres) verse of Sūrat al-Shuʿarāʾ (26:219).²²² He examines different views about the creation of the Prophet’s primordial substance and its movement from one prophet to another until his corporeal legacy as the “seal of the prophets” (*khātam al-nabiyyīn*), as mentioned in Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33:40).²²³ Therefore, with the inscriptions of “O Prince of the first and the last ones,” another symbol of the Prophet Muhammad’s uniqueness is emphasized besides his light and ascension.

²²⁰ There are other representations of Medina, which are accompanied by this religious formula. In a previously mentioned prayer book in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 312), the *ṣalā* is inscribed with a representation of Medina prepared in cut-out (*kāṭʿi*) and embossed technique in paper and leather (Figure 2). Rogers, *The Arts of Islam: Treasures from the Nasser D. Khalili Collection*, 193, cat. 210.

²²¹ For the couplet, see Kim, *The Last of an Age*, 59; and Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 55.

²²² Uri Rubin, “Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 77–80; and “More Light on Muḥammad’s Pre-existence: Qurʾānic and Post-Qurʾānic Perspectives,” in *Books and Written Culture of the Islamic World: Studies Presented to Claude Gilliot on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, eds. Andrew Rippin and Roberto Tottoli (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 288–91.

²²³ Rubin, “Pre-existence and Light,” 69–71, 104; and Rubin “More Light on Muḥammad’s Pre-existence,” 289.

As in *talbiya* inscriptions accompanying images of the House of God, *taşliya* inscriptions were recorded with images of the Tomb of the Prophet.²²⁴ For instance, in the previously mentioned *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy held in the Atatürk Library (Figure 30, left), *şalawāt* were written on the margins of the Medina image. Evliya Çelebi notes that a *şalā*, including the formula of “O Prince of the first and the last ones,” should be recited when the Masjīd al-Nabawī enters into the sight of a visitor heading to Medina.²²⁵ A viewer is similarly expected to recite a *şalā*, when he/she gazes at the Medina seal, as if he/she has arrived at the site proper.

The second text accompanying the Medina painting in the AEM prayer book (Figure 17) is a poem by Vankulu Mehmed Efendi (d. 1592), the renowned translator of al-Jawhari's Arabic dictionary and qadi of Medina.²²⁶ This poem was also noted with the Rawda composition in a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy held in the Adnan Ötügen Public Library in Ankara (06 Hk 3139).²²⁷ In his narrative regarding his visit to the Masjīd al-Nabawī, Evliya Çelebi notes that there was an epigraphic panel (*levha*) with the same poem inside the southwest gate *bāb al-salām*.²²⁸ Vankulu's verses read and translate as follows:

²²⁴ For various uses and virtues of *taşliya*, see Fritz Meier, “Invoking Blessings on Muḥammad in Prayers of Supplication and When Making Requests,” in *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism*, ed. Bernd Radtke, trans. John O'Kane (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999), 549–88.

²²⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz, 1671–1672*, 606. See also Dankoff, trans. *Evliyā Çelebī in Medina*, 18–19.

²²⁶ According to Mehmed Tahir, Vankulu wrote this poem in Medina. Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. 1, 467.

²²⁷ “Delā'ilü'l-Hayrāt ve Şevāriku'l-Envār,” Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, accessed April 8, 2018, <http://yazmalar.gov.tr/eser/delailul-hayrat-ve-sevarikul-envar/52336>.

²²⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz, 1671–1672*, 618. See also Dankoff, trans. *Evliyā Çelebī in Medina*, 52–53.

Budur āyīn-i ‘Arab ölse bir kavmiñ seyyidi
A[z] olur kim kabri üzre bende āzād olmaya
Sen ki Fahrü’l-enbiyā Seyyidü’l-keyneysin
Hāşāllāh kabrine yüz süren bende [āzād olmaya]²²⁹

According to the custom of the Arabs, if the prince of a tribe dies
It is unusual not to free slaves at his tomb
You who are the pride of the prophets and the prince of the two worlds
He/she who rubs his face on Your Tomb shall be freed²³⁰

According to the poem, visitors of the Tomb of the Prophet would reach salvation, provided that they rub their face against it. As mentioned earlier, the Ka‘ba version of this poem can be found in the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* copy held in the Süleymaniye Library (Figure 26). The coupling of religious imagery with such inscriptions shows that both the structures and their representations provided salvation and forgiveness via rubbing of the face. Vankulu’s poem is also inscribed on both sides of the Masjid al-Nabawi image in the Khalili prayer book, encouraging readers/viewers’ physical contact (Figure 2). Both the poem and the *şalā*, “Peace and blessing be upon you, O Prince of the first and the last ones” on top of the circular folio, suggest that the representation perhaps conveyed a virtual presence via haptic, oral, and visual participation, as if one has been to the site proper.

The Haramayn

Paired images of the Ka‘ba and the Burial Chamber, the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, or Mecca the Blessed (*Makka al-Mukarrama*) and Medina the

²²⁹ Here, I have transliterated the text accompanying the Medina painting in the AEM prayer book. For other versions of the stanza, see Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, vol. 1, 467; Dankoff, trans. *Evlüyā Çelebī in Medina*, 52; and Evliya Çelebi, *Evlüyā Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz, 1671–1672*, 618. See also, Nevzāde-i Atāyī, *Zeyl-i Şekā’ik* (İstanbul, 1268/1851–52), 317.

²³⁰ Here, I have made changes to Dankoff’s translation. Dankoff, trans. *Evlüyā Çelebī in Medina*, 52.

Illuminated (*Madīna al-Munawwara*) appeared in Ottoman prayer books, ceramic panels, wall paintings, and *hilyes*, as well as other media and settings. In Ottoman copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, double-page representations of the two holy cities were more widespread than any other image combination. According to Witkam, the introduction of Mecca images into the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* took place in Ottoman lands with the rise of the Wahhabi movement in the second half of the eighteenth century. He explains the change in representations from the Rawda to the Haramayn as an Ottoman attempt to counterbalance the emphasis on the Tomb of the Prophet with images of the House of God.²³¹ Daub similarly states that the Mecca and Medina pairs emerged in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* during the second half of the eighteenth century, while questioning Witkam's explanation about the Wahhabi impact.²³² According to Bain, the proliferation of the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* and the introduction of religious imagery into this devotional miscellany also took place in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, she explains such a change as a Sufi response to the fundamentalist approach to Islam as propagated by the Wahhabi movement.²³³

The Wahhabi movement perhaps did not initiate the change in the image content of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* or the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, as there exist Haramayn examples of both dating to the first half of the eighteenth century. For instance, a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (Laleli 1541) dating to 1145/1732–33 (Figure 33) and an *En'ām-ı Şerīf* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (YY 155) dating to

²³¹ Witkam, "The Battle of the Images," 73–75; and *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 82–87.

²³² Daub, *Formen und Funktionen*, 161.

²³³ Bain, "The Late Ottoman En'ām-ı Şerif," 129–30.

1153/1740 include representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi already in the first half of the eighteenth century before the spread of Wahhabism.²³⁴ There exist also undated Magribi copies of the prayer book (perhaps from the nineteenth century) that consist of representations of the two holy mosques besides those of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber.²³⁵ Therefore, earlier Magribi copies with Haramayn images might have inspired their Ottoman counterparts, or simultaneous changes in the image content of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* may have thrived contemporaneously in different regions. Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem had been under Ottoman sovereignty since the early sixteenth century (1516–17).²³⁶ Visual propaganda could be one of the reasons why representations of the holy sites were so common in the Ottoman Empire. The Wahhabi movement might have influenced the diversification in the content of representations; this said, a reaction against it does not explain how and why Haramayn representations emerged in prayer books. It does, however, explain how several copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* might have been destroyed with the rise of the Wahhabism, because the teachings of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1206/1792) disapproved of the veneration of the prophets and saints, the visitation of their tombs and shrines, and the recitation of texts such as the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.²³⁷

²³⁴ The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was copied by Hafız İbrahim, while the *En 'ām-ı Şerif* was copied by İmamzade Seyyid Muhammed.

²³⁵ For instance, see the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy in the Berlin State Library (Ms. or. oct. 240). “Ms. or. oct. 240,” Digitalisierte Sammlungen, accessed, April 8, 2018, http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN790335824&PHYSID=PHYS_0015&DMDID=.

²³⁶ For the establishment of the Ottoman power in the Hijaz, see Feridun M. Emecen, “Hicaz’da Osmanlı Hâkimiyetinin Tesisi ve Ebu Nüme,” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 14 (1994): 87–120.

²³⁷ Eyüp Sabri Paşa, *Tarih-i Vehhābyan*, trans. Süleyman Çelik (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1992), 64–65; Mehmet Ali Büyükkara, “Vehhābîlik,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 42 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), 611–15; and Ayaz, “Hilafet ve Siyaset,” 71.

The popularity of Haramayn representations over Minbar and Burial Chamber compositions can be traced via a number of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts. In a 1134/1721–22 copy held in the Manisa Public Library (MAK 1533) and a copy from the first half of the eighteenth century held in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 17228), paintings of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber were subsequently altered with additional images that would create a dyad of Mecca and Medina. In the former (Figure 34), the Ka'ba and its surrounding structures with their corresponding labels were inserted above the Minbar on the left-hand page, whereas a domed structure was inserted above the three tombs on the right-hand page. In the latter (Figure 35), the Ka'ba and the circumambulation area (*maṭāf*) were added above the Minbar on the left-hand page.²³⁸ In the Manisa manuscript, the additional image of the Ka'ba had been smudged by a viewer, or perhaps the person who inserted the image (Figure 34). As I discuss in Chapter 4, rather than accidental pigment removal, such erasure of religious imagery could be caused by the search for intercession, blessings, cure, or protection.

Besides these additive approaches to acquire images of the Haramayn, there were also more radical alterations applied to prayer books. For instance, in an eighteenth-century *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy in the Harvard University Library (Houghton Library, MS Arab 224), the paintings of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber were replaced by those of Mecca and Medina (Figures 36, 37, and 38).²³⁹ The Medina image was pasted on the Burial Chamber image on the right-hand page (Figure 38), while the Mecca image was pasted on the Minbar image on the left-hand page

²³⁸ For the AEM manuscript, see Renda, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar,” cat. 1.

²³⁹ This manuscript was copied by Eyyüb, a disciple of Eğrikapılı Mehmed Rasim.

(Figure 37). Based on the preference or expectations of a later user, the double-page paintings in all three *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts were adjusted to provide a pictorial alternative to the original. Even though the majority of Haramayn depictions show Mecca on the right and Medina on the left, the pictorial manipulations in Figures 34, 35, and 36 resulted in the disturbance of such a visual order.

Geography, vegetation, hajj season, and time of day were differentiated in several Haramayn representations. Such images often enable one to point out Mecca's mountainous landscape and arid climate as opposed to the relatively flat and fertile lands of Medina dotted by date palms. In several Haramayn compositions, the background and hills in Mecca images were painted in tones of brown and orange, whereas those in Medina representations were painted in tones of green (Figures 30, 43, and 188). Mecca images could display Safa and Marwa, and a courtyard structure, perhaps the *'imāret* founded by Haseki Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558), which stand out in a dense urban fabric (Figure 43, right). Medina images, however, could attract attention with the Baqi' Cemetery outside the city walls, a bathhouse in front of the masjid, and a spray of gold emerging from the dome crowning the Burial Chamber (Figure 43, left).

In *Travels in Arabia* (1829), John Lewis Burckhardt points out other features of these cities that did not reflect on most late Ottoman representations of the Haramayn:

Mekka may be styled a handsome town: its streets are in general broader than those of Eastern cities, the houses lofty and built of stone, and the numerous windows that face the streets give them a more lively and European aspect than those of Egypt and Syria, where the houses present but few windows towards the exterior. Mekka (like Djidda) contains many houses three stories high; few at Mekka are whitewashed; but the dark grey colour of the stone is much preferable to the glaring white that offends the eye in Djidda. In most towns of the Levant the narrowness of a street contributes to its coolness; and in countries where wheel-carriages are not used, a space that allows two

loaded camels to pass each other is deemed sufficient. At Mekka, however, it was necessary to leave the passage wide, for the innumerable visitors who here crowd together; and it is in the houses adapted for the reception of pilgrims and other sojourners, that the windows are so contrived as to command a view of the streets.²⁴⁰

Medina is well built, entirely of stone; its houses are generally two stories high, with flat roofs. As they are not white-washed, and the stone is of a dark colour, the streets have rather a gloomy aspect; and are, for the most part, very narrow, often only two of three paces across: a few of the principal streets are paved with large blocks of stone; a comfort which a traveler little expects to find in Arabia. It is, on the whole, one of the best-built towns I have ever seen in the East, ranking, in this respect, next to Aleppo. At present, it has a desolate appearance: the houses are suffered to decay; their owners, who formerly derived great profits from the crowd of visitors which arrived here at all times of the year, now find their income diminished, and decline the heavy expense of building, as they know they cannot be reimbursed by the letting out of apartments. Ruined houses, and walls wanting repair, are seen in every part of the town; and Medina presents the same disheartening view as most of the eastern towns, which now afford but faint images of their ancient splendour.²⁴¹

Burckhardt compares Mecca and Medina to cities of Europe, Egypt, and Syria. He finds streets of Mecca wide and easy to accommodate large crowds of pilgrims, while he feels that those of Medina are narrow and gloomy. He observes that both Meccan and Medinan houses are built out of dark colored stone, the former being taller. Evliya Çelebi also provides such a comparison and notes that multi-storey buildings of Mecca “are not to be found in Aleppo or Damascus or in Iraq, though one does find them in Cairo.”²⁴² Furthermore, he states that there are 2,000 “four- or five-storey tall houses, some small, some larger, well-constructed and decorated, the roofs completely covered with lime” inside the city walls of Medina.²⁴³ Even though Evliya Çelebi and Burckhardt’s observations are one and a half century apart, they

²⁴⁰ Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 1, 188.

²⁴¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 2, 149–50.

²⁴² Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, eds. and trans. *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi* (London: Eland, 2011), 362.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 351.

reflect similar views of the holy cities except for the height of buildings. Such details about architecture and urban space usually do not appear in visual depictions of Mecca and Medina. However, in a number of engravings of Mecca, and lithographs and manuscript paintings of Mecca in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, one can distinguish multi-storey buildings as well as crowds approaching and entering Mecca and then the Masjid al-Haram, which gives an idea about how the city's streets could accommodate large crowds (Figures 106, 107, 108, 111, and 112). In such depictions, pilgrims shown in circles or conical formations capture the temporality of the hajj performed during the month of Dhu al-Hijja.

There are also other motifs of time in Haramayn representations. To illustrate, in a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (no. 103-0294), the dark blue sky over Mecca and Medina is spotted with golden stars depicting night views of the two cities.²⁴⁴ In another copy in the New York Public Library (Spencer Turk Ms. 16), the sun shines over Mecca, whereas the crescent moon illuminates Medina.²⁴⁵ Such coupling of the sun with the House of God and the moon with the Tomb of the Prophet also confirms solar and lunar metaphors used for God and the Prophet Muhammad.²⁴⁶ Even though solar metaphors were also used for the Prophet, it was solely reserved for God in the case of such a Mecca-and-Medina pair. However, in Figure 31, the sun and crescent motifs were used together in the double-page painting of the Masjid al-Nabawi. In this case, the sun might have stood for the

²⁴⁴ This manuscript was copied by İbrahim Daimi (d. 1756), a disciple of Şekerzade Mehmed Efendi. Tanındı and Aldemir Kilercik, *Sakıp Sabancı Museum Collection of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*, 82–85, cat. 24.

²⁴⁵ This manuscript was completed by Mehmed Rasih el-Burusavi in Medina on 11 Şevval 1264 / 10 September 1848. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, 47, cat. I.8.

²⁴⁶ For solar and lunar metaphors in text and image, see Gruber, “Between Logos (Kalima) and Light (Nūr),” 247–52; and Gruber “Realabsenz,” 168–74.

divine light, whereas the crescent might have stood for the prophetic light, or both of them might have referred to the luminary presence of the Prophet. It is easier to interpret the three moons in Figure 31, as they clearly connote the dream of ‘A’isha cited in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*.²⁴⁷

The Holy Triad: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem

Images of the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif, as well as those of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem appeared in pilgrimage manuals and scrolls (Figures 169, 170, and 171), prayer books (Figures 3, 4, 162, 163, 175, and 176), and other media and settings such as a *hilye* in the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Figure 39), the Khalili *kıblenümā* (Figure 19), three sets of prophylactic prayer cards (Figures 52, 53, and 54), and the wall paintings of the Sivrihisar Hazine Dar Mosque.²⁴⁸ The holy triad in the *hilye* (no. 15501-Y.94) seems to be painted by the same hand as the Khalili *kıblenümā*, who signed the latter as Fahri.²⁴⁹ In the case of the *hilye* and the protective prayer cards, the holy triad was combined with religious texts such as the Most Beautiful Names of God, the Names of the Prophet, and/or

²⁴⁷ For the crescent metaphor in *hilye* designs, see Tim Stanley, “From Text to Art Form in the Ottoman Hilye,” in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Filiz Çağman* (İstanbul: Topkapı Palace Museum, forthcoming).

²⁴⁸ For the wall paintings, see Dilaver, “Osmanlı Sanatında Kâbe Tasvirli Bir Fresk,” 255–57; and Baer, “Visual Representations of Jerusalem’s Holy Islamic Sites,” 388–89.

²⁴⁹ See the catalogue entries in Hülya Bilgi, *Gönülden Bir Tutku, Sevgi Gönül Hat Koleksiyonu* (İstanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2004), 81; Faruk Taşkale and Hüseyin Gündüz, eds. *Hilye-i Şerîfe: Hz. Muhammed’in Özellikleri* (İstanbul: Artam Antik A.Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 2011), 120–21; and Çağman, *Kat’ı*, 249–52, fig. 149. The holy triad depictions in the compass and the *hilye* are also similar to those in a miscellany of *Menâkıb-ı Mekke*, *Menâsik-i Manzûme*, and *Ahlâk-ı Rasûlullâh* held in the Berlin State Library (Ms. or. oct. 1602). “Ms. or. oct. 1602,” Digitalisierte Sammlungen, accessed, April 8, 2018, https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN717511774&PHYSID=PHYS_0008.

Qaṣīdat al-Burda. Even though these objects were not formatted as codices, they still resemble prayer miscellanies in terms of their textual and pictorial contents and devotional uses.

Mecca or Medina could be represented in isolation with no other accompanying image in a late Ottoman prayer book. However, Jerusalem usually appeared as a part of the holy triad rather than having a solitary presence. For instance, the corpus of the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* manuscripts copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi (Figures 3 and 4), the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Cod. Turc 553), the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* copy in the Istanbul University Library (A 5573) (Figures 175 and 176), and another *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* in the National Library of France (Arabe 6055) depict the holy triad among a rich collection of religious imagery.²⁵⁰ Apart from these *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* copies, a *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* copy in the British Library (Or 6314) (Figure 162 and 163) and another one in a private collection also include representations of the holy triad.²⁵¹ The former only consists of single-page representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, whereas the latter includes double-page representations of the Rawda and Jerusalem, single-page representations of Mecca, Medina, the belongings of the Prophet, and four different arrangements of the tombs in the Burial Chamber.

In a pilgrimage manual, Jerusalem images could also be a part of the holy triad or a larger array of Islamic holy sites such as Safa and Marwa, Mina, ‘Arafat, Jabal Nur,

²⁵⁰ All *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* copies, but the BnF one, are further discussed in this dissertation. Arabe 6055’s religious imagery is very similar to that of the corpus of the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* manuscripts, except for the representations of the holy triad. However, its illumination is quite different than those manuscripts in the corpus. For the catalogue entry, see “Arabe 6055,” BnF Archives et manuscrits, accessed December 27, 2017, <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc330837>. See also Khomehyar, “Osmanlı Dönemi Resimli Dua Kitaplarında Kutsal Emanetlerin Tasvirleri,” 394, cat. 11.

²⁵¹ I further discuss the BL copy in Chapter 4. For the copy in the private collection, see Hüseyin Gündüz, “Hat, Tezhip ve Tasvir Sanatının Görkemli Buluşması,” 134–45.

Baqi' Cemetery, and Uhud.²⁵² For instance, in illustrated copies of Murad Nakşibendi's (d. 1847–48) *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil* (Figures 169, 170, and 171)²⁵³ and Mehmed Edib's (d. 1824) *Nehcetü'l-Menāzil*,²⁵⁴ only images of the holy triad were inserted into sections about these cities. Nevertheless, in several copies of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, the holy triad forms part of a greater visual agenda that guides pilgrims according to the rites of pilgrimage and visitation.²⁵⁵

Jerusalem's sanctity in Islamic sources sheds light on its depiction in late Ottoman visual culture.²⁵⁶ As Angelika Neuwirth demonstrates, the three honorary titles of Jerusalem indicate its changing historical significance and high rank, especially in relation to Mecca and Medina: "first of the two directions of prayer," "second of the two sanctuaries," and "third after the two places of pilgrimage."²⁵⁷ The third and

²⁵² For a short essay on images of Jerusalem in pilgrimage manuals and certificates, see Rachel Milstein, "Drawings of the Haram of Jerusalem in Ottoman Manuscripts," in *Aspects of Ottoman History: Papers from CIEPO IX, Jerusalem*, eds. Amy Singer and Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994), 62–69.

²⁵³ For a copy at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H 116), see Atbaş, "Resimlerle Hac Yolları," 144–48; and Tanındı, "İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri," 410. There is another copy of this book in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 1217), which is missing its Mecca image.

²⁵⁴ For a copy in the Chester Beatty Library (T 461), see Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library*, 98–99, cat. 461.

²⁵⁵ For more information about the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, see Jafarian, *Negār o negāre*; and Rachel Milstein, "Futuh-i Haramayn," 166–94.

²⁵⁶ For discussions of these sources, see Angelika Neuwirth, "Jerusalem and the Genesis of Islamic Scripture," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 315–25; Mustafa Abu Sway, "The Holy Land, Jerusalem, and the Aqsa Mosque in the Islamic Sources," in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, eds. Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem; Austin: Yan Ben-Zvi Press; University of Texas Press, 2009), 334–43; and İbrahim Kutluay, "Kutsal ve Kutsallık Anlayışı ile Hadislerde Bazı Zaman ve Mekanların Efdaliyeti" (Master's thesis, Erciyes University, 1996).

²⁵⁷ Angelika Neuwirth, "The Spiritual Meaning of Jerusalem in Islam," in *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, ed. Nitza Rosovsky (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 94.

most recent title seems to have precipitated representations of the holy triad in the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*.

Two prominent hadiths attributed to the Prophet address the supreme rank of the three holy mosques or cities.²⁵⁸ The first hadith commands: “Do not fasten your saddles on your animals to travel to mosques except the following three: my mosque here in Medina, the mosque in Mecca and the farthest mosque (i.e., in Jerusalem).”²⁵⁹ This version of the tradition confirms the frequently discussed positions of Medina and Jerusalem as sites of visitation. The second hadith notes: “A *ṣalāt* performed in my mosque here [in Medina] is more meritorious than a thousand *ṣalāts* performed elsewhere with the exception of the Masjid al-Haram (in Mecca).”²⁶⁰ Other versions of this second hadith also exist for Jerusalem, Damascus, and Kufa.²⁶¹ They weigh the efficacy of prayers performed at these holy sites, while concurrently recognizing them as legitimate sites of pilgrimage and visitation. These versions rank Medina higher than Jerusalem or vice versa; alternatively, they grant them equal value. The

²⁵⁸ These hadiths exist in several versions depending on their reporters. They either restrict or enhance the holiness attributed to the Masjid al-Aqsa or Jerusalem. For a discussion, see Meir Jacob Kister, “You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques,” *Le Muséon* 82 (1969): 173–96. See also Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, “Jerusalem and Mecca,” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 296.

²⁵⁹ Here, I have used Juynboll’s translation of the hadith (al-Mizzi, III, no. 4279). Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 21–22. Another translation of the hadith is: “You shall only set out for three mosques: The Sacred Mosque (in Mecca), my mosque (in Medina) and al-Aqsa mosque (in Jerusalem).” Kister, “You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques,” 173. See also Heribert Busse, “The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam,” *Judaism* 17 (1968): 467.

²⁶⁰ Here, I have used Juynboll’s translation of the hadith (al-Mizzi, X, no. 13464). Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 361. See also Kister, “You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques,” 184–88; Kutluay, “Kutsal ve Kutsallık Anlayışı ile Hadislerde Bazı Zaman ve Mekanların Efdaliyeti,” 73; and Nebi Bozkurt, “Ravza-i Mutahhara,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 34 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007), 475.

²⁶¹ Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus*, 4; Akkach, “Mapping Difference,” 13–14; and Kister, “You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques,” 189.

hierarchy between Medina and Jerusalem is not always clear in text and image production, and the ranking becomes even more complex in Shi'ī contexts.

The roles of Mecca and Jerusalem in the Prophet Muhammad's night journey (*isrā'*) and his heavenly ascension (*mir'āj*) also make this holy triad religiously meaningful and visually powerful. The first verse of Sūrat al-Isrā', or Banī Isrā'īl (17:1), emphasizes the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Aqsa as the departure and arrival points for the night journey:

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

This verse is quoted in the Haram al-Sharif representations of the CBL and AEM prayer books. In the AEM manuscript, the *isrā'* verse is inscribed in the margin of the Jerusalem painting under a red title (*ḥaḳḳında āyāt-i 'aẓām*) (Figure 15). In the CBL manuscript, however, the same verse is written above the Masjid al-Aqsa, thus hinting at the purpose for coupling the images of Mecca and Jerusalem on opposite pages (Figure 3). A Turkish inscription under the Dome of the Rock further relates to the night journey, as it specifies the minbar as the place where the Prophet tied his winged steed (*burāk*) before ascending to the heavens.

The interconnected sanctity of Mecca and Jerusalem is not limited to the *mir'āj*, but it is also related to the flow between heavenly springs (from Zamzam to Silwan) on the second night of pilgrimage, and the procession of the Ka'ba and the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) to Jerusalem on the day of resurrection.²⁶² When placed on

²⁶² Busse, "The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam," 463, 467–68; and Ahmad Gabin, "The Zamzam Well Ritual in Islam and Its Jerusalem Connection," in *Sacred Space in Israel and Palestine: Religion and Politics*, eds. Marshall J. Breger, Yitzhak Reiter, and Leonard Hammer (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 127–28. See also David Roxburgh, "Pilgrimage City," in *The City in the Islamic World*, eds. Renata Holod, Attilio Petruccioli, and André Raymond (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 756;

opposite pages (Figure 3), the representations of Mecca and Jerusalem complement each other with the former on the right and the latter on the left, confirming the direction of the movement from one city to the other. Such a placement, which is also justified by reading the scene from right to left, foreshadows in the double-page paintings of the eschaton in İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi's *Ma'rifetnâme* (Figure 49). Here, the connection between heaven, earth, and hell is vertically illustrated from the upper registers to the lower ones (cosmos), and the flux between Mecca and Jerusalem is horizontally depicted from the right-hand to the left-hand page (earth). Jerusalem's significance as the land of gathering can be traced through eschatological imagery as found in the *Ma'rifetnâme* and Muhyi al-Din Lari's (d. 933/1526–27) pilgrimage manual *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* (901/1505–6).²⁶³ This is also the case in Ottoman illustrated prayer books. For instance, the scales of justice (*mīzān*), which weigh good and bad deeds on Judgement Day, and the bridge over hell (*şirāt köprüsü*) are depicted in the CBL manuscript (Figure 3).

The interlinked sanctity of Mecca and Jerusalem also appears in 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi's concept of *faḍā'il* (virtues). The literary genre of *faḍā'il* focuses on merits and excellences of the Qur'an, prominent individuals, and sacred sites.²⁶⁴ Several

and Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as a Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 30.

²⁶³ Gruber, "Signs of the Hour," 52–55. See also Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as a Palimpsest," 73–79; Rachel Milstein, "Futuh-i Haramayn," 166–94; Karamustafa, "Cosmographical Diagrams," 71–89.

²⁶⁴ For a range of *faḍā'il* texts, see Ernst August Grube, *Verdienst und Rang: Die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches Problem im Islam* (Freiburg im Breisgau: K. Schwarz, 1975); Ofer Livne-Kafri, "The Muslim Traditions 'In Praise of Jerusalem' (Faḍā'il al-Quds): Diversity and Complexity," *Annali* 58 (1998): 165–92; Asma Afsaruddin, "In Praise of the Word of God: Reflections of Early Religious and Social Concerns in the Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān Genre," *Journal of Quranic Studies* 4 (2002): 27–48; and Kübra Yılmaz, "Türk İslam Edebiyatında Faziletname ve Mekke, Medine, Kudüs, Şam Üzerine Yazılmış Manzum Bir Faziletname," *Bilecik Şeyh Edebali Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2 (2017): 366–81.

faḍā'il texts praise the virtues of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus; however, very few are illustrated.²⁶⁵ According to Meir Jacob Kister, in *faḍā'il* literature, there is an emphasis on “competition” between various sanctuaries as opposed to “coordination” of sanctity.²⁶⁶ Samer Akkach, however, suggests another way of interpreting this genre. He asserts that the concept of *faḍā'il* provides imaginative mapping via literary production; therefore, it does not require any representational mode.²⁶⁷ He cites from al-Nabulusi's (d. 1731) *al-Ḥaḍra al-unsīyya fī al-riḥla al-Qudsiyya* (The Intimate Presence in the Journey to Jerusalem) to exemplify the mystic's mental configuration of Mecca and Jerusalem along with their paradisiacal springs:

The salt-ness of the eye's water is evidently true
 Not out of imperfection, but rather of perfection.
 For this reason Zamzam's water is salty
 And so is Silwan's, both are refreshingly cold.
 These are the two eyes of the earth
 One of the right, the other of the left.
 The right is in Mecca, the left in Jerusalem
 Yet all the worlds are mere imagination.²⁶⁸

Here, al-Nabulusi takes the word *‘ayn* and works with both of its meanings: “spring” and “eye.” He describes Mecca as the right and Jerusalem as the left eye of the earth, while speaking of the sacred water sources of both cities (Zamzam and Silwan) as

²⁶⁵ For instance, a *Feḏā'il-i Mekke ve Medīne* in the Süleymaniye Library (Fatih 4447) includes representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawī. Another *Feḏā'il-i Mekke ve Medīne* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1424) has a larger selection of images, as in a *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*. Atbaş and Tanındı briefly focus on the TSMK manuscript among other works that display representations of Mecca and Medina. Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” 136–38; and Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” 410.

²⁶⁶ Meir Jacob Kister, “Sanctity Joint and Divided: On Holy Places in the Islamic Tradition,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 31.

²⁶⁷ Samer Akkach, “Mapping Difference: On the Islamic Concept of Fada'il,” in *De-Placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography, Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture*, ed. Samer Akkach (Adelaide: Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture, 2006), 10, 18–19.

²⁶⁸ Here, I have used Akkach's translation of the poem. *Ibid.*, 19.

the springs of each eye. In al-Nabulusi's imaginative map, as well as in the paintings of the *Ma'rifetnāme* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif* corpus, Jerusalem falls on the left of Mecca (Figures 3 and 49). This visual arrangement is no coincidence, as it is endorsed by the interlinked holiness of the two cities. The displacements of the Prophet, the Zamzam, the Ka'ba, and the black stone from Mecca to Jerusalem are visually mapped to denote a movement from right to left, confirming the direction of reading and the preeminence of the right-hand side.

Prophetic Vestiges

Religious imagery of different contents such as the Islamic holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem; physical descriptions (sing. *hilye*) of the Prophet Muhammad, the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, and the prophets; calligraphic renditions of the names of Allah, Muhammad, the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Hasan, and Husayn; seal designs of the great seal of God, the eye upon God, and the seal of Solomon; prophetic vestiges; eschatological imagery; and others such as the double-bladed sword of 'Ali, and magic squares (*vefk*) and circles (*dā'ire*) were frequently depicted on separate pages of the *En'ām-ı Şerif*.²⁶⁹ However, it was not common to encounter religious imagery other than representations of the holy sites in Ottoman *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies. Only in a number of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies, religious imagery associated with the Prophet Muhammad such as his *hilye*, belongings (*muḥallefāt*), and seal of prophecy (*mühr-i nübüvvet*) accompanied Haramayn representations and even replaced Rawda images. Prophetic vestiges surrounded Haramayn

²⁶⁹ For the most common religious imagery, see Gruber, ““Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected’,” 25–27; Bain, “The Late Ottoman En'ām-ı Şerif,” 70–123; and Khamehyar, “Osmanlı Dönemi Resimli Dua Kitaplarında Kutsal Emanetlerin Tasvirleri,” 389–420.

representations in a few nineteenth-century lithograph copies of the prayer book, preceded or followed paintings of the holy sites in some manuscript copies, and substituted for Rawda images in some other manuscript copies. In some Magribi copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, however, religious imagery other than representations of the Rawda (e.g., those of the Prophet's sandal and genealogy, the Masjid al-Haram, and the Masjid al-Nabawi) could be found before the introduction.

In a 1285/1868–69 lithograph edition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* preserved in the National Library of Turkey in Ankara (EHT 1967 A 390), the double-page composition of Mecca and Medina was enhanced with other religious imagery such as the Prophet's mihrab, footprint (*ka-dem-i şerif*), handprint (*pençe-i mübârek*), sandals (*na'leyn-i şerif*), standard (*sancâk-ı şerif*), and belongings (Figure 40).²⁷⁰

Here, the primary images of Mecca and Medina have captions encircled above their elliptical frames, whereas the subsidiary images receive labels on different sides and directions. Furthermore, an inscription on the upper right corner of the right-hand page reads as “belongings of the lord of all creation” (*muḥallefât-ı Seyyidü'l-kā'ināt*) and another one on the upper left corner of the left-hand page reads as “most superior greetings be upon him” (*'aleyhi efzâle't-taḥiyyât*). The former inscription clarifies the content of the double-page composition and the latter requests blessings upon the Prophet. The incorporation of prophetic vestiges effectively widened the horizons of the Haramayn while subsuming the image content of the *En'âm-ı Şerif*. Such double-

²⁷⁰ See also EHT 1967 A 33767 in the National Library of Turkey.

page designs not only provided visual economy for the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, but they also amalgamated devotional and terrestrial imagery for their users.²⁷¹

In a late-eighteenth-century miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Beyazıt Library (B 1270), the same logic is also the case, only on successive folios (Figures 41, 42, 43, and 44).²⁷² The first three lines of Rawda's textual description is followed by a double-page perspectival view of the Rawdat al-Mubārak (Figure 41), the rest of the Rawda text and different arrangements of the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, and 'Umar (Figure 42, right), the seal of prophecy (Figure 42, left), perspectival views of Mecca and Medina (Figure 43), and a double-page *hilye* (Figure 44). Consequently, the first section of prayers starts with an illuminated headpiece, marking the part to be read on Monday. Here, the textual and pictorial diversification adheres to prophetic associations in relation to the content of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.

Similar to Figure 40 and Figures 41, 42, 43, and 44, a lithographic print from the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 1006) was composed of imagery associated with the Prophet (Figure 45).²⁷³ This print on paper was mounted on wood and framed to be hung on a wall. The central section of this rectangular print consists of a perspectival view of Medina, and the *hilye* in its most common format initiated by the renowned seventeenth-century calligrapher Hafız Osman. This section is

²⁷¹ For the Prophet-centered devotions in the Ottoman Empire, see the relevant chapter in Christiane Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One: The Prophet Muhammad in Islamic Texts and Images* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, forthcoming).

²⁷² This miscellany was copied by Mahmud Raci, a disciple of Mustafa Kütahi, and Ali Şakir, a disciple of Veliyüddin, in 1191/1777–78. It was illuminated by Mehmed Şevki, a disciple of Müzehhib Kalyuni. Another manuscript copied by Mahmud Raci is mentioned in Chapter 4 (Figures 162 and 163).

²⁷³ A very similar print can also be found in Işın and Özpallabıyıklar, eds. *Hoş Gör Yâ Hü*, 22–23.

surrounded by the following on three sides: the roses of Muhammad and Fatima, the date palm the Prophet planted himself, and his belongings, standard, footprint, and handprint. Subsequently, a band of floral scrolls and medallions inscribed with the names of Allah, Muhammad, the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Hasan, Husayn, Abraham, and Ishmael frames the composition.

In Figure 45, the arch with a hanging lamp is labelled as “prayer rug” (*seccāde*), while it is called the “mihrab” in Figure 40. This discrepancy yet congruence brings to mind the use of arch-and-lamp units in Rawda compositions and elsewhere such as prayer rugs.²⁷⁴ It is also worth noting that the visual inclusion of the Prophet’s signet ring (*ḥātem-i šerīf*) among the *muḥallefāt* was not a common practice. The Prophet’s *ḥātem* was inscribed with “Muhammad is the Messenger of God” and was also used by Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthman after his death.²⁷⁵ A letter attributed to the Prophet with the impression of his signet ring is preserved at the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts (*Emānāt-ı Muḳaddese*) in the Topkapı Palace Museum, even though the ring is believed to have disappeared during the caliphate of ‘Uthman.²⁷⁶ Across the *ḥātem-i šerīf* is a sword (*ḳılıç*) in its scabbard rather than the frequently depicted double-bladed sword *zūlfikār*. This is another reference to the collection of the sacred trusts which contains the Prophet’s letter, sandals, footprint, mantle, and the banner of praise besides his two swords.²⁷⁷ Another important component of this print is the rose of Muhammad (*gül-i Muḥammedī*) inscribed with the names of the Twelve

²⁷⁴ See section “The Tomb of the Prophet,” for this discussion.

²⁷⁵ For a short description of the signet ring, see Venetia Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals and Amulets in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 2011), 1–2.

²⁷⁶ Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 96–100.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 268–75.

Imams (*On İki İmām*) and the rose of Fatima inscribed with the names of the Innocent and Pure (*Ma‘şūm-u Pāk*) on each leaf of the plants.²⁷⁸ The selection of such content demonstrates that the target audience of this print was of Sufi orders (*tarīkat*).

In an earlier *levha* (1264/1847–48), the images of Mecca and Medina were grouped with the Prophet’s footprint; the names of Allah, Muhammad, the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Hasan, Husayn, and the four archangels; Qur’anic verses; and Ottoman Turkish verses praising the Prophet’s *mir‘āj* and footprint (Figure 46).²⁷⁹ On the upper registers of the *levha*, under the *basmala*, a partial verse from Sūrat al-Ghāfir (40:44) reading “so I commit my case to God: God is well aware of His servants” is followed by verses from Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33:38–40 and 56) concerning the Messenger of God. The Ottoman Turkish verses are inscribed inside the central footprint and the lateral cypress trees, and on the lower registers on both sides of the colophon. The colophon of this *levha* provides the date 1264/1847–48 and the calligrapher’s name, Karaburunizade Mustafa Emin İzmiri, who was a disciple of Mehmed Nuri. On a vertical axis across the footprint, a six-pointed star (recalling the seal of Solomon), a rectangle, and a square respectively contain the following verses:

Sīne-i mermere başdıkda yer itmiş anda
 Kadem-i pāk-i Resūl-i ‘Arabī ‘Acemī
Anı ta‘zīmle hıfz eyleyub Āl-i ‘Osmān
 Oldı anıñla müşerref Harem-i Muhteremi
Ola müstağrağ-ı envār-ı hidāyet dā’im
 Resmini naqş iden üstādıñ elinde kalemī
Yanmayub hıfz ide āteşde Hūdā āfetden
 Devlet ol hāneye anda ola naqş-ı kademī

²⁷⁸ Innocent and Pure are the young martyrs from the Ahl al-Bayt and the Twelve Imams.

²⁷⁹ I have come across this piece in an auction catalogue. *Alif Art: Osmanlı & Karma Sanat Eserleri Müzayedesı*, 8 Mart 2009 (İstanbul: Alif Art, 2009), lot 346.

Ola yā Rabb tenādī-i [?] gūn[ā]hkāra maḳām
Rūz-ı maḥşerde anıñ sāye-rīz [?] ‘alemi

Left an impression while stepping on the bosom of the marble,
The pure foot of the Messenger of Arabs and Persians.
The Ottoman dynasty treasured it with reverence,
And it honored their Respected Harem [i.e., the Imperial Palace].
May it always be immersed in the light of the right path,
The pen of the master who drew its image.
May it not burn by fire, may God protect it from disasters,
May the image of the footprint provide prosperity to that house.
Oh God, may it be the place for the assembling [?] of sinners,
His shadow-shedding [?] banner on the Day of Judgement.

Inside the cypress trees, below the representations of Mecca and Medina, four couplets read:

Cenāb-ı Hāzret-i Şāh-ı Nübüvvet
O şeb mi‘rāc için olındı da‘vet
Burāk’ı aldı geldi Kudūs’e Cibrīl
Başub taşā Burāk’a bindi Hāzret
Mübārek ayağı taşda yer itdi
O taşdan alındı işbu şüret
Kudūm-u pāka dā’im yüzüñ sür
Ümid eyle Muḥammed’dēn şefā‘at

His Excellency, Majesty, and King of the Prophethood
Was invited for the ascension that night.
Gabriel brought the winged steed to Jerusalem,
His Majesty stepped on the rock and rode the winged steed.
His blessed foot left an impression on the rock,
This likeness was traced from that rock.
Always rub your face on the pure footprint,
Hope for the intercession of Muhammad.

At the lower registers of the *levḥa*, on each side of the colophon, the following couplet reads:

Diler iseñ bulasın mażhar-ı ‘afv-ı ğufrān
Kadem-i pāk-ı Resūle yüzüñi sür her ān

If you wish, you shall be a recipient of pardon and forgiveness,
Rub your face on the pure footprint of the Prophet at any time.

Theses verses remind the reader/viewer that the Prophet’s foot left an impression on the Rock in Jerusalem during his ascension and that the footprint in the *levḥa* was

taken from that particular impression.²⁸⁰ They emphasize the Ottoman dynasty as the protector of the *ka'dem-i şerîf* and the *ka'dem-i şerîf* as the protector of houses, which was also a common use of *hilyes*. Moreover, they promise God's forgiveness and the Prophet's intercession via touching the face to the footprint, which was a function also attributed to images of the Ka'ba and the Rawda. Slightly different versions of these verses were inscribed on two silver plates held in the Topkapı Palace Museum (1054/1644–45) and a ceramic tile held in the Benaki Museum (1118/1706–7).²⁸¹ Both the silver plates and the ceramic tile depict the footprint(s) of the Prophet and were perhaps designed to be durable given the wear of occasional touching of the face.

There are several footprints of the Prophet preserved *in situ* and as portable objects, some of which are held in the Topkapı Palace Museum.²⁸² Both the sandals and the footprints of the Prophet were highly esteemed and thus their images were frequently encountered in Ottoman visual culture.²⁸³ As such text-and-image relationship shows, the images of the footprint and the couplets were translated into different

²⁸⁰ I would like to thank Ayşe Ezgi Dikici and Tobias Heinzelmann for helping me with the transliteration and translation of these verses.

²⁸¹ For the silver plates, see Hilmi Aydın, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler* (İstanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004), 118–122. For the ceramic tile, see “Ceramic Tile with Turkish Inscriptions,” Benaki Museum, accessed December 27, 2017, https://www.benaki.gr/index.php?option=com_collectionitems&view=collectionitem&id=117025&Itemid=0&lang=en.

²⁸² For footprints of the Prophet, see Christiane Gruber, “The Prophet Muhammad’s Footprint,” in *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia, Studies in Honour of Charles Melville*, eds. Robert Hillenbrand, A. C. S. Peacock, and Firuza Abdullaeva (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 297–305; and Perween Hasan, “The Footprint of the Prophet,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 335–43. See also Michele Bernardini, “Popular and Symbolic Iconographies Related to the Haram al-Sharif during the Ottoman Period,” in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917*, eds. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 95–102; and Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 114–19.

²⁸³ The Mamluk pilgrimage scroll (836/1432–33) of a female pilgrim named Maymuna in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 27566) depicts the sandal and calls for rubbing the image for the love of the Prophet. Porter, *The Art of Hajj*, 60, fig. 34.

media over time (i.e., from 1054/1644–45 to 1264/1847–48), so that some devotees could touch their faces on these objects for the forgiveness of God, the intercession of the Prophet, or the protection of their houses. As there are examples that attest to the power of images, there are also instances that attest to texts' containment of power. For instance, in the AEM manuscript, the texts inscribed within the footprint and sandal of the Prophet (a couplet, the names of the Seven Sleepers, and a prayer) were noted to carry virtues rather than the images themselves (*te'sīr du'ādadur, resimde değildur*) (Figure 8). Gazing, reading, and writing these texts were expected to provide cure, ease problems, and fulfill wishes.

The next two examples point out how the Prophet's belongings and standard, which are held in the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts (*Emānāt-ı Mukāddese*) at the Topkapı Palace, were used interchangeably with Rawda images. I have come across a corpus of three *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies in the Beyazıt Library, which depict the Prophet's footprint and belongings rather than an image of the Rawda (B 1265, B 1266, and B 1269).²⁸⁴ Each of these manuscripts includes a single-page composition of the Prophet's footprint, prayer rug, mantle (*hırka-i sa'adet*), toothbrush (*misvāk-i şerīf*), prayer beads (*tesbīh-i şerīf*), ablution basin (*leğen-i şerīf*), and pitcher (*ibrik-i şerīf*) after the first section of the Rawda text (Figure 47).²⁸⁵ Such a composition is very similar to those found in *En'ām-ı Şerīf* copies. In Figure 26, for instance, the same selection of items, with the omission of the Prophet's footprint and the addition of his Qur'an copy (*muşhaf-i şerīf*) and comb (*tarāk-i şerīf*), are depicted across the Ka'ba

²⁸⁴ According to the inventory record, B 1265 was copied by Mustafa İzzet Efendi in 1260/1844–45; however, I have been able to locate the colophon. B 1266 was copied by Seyyid Hasan Hüsni, a disciple of Vasfi Efendi, in 1260/1844–45. B 1269 was copied by İbrahim Sururi, a disciple of Osman Zeki in 18 Cemaziyelahir 1260 / 5 July 1844. All three manuscripts bear the endowment inscriptions (1266/1849–50) and the impressions of Bezmialem Valide Sultan's seal.

²⁸⁵ In addition to the listed items, B 1269 also depicts the sandal of the Prophet.

image. Whether some of these objects, such as the *muṣḥaf*, genuinely belonged to the Prophet is questionable, as the Qur'an is known to be compiled into book format during the reign of 'Uthman.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, they were attributed to the Prophet to the point that they replaced another trace of him, the Rawda.

The noble standard (*sancāk-ı şerīf*), which played important religious, military, and ceremonial roles in the Ottoman Empire, replaced the Rawda in the same way in a copy of Karadavudzade's Turkish commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Mihrişah Sultan 67) in the Süleymaniye Library (Figure 48).²⁸⁷ Even though the last line and the catchwords on the opposite page of the painting read "So here is the depiction of the Garden of Purity" (*Hakezā işte bu Ravza-ı Muṭahharaniñ taşvīridir*), the choice of religious imagery does not match the written words. The iconographies of the noble standard and the banner of praise (*livā'ü'l-ḥamd*) could be confused in *En'ām-ı Şerīf* copies and elsewhere, where either or both of them were depicted. However, the common way to depict them was to show the former as a green swirling (*dürülü*) flag and the latter as a three-partite flag.

Eschatological Imagery

In addition to *hilyes*, calligraphic renditions, seal designs, and prophetic vestiges; eschatological imagery also appeared in prayer books. The paradisiacal tree (*şecere-i tūbā*) and the banner of praise (*livā'ü'l-ḥamd*), under which believers will gather on the Day of Judgement, were commonly illustrated in separate folios in *En'ām-ı Şerīf*

²⁸⁶ For a discussion about the authenticity of items depicted in *muḥallefāt* compositions, see Khamehyar, "Osmanlı Dönemi Resimli Dua Kitaplarında Kutsal Emanetlerin Tasvirleri," 407–15.

²⁸⁷ For more information about the noble standard, see Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 70–86.

copies. The scales of justice (*mīzān*) and the bridge over hell (*şirāt*), however, were often incorporated into Haram al-Sharif images in prayer and pilgrimage manuals (Figures 3 and 176). The paradisiacal tree and basin, the banner of praise, the scales of justice, the bridge over hell, and more contents could also be found in manuscript and print copies of the *Maʿrifetnāme* and Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi's (d. 855/1451) *Muḥammediyye* (Figures 49, 50, and 51).²⁸⁸

In several copies of the *Muḥammediyye*, the *livāʿü'l-ḥamd* is the only painting in the entire manuscript inserted into the section about the banner of praise.²⁸⁹ To illustrate, in a copy of the *Muḥammediyye* in the Beyazıt Library (B 8611), the image of the *livāʿü'l-ḥamd* follows the couplet that reads (Figure 50):²⁹⁰ “It is with three lines and this is its image / Every line's length lasts for a thousand years” (*Üç satır var üzerinde şekli işbu resmidir / Her satırın uzunluğu biñ yıl kadardır pāyidār*). These three lines are respectively: the *basmala* or the first verse of the Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (*Bismillāhirraḥmanirraḥīm*), the second verse of the Sūrat al-Fātiḥa (*Al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbilʿālamīn*), and *al-kalimat aṭ-ṭayyiba* (*Lā ilāha illāllāh Muḥammadur rasūlullāh*). They are often found attentively inscribed on each section of the banner, as in the Beyazıt manuscript. In the AEM prayer book, the same lines were quoted on

²⁸⁸ Gruber, “Signs of the Hour,” 52–55. For an interpretation of the depictions of the Prophet with the banner of praise, see Aslıhan Erkmen, “The Visualization of Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn Işāq Ardabilī: A Unique Illustrated Copy of the Şafwat al-Şafā at the Aga Khan Museum Collection and Its Illustrations,” *Iranian Studies* 50 (2017): 51–56.

²⁸⁹ There are of course other copies which are lavishly illustrated. However, for manuscripts which have only the representation of the banner of praise, see the copies in the Istanbul University Library (T 1239), Beyazıt Library (B 8611) (Figure 50), and the Süleymaniye Library (Yazma Bağışlar 3359).

²⁹⁰ For the full text about the banner, see Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed, *Muḥammediyye*, ed. Amil Çelebioğlu, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Tercüman, no date), 492. For a study on Bursalı İsmail Hakkı's commentary on the *Muḥammediyye*, see Tobias Heinzelmann, “Anfänge einer türkischen Philologie? Bursalı İsmāʿīl Hakkı kopiert und kommentiert Yazıcıoğlu Mehmeds Muḥammedīye,” in *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 99–150.

four divisions of the banner with the last and longest one being separated into two (Figure 6). Such meticulous textual details were also noted in print copies of the *Muhammediyye*, where the banner of praise could appear with the minbars of the prophets (*menābirü'l-enbiyā'*) and the pedestals of the learned (*kerāsī'l-'ulemā'*) (Figure 51). In several *Ma'rifetnāme* copies, the banner, the minbars, and the pedestals were combined with other eschatological motifs such as the station of the Prophet (*maḳām-ı Maḥmūd*) and the scales of justice (Figure 49). On the Day of Judgement, besides the Prophet Muhammad, other prophets and the learned are also believed to intercede with God on behalf of believers, which explains the visual assembly of the *livā'ü'l-ḥamd* with the *menābirü'l-enbiyā'* and the *kerāsī'l-'ulemā'*.

In Figure 6, the caption reads as “this is the banner of praise and God has benefited us through His intercession” (*hāzā livā'ü'l-ḥamd ve nef'anā Allāh bişefā'athi*) on the right-hand page, and a similar caption also calls for the intercession of the Prophet via the image of *maḳām-ı Maḥmūd* on the left-hand page. Furthermore, in the corpus of *En'ām-ı Şerif* manuscripts, the weak or fabricated hadith “Whoever visits my tomb, my intercession will be guaranteed for him” is inscribed below the Burial Chamber (Figure 4, right). Such textual evidence suggests that the images of the Rawda, the banner of praise, and the station of the Prophet were believed to provide intercession for their viewers.

Besides the banner of praise, the AEM prayer book includes some other eschatological motifs that are not commonly depicted in *En'ām-ı Şerif* copies. In Figure 11, a double-page composition depicts the pulpits of the prophets and the stations of the learned and the pious. On the right-hand page, the Prophet's pulpit is the first one below the orange and yellow steps, which might stand for two of the

seven levels of heaven. The marginal note defines the painting as “the station of the pedestal and the pulpit” (*kürsī ve minber maḳāmi*). Another double-page composition shows the basins (sing. *ḥavż*) of the prophets and the Ten Promised of Paradise (Figure 12). On the right-hand page, the Prophet’s basin is depicted as the largest silver parallelogram among all and placed in the first row. The marginal note above the Prophet’s basin states that those who drink this water (*kevşer*) will not get thirsty. Here, it is important to note that the minbar and basin of the Prophet are mentioned in the Rawda hadith that constituted a source for many compositions of the Burial Chamber and the Minbar in the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*.²⁹¹

Moreover, the AEM prayer book comprises single- or double-page compositions of the pedestals of the prophets, the stations of the Ten Promised of Paradise, the lote tree of the limit (*sidretü’l-müntehā*), the frequented house (*beytü’l-ma’mūr*), and hell (*cehennem*). In Figure 7, the lote tree of the limit and the frequented house of the seventh heaven, which frequently appear in *mir’āj* texts and images, are depicted as gardens of Paradise and described in the margins. In both compositions, Qur’anic verses about the Hereafter as well as God’s protection, support, and forgiveness are inscribed between the orange colored flowers. A verse from Sūrat al-Baqara — “[Others pray] Our Lord, give us good in this world and in the Hereafter, and protect us from the torment of the Fire” (2:201) — is quoted on the right-hand page, whereas three verses from Sūrat Ṭaha — “[Moses said] Lord, lift up my heart and ease my task for me. Untie my tongue, so that they may understand my words” (20:25–28) — and a verse from Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān — “[...] Our Lord, forgive us our sins wipe out our bad deeds, and grant that we join the righteous when we die” (3:193) — are written

²⁹¹ “The space between my house and my pulpit is like one of the gardens of paradise and my pulpit will stand next to my basin [*ḥawḍ*].” Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 313.

on the left-hand page. In Figure 13, the marginal notes and what looks like speech bubbles record those who will go to hell, such as those who bossed their parents or worshipped idols, and those who did not give alms or perform the pilgrimage. On the right-hand page, the *şirāt* rises above hell (as if the viewer is looking from above) and visually divides the composition into two parts.

As in the AEM prayer book, the images of heaven and hell, the bridge over hell, the lote tree of the limit, the pedestal(s) of the learned, and the Prophet's basin also appear in an *En'ām-ı Şerīf* copy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no. 2014.44). This prayer book was copied by Abdülkadir Hisari, a disciple of Ebubekir Raşid, in Muharrem 1180 / June–July 1766.²⁹² The majority of religious imagery in this book is in the form of calligrams, or more precisely gold line drawings filled with black *ghubār* script.²⁹³ This prayer book has a very extensive program of religious imagery including some other eschatological imagery such as the scales of justice, the land of gathering, and the throne of God, and some common ones such as the seal of Solomon, the footprint of the Prophet, and the double-bladed sword of 'Ali. Furthermore, the calligrapher visualized prophetic motifs such as the cave of Seven Sleepers (*Mağāra-i Aşhābü'l-Kehf*) and Mount Sinai where Moses received the Ten Commandments (*Ḥazret-i Mūsā 'Aleyhisselāmiñ münācāt eylediği Tūr Dağı*).

²⁹² “Prayer Book,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed December 27, 2017, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/629452?sortBy=Relevance&ft=2014.44&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>. For a short entry about the calligrapher, see Müstakimzāde, *Tuhfe-i Hattātin*, ed. Mustafa Koç (İstanbul: Klasik, 2011), 242.

²⁹³ It is also possible to see a similar micrographic application depicting the temple implements in a Hebrew manuscript, see Abby Kornfeld, “Seeking the Eternal Jerusalem,” in *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People under Heaven*, eds. Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 279–80, fig. 137d.

Eschatological imagery also appears in three sets of prophylactic prayer cards, one of which is held in the Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection of Kubbealtı Academy (no. XXI/2) and two of which were auctioned by Sotheby's and Christie's (Figures 52, 53, and 54).²⁹⁴ Both the Kubbealtı and Sotheby's prayer manuals are signed by Mehmed b. Hasan of Misis; however, the former is dated to Şevval 1166 / August 1753 whereas the latter is dated to 1151/1738–39. Here, the depictions of the scales of justice, heaven, and hell were visualized besides the holy triad. As in these prayer cards, the eschatological imagery in a copy of Sulayman al-Jamal's Arabic commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Isl. Ms. 526) in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library) was based on by 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani's *al-Mizān al-Kubrā* (The Supreme Scale).²⁹⁵

As Gruber points out, seal designs were prevalent in Ottoman textile and book arts and thus could be encountered in talismanic sheets and shirts as well as scrolls and manuscripts.²⁹⁶ This was also the case for images of the Islamic holy sites and other religious imagery in different media and contexts. To illustrate, the Masjid al-Haram was accompanied by several magic squares on a talismanic shirt (Figure 186) and the double-bladed sword of 'Ali in a talismanic folio (Figure 177), and the holy triad was combined with prophetic vestiges and eschatological imagery in three sets of prayer cards (Figures 52, 53, and 54).²⁹⁷ Furthermore, in a number of mosques and tombs in

²⁹⁴ M. Baha Tanman, ed., *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi 1899–1984: Mimarlık Tarihçisi, Restoratör, Koleksiyoner* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2014), 264–65, cat. 117; *Sotheby's. Arts of the Islamic World, 25 October 2017* (London: Sotheby's, 2017), lot 44; and *Christie's. Indian & Islamic Works of Art & Textiles, 6 October 2008* (London: Christie's, 2008), lot 167.

²⁹⁵ See Evyn Kropf's detailed entry at "Kitāb al-Minaḥ al-ilāhīyah bi-sharḥ Dalā'il al-khayrāt," Mirlyn Catalog, accessed April 5, 2017, <https://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/006782286/Description#tabs>.

²⁹⁶ Gruber, "'Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected,'" 25, 31.

²⁹⁷ These objects will be further studied in Chapter 4.

Anatolia, late Ottoman wall paintings of the eschaton appeared with those of the Maşjid al-Haram and several other themes.²⁹⁸ In the Belenardıç Village Mosque (Akköy, Denizli), the interior walls of the mosque are lavishly painted with images including a depiction of the Maşjid al-Haram and the eschaton (Figures 55 and 56). From left to right in Figure 56, the Day of Judgement was visualized with the banner of praise, the scales of justice, and a pair of scissors; Hell with its levels, the *şırāt*, a cauldron of tar, and the infernal tree; and Heaven with its levels and gates, and the paradisiacal tree.²⁹⁹ In the Tekke Village Şeyh Nusrettin Tomb (Zile, Tokat), the minbars of the prophets and pedestals of the learned were also added to the wall paintings of the eschaton. Such eschatological iconography was perhaps sourced from popular illustrated books such as the *Muḥammediyye* and the *Maʿrifetnāme*.

Evaluation

In the late Ottoman Empire, representations of the House of God, the Tomb of the Prophet, the Haramayn, and the holy triad were prevalent in a variety of media and contexts from *kıblenümās* to reverse glass paintings. In prayer manuals, *levḥas*, and wall paintings they could also be combined with other religious imagery. Pictorial programs of several prayer books were enhanced with eschatological imagery that also appeared in books such as *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*, the *Muḥammediyye*, and the *Maʿrifetnāme*, as well as prophetic vestiges preserved in the Topkapı Palace

²⁹⁸ See the wall paintings of the Belenardıç Village Mosque (Akköy, Denizli), the İdris Village Mosque (Dazkırı, Afyon), the Boğaziçi Kasabası Eski Camii (Baklan, Denizli), and the Tekke Village Şeyh Nusrettin Tomb (Zile, Tokat) in Dilek Şener, “XVIII ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Duvar Resimleri” (PhD diss., Ankara University, 2011), 541, 555–56, 559–60, 655–56.

²⁹⁹ The pair of scissors could be a reference to the torment of cutting of tongues in hell. For its mention in the Timurid *Miʿrājnāma*, see Gruber, *The Timurid Book of Ascension*, 366, 372.

Museum. As I further discuss in Chapter 4, prayer manuals' widening of visual programs not only promised the veneration and intercession of the Prophet Muhammad, the prophets, and the learned, but also provided potential blessings, cure, and protection for their owners/viewers.

Even though Haramayn images were the most widespread of all image combinations, the holy triad also did appear in the Ottoman visual repertoire. There are very few examples, however, in which Damascus was added to the visual roster. Besides the AEM prayer book (Figures 15, 16, 17, and 18), the holy quartet was also tailored for other contexts such as an early-nineteenth-century *muṣḥaf* in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (MS.720.210)³⁰⁰ and a late-nineteenth-century *ḥilye* in the Collection of Cengiz Çetindoğan (no. 3763).³⁰¹ In the frontispiece of the Doha manuscript, each city receives a cartouche above or below Sūrat al-Fātiḥa or Sūrat al-Baqara, while, in the *ḥilye*, they are placed on four corners of the composition. Damascus is known for the footprint(s) of the Prophet, its eternal gardens and the Jabal Qasiyun where Qabil (Cain) killed Habil (Abel), and as the resting place of many prophets and saints including Yahya (John the Baptist) and the return place of Jesus before the Day of Judgement.³⁰² In the AEM prayer book, the city's paradisiacal gardens were emphasized with the common phrase "Damascus fragrant as paradise" (*Ṣām-ı cennet-meṣām*) in the marginalia, while its prophetic associations were recalled with

³⁰⁰ For the catalogue entry on this manuscript, see Chekhab-Abudaya and Bresc, *Hajj*, 20–21.

³⁰¹ Safwat, *Understanding Calligraphy*, 424–25, cat. 102.

³⁰² For the significance of Damascus, see Nancy Khalek, *Damascus after the Muslim Conquest: Text and Image in Early Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 98; Kister, "Sanctity Joint and Divided," 21–26; Nerina Rustomji, *The Garden and the Fire*, 130; and Christian Lange, *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 250–52. For the footprints, see Gruber, "The Prophet Muhammad's Footprint," 300; and Hasan, "The Footprint of the Prophet," 335.

the textual and visual depictions of the “station of John the Baptist” (*makām-ı Hāzret-i Yahyā*) inside the Great Mosque (Figure 18).³⁰³

Another quartet could be formed with the addition of Istanbul to the holy triad. The term *āsītāne* (sacred place or threshold) could be used for Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and especially Istanbul in the Ottoman context.³⁰⁴ For instance, according to Hasan Baktır, Evliya Çelebi utilized the term to describe Jerusalem’s sanctity as “All-Prophets’ City” and as the threshold between heaven and earth during the Prophet’s ascension.³⁰⁵ In the front doublure of an album presented to Selim III (r. 1789–1807) held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (A 3689), these four cities are depicted inside an elaborate frame vertically divided by their captions (Figure 109).³⁰⁶ Here, the four holy cities were listed according to their ranks, adding the Ottoman capital to the glorious roster. In the back doublure of the album, there is another painting depicting the Bosphorus, Dardanelles, Bursa, and Edirne (Figure 110). These four-partite paintings, or the octuplicate, provide a panorama of the empire with its straits, capitals, and religious centers. Overall, a large array of representations from the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, and ‘Umar to the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem appeared in Ottoman prayer books and other contexts during the

³⁰³ For the city of Damascus in Ottoman poetry, see Ahmet Topal, “Klasik Türk Şiirinde ‘Şam-ı Şerif,’” *A. Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi* 48 (2012): 51–70.

³⁰⁴ The term is also used for the main dervish lodge in Sufi orders. M. Baha Tanman, “Āsitāne,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), 485–87.

³⁰⁵ Hasan Baktır, “Evliya Çelebi’s Seyāhatnāme and the Holiness of Jerusalem,” in *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517–1713*, eds. Judy A. Haden and Nabil I. Matar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 114–15.

³⁰⁶ The album consists of two engraved portraits of Selim III, one of which is colored. The sultan’s portrait was painted by Kostantin Kapıdağlı and then engraved by Schiavonetti in London. Both of the four-partite panoramas are also attributed to Kostantin Kapıdağlı. Günsel Renda, “Resam Konstantin Kapıdağlı Hakkında Yeni Görüşler,” in *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda Sanat Ortamı Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 14–15 Mart 1996* (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1996), 139–62.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their different combinations and expansions yielded a new kind of Ottoman religious imagery that creatively combined holy spaces with prophetic and eschatological traces.

CHAPTER 2

MULTIVIEWS, PARALINE VIEWS, AND PERSPECTIVAL VIEWS

The focus of this chapter is not architecture, urban space, or the landscape of the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites; rather, it is their modes of representation. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century depictions of the Islamic holy sites display a variety of pictorial attributes with/without volume, color, light, and shade despite the same theme. Each of them can be situated on a scale whose three ends are marked by schematic drawing, painting, and map.³⁰⁷ The examination of representations cannot only be limited to their own genre and period, nor do they depend on present-day standards and examples. Even though late Ottoman representations exhibit different image-making processes and graphic constructions, they do not stand isolated from their predecessors or other depictions of space in Europe and the Islamic world.³⁰⁸ Furthermore, their examination cannot be confined

³⁰⁷ Christian Jacob mentions such a scale for maps. He says that a map might be closer to one end — “figurative painting” — or the other — “schematic diagram.” He also questions the border between a map and a landscape painting. Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 14.

³⁰⁸ J. B. Harley defines three contexts to read maps: the context of the cartographer, the context of other maps, and the context of society. J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 38–49.

to contemporary terminology only, as Ottoman terms for representations and space possess many ambiguities.

In this chapter, my aim is to provide a context for representations of the Islamic holy sites and a structure to study them in coherent terms. I examine a selection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites with two questions in mind: How do representations of the Islamic holy sites relate to the larger accumulation of drawings, paintings, and maps? How were different techniques utilized to construct three-dimensional space of the Islamic holy sites on a two-dimensional surface such as a canvas or manuscript folio? I consult a modern classification of pictorial systems, as it provides precise definitions and a clear division of terms, where contemporary Ottoman sources cease to do so.

Here, I would like to suggest using a categorization of visual modes to have a better understanding of space construction that covers a large array of representations, if not all. Among other writers on architectural drawing and design graphics, I follow Francis Ching's definitions to acquire precise and consistent terminology for the visual analysis of representations in various media.³⁰⁹ Pictorial and projection systems were and still are appropriated and applied in different fields such as architecture, mechanical and military engineering, and painting. They serve several purposes such as sketching ideas without any intention of realizing them, visualizing projects that are going to be manufactured or built, or representing already existing situations of objects and spatial environments. Depictions of irregular forms such as human figures do not easily reveal the projection systems in which they are drawn;

³⁰⁹ I specifically refer to Francis D.K. Ching, *Architectural Graphics* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 29–129. See also Rendow Yee, *Architectural Drawing: A Visual Compendium of Types and Methods* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 133–253.

however, those of the built environment have a more direct way of communicating their pictorial systems. Such a differentiation makes it possible to scrutinize the pictorial and projection systems utilized to depict the Islamic holy sites.

There are three major pictorial systems (multiview, paraline, and perspective) and four corresponding projection types (orthographic, axonometric, oblique, and perspective) that emerge from the task of transferring three-dimensional information onto a two-dimensional plane. Considering the nineteenth-century representations of the holy sites, I add photographic views and camera projection to my analysis of visual modes (Figure 57). One might find examples from each visual mode in representations of the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. It is hard to determine when each visual mode was adapted to represent the holy sites and what their origins were. For the purposes of this study, these origins are not of primary importance. What is more significant is that they became widespread and coexisted in large quantities in late Ottoman visual culture.

Among other media, manuscript paintings of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi and Mecca and Medina in *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies constitute the largest bulk of representations from this period. For comparative purposes, I have brought together schematic drawings of each system with examples from copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* (Figure 57). I refer to these schemes and their corresponding prayer books in the relevant sections of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. I provide other examples, as the comprehension of visual modes is possible by means of a variety of works. The majority of examples I use are not architectural drawings prepared for professional purposes; however, this does not mean that pictorial and projection systems were not applied to them. On the contrary, the choice of a visual

mode was intentional in many cases, which distinguished representations from one another.

Pictorial space has been briefly mentioned in studies on painting in the Islamic world; however, its graphic construction has been the subject of only a handful of studies. For instance, in *The Mediation of Ornament*, Oleg Grabar describes architecture as one of the intermediaries in art along with calligraphy, geometry, and nature. In order to describe visual modes in architectural ornament, he uses the neology of “optisemic” level and describes plans, elevations, combinations of elevations, and three-dimensional representations as four different methods to present buildings.³¹⁰ In his article entitled “Micrographia,” David Roxburgh discusses the production and reception of Persianate painting based on Khvaju Kirmani’s *Three Masnavis* (1396) and a comparison with the comic book. He draws attention to various interactions between pictorial and textual contents, the bodily experience of looking at manuscript paintings, and the use of “multiple points of perspective.”³¹¹

In a short article, İffet Orbay Grignon focuses on the treatment of space and objects in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscript paintings.³¹² She emphasizes the use of multiple viewpoints and the creation of movement without using a coherent terminology. Reha Günay, in more detail, analyzes the graphic quality of the

³¹⁰ Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 172–86.

³¹¹ David J. Roxburgh, “Micrographia: Toward a Visual Logic of Persianate Painting,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 43 (2003): 11–30.

³¹² İffet Orbay Grignon, “Remarks on the Concept of Pictorial Space in Islamic Painting,” *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 16 (1996): 45–57.

paintings in Arifi's *Süleymānnāme* (1558).³¹³ He provides reproductions of paintings with their simplified line drawings and examines them in terms of space, composition, drawing techniques, and geometric patterns. Similar to what I intend to do in this chapter, he utilizes a consistent terminology throughout the article. Based on the *Süleymānnāme* paintings, he points out the tandem use of elevation and oblique drawings. In her master's thesis, Bahar Beyhan also provides detailed analyses of sixteenth-century manuscript paintings based on their drawing techniques.³¹⁴ She works with case studies from several manuscripts and identifies their key features as parallel and three-dimensional projection, inverted perspective, contour lines, overlappings, and distortions of angles and planes. Charlotte Maury deals with representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi in the Ottoman Empire.³¹⁵ She analyzes the use of "flat representations in twisted perspective," "three-dimensional representation and fewer viewing directions," and "cavalier perspective," while leaving "mimetic and photographic imagery" outside the scope of her work. Roxburgh, Orbay Grignon, Beyhan, and Maury commonly emphasize the multiplicity of viewpoints in manuscript paintings, on which I will subsequently focus in the section "Multiview: An Alternative Term." Furthermore, Günay and Maury adopt their own classifications of pictorial systems that are different than the one I suggest here. Even though their attempts to classify representations of space are valuable, they are not sufficient to examine the immense and complex body of source materials to which I have devoted this dissertation.

³¹³ Reha Günay, "Süleymannāme Minyatürlerinde Mekân ve Anlatım Teknikleri," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı* 5 (1992): 56–159.

³¹⁴ Bahar Beyhan, "Representation of Architecture in the 16th Century Ottoman Miniature Painting" (Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2001).

³¹⁵ Charlotte Maury, "Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries," 548–59.

Multiviews and Orthographic Projection

In *The Ten Books on Architecture* (1st century BC), Vitruvius indicated three *ideai* for *diathesis* (design): *ichnographia*, *orthographia*, and *scenographia* (or *scaenographia*). There has been a consensus about what Vitruvius might have meant with *ichnographia* (plan, horizontal imprint, footprint) and *orthographia* (elevation, vertical imprint, face); yet, scholars have not agreed on a unified meaning of *scenographia*. The literal translation of *scenographia* means “the shaded rendering of the front and the receding sides as the latter converge to a point;” therefore, many scholars have interpreted the term as “perspective.”³¹⁶

Multiview drawings consist of plans (*ichnographia*), sections, and elevations (*orthographia*) drawn by means of orthographic projection (Figure 57). They are constructed by projecting lines (projectors) perpendicular to the picture plane so that the main face in a multiview drawing remains parallel to the picture plane.³¹⁷ Multiview drawings, as a set, can provide complete information about the three-dimensionality of an object or a spatial environment. However, a single multiview drawing can only provide information about two axes at a time, because the third axis becomes flattened in the projection process. For instance, a plan would give an idea about x-and-y axes (horizontal relationships), whereas an elevation would convey information about x-and-z or y-and-z axes (vertical relationships).³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 25.

³¹⁷ Ching, *Architectural Graphics*, 31–32.

³¹⁸ Iain Fraser and Rod Henmi, *Envisioning Architecture: An Analysis of Drawing*. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 46.

Therefore, the distinction between near and far, or information about the flattened axis, can be achieved by means of lineweight.³¹⁹

One needs to see multiple related orthographic projections to fully comprehend the three-dimensional form of an object or a structure. A common Renaissance orthographic set, such as Albrecht Dürer's design for a bastion (Figure 58), often included a plan, an elevation, and a section which represented "organization, proportion, and intricate relationships between inside and outside, front and back, ground level and roof, or part and whole."³²⁰ Other sets could also consist of paraline or perspective drawings to provide information about all three axes.

Orthographic projection reflects objective rather than optical reality and what one knows about an object as opposed to how it appears to the eye.³²¹ Plans and sections necessitate knowledge about the conventions of orthographic projection and envisioning how an object or a spatial environment would look when cut horizontally or vertically. Elevations (or frontal views), however, are more straightforward and easier to comprehend at first sight. If drawn to scale, multiview drawings can be measured precisely and provide accurate information about "geometric configurations, spatial relationships, and the scale and proportion of a design."³²²

³¹⁹ In multiview drawings, objects that are close to the observer are shown with thicker and darker lines, whereas objects that are far from the observer are shown with thinner and lighter lines.

³²⁰ In *Etliche unternicht zu befestigung / der Stett, der Schlosz / und flecken* (Nuremberg, 1527), Albrecht Dürer demonstrated the scaled elevation, plan, and section of an earth-filled bastion in a vertical sequence. Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, eds. *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation, Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 13, cat. 1.

³²¹ Ching, *Architectural Graphics*, 49.

³²² Yee, *Architectural Drawing*, 161.

Even though the concepts and definitions of maps, elevations, and plans became more sophisticated during the Renaissance, the projection of three-dimensional space onto a two-dimensional surface has been practiced for thousands of years. There are a number of surviving Mesopotamian plans and maps on clay tablets, such as the building plan from Tello (late 3rd millennium BC), the plan of the palace of Nur Adad in Larsa (1865–50 BC), and the map of Nippur (1500 BC), which perhaps documented building activities for archival reasons.³²³ The Turin Papyrus Map (ca. 1160 BC), for instance, was intended to guide Ramesses IV's mining and quarrying expedition in the Wadi Hammamat.³²⁴ Later iconic depictions of geography and architecture such as the Severan Marble Plan of Rome (203–8 AD), the plan of Saint Gall (9th century) (Figure 62), and Villard de Honnecourt's sketches (13th century) attest to the continuation of the practice with functional variety.

Similar to European sketch/lodge books depicting decorative patterns, vault designs, and other architectural details, Central Asian and Iranian scrolls confirm master builders and craftsmen's mutual concerns about architecture and decoration.³²⁵ For instance, the late-fifteenth- and/or early-sixteenth-century Topkapı scroll, the

³²³ Rita Dolce, "Some Architectural Drawings on Clay Tablets: Examples of Planning Activity or Sketches?" *First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th–23rd 1998*, eds. Paolo Matthiae et al. (Roma: Università degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza,' 2000), 365–95. See also A. R. Millard, "Cartography in the Ancient near East," in *History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 107–16.

³²⁴ Heinrich Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ed. Emma Brunner-Traut, trans. John Baines (London: Clarendon Press, 1974), 158–60. See also A. F. Shore, "Egyptian Cartography," in *History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 1987), 117–29.

³²⁵ Some of these sketch/lodge books were produced during the Renaissance, but they accumulated knowledge from earlier periods. For more information, see Françoise Bucher, *Architector: The Lodge Books and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979); and Bucher, "Medieval Architectural Design Methods, 800–1560," *Gesta* 11 (1972): 37–51. See also Gülru Necipoğlu, "Geometric Design in Timurid/Turkmen Architectural Practice: Thoughts on a Recently Discovered Scroll and Its Late Gothic Parallels," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, eds. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 48–66.

sixteenth- and/or seventeenth-century Tashkent scrolls, and the nineteenth-century Victoria & Albert scrolls of the court architect Mirza Akbar reflect two- and three-dimensional geometric designs of Timurid/Turcoman and Qajar architectural practices.³²⁶ According to Gülru Necipoğlu, these scrolls “functioned as mnemonic devices that assured the preservation and transmission of architectural knowledge over the generations.”³²⁷ They consisted of *giriş* and *muqarnas* designs as well as calligraphic patterns and ground plans, which made use of grid systems. Oleg Grabar considers similar geometric ornaments as an intermediary between viewer and object, which communicate meanings and allow the flexibility “to look and to decide what to think, what to feel, and even how to act.”³²⁸ Heavily depending on the work by Necipoğlu and Grabar, Hooman Koliji suggests that the geometric mode of *giriş* in the Topkapı and Tashkent scrolls and their built forms in architecture served mystical teachings and architectural imagination as intermediaries between the visible and the invisible.³²⁹

Paraline Views and Axonometric and Oblique Projections

Paraline drawings convey the three-dimensional information of x, y, and z axes in a single view (Figure 57). Representations of this type are often misidentified as perspective drawings because of their three-dimensionality. A perspective drawing

³²⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 9–27, 41–53.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

³²⁸ Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 154, 226–27.

³²⁹ Hooman Koliji, *In-Between: Architectural Drawing and Imaginative Knowledge in Islamic and Western Traditions* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 85, 115, 81.

imposes a specific viewpoint on the observer; however, one can look at a multiview or paraline drawing from different viewpoints, as his/her eyes can “roam over the [...] drawing and be able to correctly interpret the graphic information.”³³⁰ This is because the parallel lines of an object or a spatial environment remain parallel in both multiview and paraline drawings, unlike in perspective drawings, where they merge. Paraline drawings can be drawn as a worm’s-eye view (looking at the object from below) or a bird’s-eye view (looking at the object from above) based on the relative height of the observer to the object. They have the capacity to preserve the scale from which measurements can be made. For such precision, they are sometimes preferred over perspective.

Axonometric or oblique projections generate paraline drawings. Although they have distinct definitions, oblique and axonometric projections are used interchangeably in many instances. In an axonometric projection, none of the faces of an object are parallel to the picture plane. Axonometric projections take different names such as isometric, dimetric, and trimetric, according to the angle between the axes and the picture plane. An oblique projection, however, presents either a plan or a facade as the dominant face in a paraline drawing.³³¹ For instance, when a facade is oriented parallel to the picture plane, the drawing is called an elevation oblique. When a plan is parallel to the picture plane, then it is called a plan oblique.

The scholarly focus on perspective has overshadowed interest in other visual modes. Massimo Scolari, in his book entitled *Oblique Drawing: A History of Anti-Perspective*, demonstrates that paraline drawings deserve equal attention, as they

³³⁰ Ching, *Architectural Graphics*, 38.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 34–36.

have been consistently used in depicting geometric forms, machinery, and military structures, as well as architecture.³³² Paraline drawings were preferred over perspective to demonstrate operative reliability and graphic precision of machines, fortifications, and weapons.³³³ The term “cavalier perspective” was adopted to describe paraline drawings of military structures and later it was also used to identify oblique projection in Chinese painting.

What is known as “cavalier,” “parallel,” or “Chinese” perspective is in fact a paraline drawing under various names. The general attitude to “Chinese” perspective consists of comparing it to “convergent” perspective to verify the equal importance of both techniques in Chinese and European visual cultures.³³⁴ In his doctoral dissertation, Jing Xiao takes such formal analysis to another level with the iconological study of Chinese representations of architecture and landscape, and the psychology of visual perception. He argues that bodily experiences of space translate into two-dimensional representations as purposive patterns of spatial depth that are driven by cultural dynamics.³³⁵ According to Christopher Tyler and Chien-Chung Chen, oblique projection, which was described as the “ruled-line technique” from the fourth century onwards, has a long history in Chinese visual culture.³³⁶ This technique does not adhere to the homogeneity of space, but parallel lines of objects and structures

³³² Massimo Scolari, *Oblique Drawing: A History of Anti-Perspective* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012).

³³³ *Ibid.*, 269, 96–98.

³³⁴ For instance, see Wilfrid H. Wells, *Perspective in Early Chinese Painting* (London: Edward Goldston Ltd., 1935), 64; and Joseph Needham, Wang Ling, and Gwei-Djen Lu, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 4, part 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 113–15.

³³⁵ Jing Xiao, “Challenging Cavalier Perspective: An Iconological Study of Visual Perception of Depth in Chinese Representational Space” (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2013), 333–35.

³³⁶ Christopher W. Tyler and Chien-Chung Chen, “Chinese Perspective as a Rational System: Relationship to Panofsky’s Symbolic Form,” *Chinese Journal of Psychology* 53 (2011): 371–91.

remain consistent within surfaces. Such lack of central convergence in oblique projection allows an uninterrupted movement in the scroll format, as vanishing points might compel the beholder to take up a specific position and become obstacles during a continuous horizontal or vertical viewing.³³⁷

Oblique projection together with “atmospheric” perspective and relative scale were also widespread in Japanese visual culture.³³⁸ For instance, in a Japanese hanging scroll (c. 1300) in the Cleveland Museum of Art, three Shinto shrines in Kumano are shown in elevation oblique (Figure 59). The use of the paraline drawing technique eases the vertical viewing of the scroll which would not be possible with perspective projection. The shrines are consecutively lined up from bottom to top based on the pilgrimage route from Kyoto.³³⁹ Here, there is no uniform scale due to the depth of space; nevertheless, the sizes of shrines diminish with an upward move due to the sequence of travel. The use of “atmospheric” perspective in this scroll is evident in the rendering of landscape with darker colors in the foreground and faded colors in the background.

Perspectival Views and Perspective Projection

Like paraline drawings, perspective drawings also depict three-dimensional features of an object or a spatial environment in a single view (Figure 57). Perspective

³³⁷ Ibid., 89–90.

³³⁸ Curt Glaser, “Die Raumdarstellung in der japanischen Malerei,” *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1908): 402–20.

³³⁹ Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, ed. Naomi Noble Richard (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 408.

drawings depict how objects and space appear to the eye in optical reality, whereas multiview and paraline drawings offer objective reality.³⁴⁰ Based on this difference “[w]riters on modern architecture often have overemphasized a polarity between perspective and axonometry” and stated that “while perspective is about the subject (a specific observer), axonometry is about the object.”³⁴¹ In perspective projection, parallel lines of an object converge at one, two or three vanishing points based on three main axes. The multiplication of vanishing points results in classification as one-, two-, or three-point perspectives. The height of the eye level, on the other hand, results in classification as worm’s-eye view, normal-eye level view, and bird’s-eye view. Many scholars use the term “bird’s-eye view” to define a pictorial system rather than the relative heights of the observer and the object.

The “mastery” of linear perspective varies in different examples; yet, foreshortening and vanishing points are often defined as its key features. Even though one sees through both eyes (binocular vision), linear perspective “assumes that the observer sees through a single eye” (monocular vision).³⁴² As Margaret Iversen and Stephen Melville point out, linear perspective often constrains the artist to a fixed point of view, which in return “consolidates a gaze that secures the position of the viewer.”³⁴³ Therefore, most perspective drawings offer the beholder only a single viewpoint, whereas multiview and paraline drawings can be glanced at or contemplated from multiple viewpoints.

³⁴⁰ Ching, *Architectural Graphics*, 107.

³⁴¹ Alberto Péres-Gómez and Louis Pelletier, *Architectural Presentation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 317.

³⁴² Ching, *Architectural Graphics*, 108.

³⁴³ Margaret Iversen and Stephen Melville, *Writing Art History: Disciplinary Departures* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 109–10.

The third Vitruvian idea of *scenographia* is often associated with the use of optics and geometry in Greek theaters and the presence of pictorial depth in Roman mosaics and frescoes. In his essay “Die Perspektive als ‘symbolische Form’” (1924), Erwin Panofsky has suggested that an early version of perspective, what he calls “antique perspective,” was already in use long before the perspectival construction during the Renaissance.³⁴⁴ Since the Renaissance, there has been a substantial scholarship on perspective and an immense accumulation of images confirming its wide use and articulation. These consist of a variety of works from Brunelleschi’s peepshow to Dürer’s woodcuts and from Alberti’s *De pictura* (1435) to Kepler’s theory of vision.³⁴⁵ In Panofsky’s evolutionary history of perspective, the Classical Antiquity and the Renaissance mark crucial nodes. Panofsky states that antique (curved) perspective created an “aggregate space,” whereas Renaissance (central, linear, modern) perspective created a systematic and unified space.³⁴⁶ In their book entitled *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Alberto Péres-Gómez and Louis Pelletier assert that the pictorial depth in Pompeian frescoes is “far from being the homogeneous space of a perspective drawing,” criticizing Panofsky’s view of “antique” perspective.³⁴⁷ However, Panofsky uses the term “aggregate space” to demonstrate heterogeneity in antique perspective. I believe it is the philosophical and evolutionary aspects of Panofsky’s view of perspective that deserves more discussion here, as opposed to his formal analyses of antique and Renaissance perspectives.

³⁴⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as a Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 37–45, note 18.

³⁴⁵ For an introduction to the use of Kepler’s theory of vision as well as Euclid’s optics and pinhole cameras, see M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting & Photography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

³⁴⁶ Panofsky, 41–42, 65.

³⁴⁷ Péres-Gómez and Pelletier, 99, 103.

According to Panofsky, antique and Renaissance perspectives captured the “symbolic relationship between the art work and the worldview.”³⁴⁸ His article led to further discussions in Hubert Damisch’s *L’origine de la perspective* (1987) and James Elkins’s *The Poetics of Perspective* (1994), as well as in more recent publications such as Margaret Iversen’s “The Discourse of Perspective in the Twentieth Century: Panofsky, Damisch, Lacan” (2005).³⁴⁹ Furthermore, Allister Neher and Emmanuel Alloa offered two different readings of Ernst Cassirer’s and hence Panofsky’s use of the term “symbolic form” and questioned whether it is applicable to perspective.³⁵⁰

According to Damisch, “[i]n the art of painting the impact of perspective is not limited to the register of the imaginary; it not only facilitates the construction of images, it assumes a role, a function that we may properly designate as symbolic.”³⁵¹ Based on this view, Iversen shows that Damisch draws parallels with Jacques Lacan’s psychoanalytic theory of symbolic, real, and imaginary registers, highlighting the former over the other two.³⁵² Elkins pushes Panofsky and Damisch’s arguments a step further and points out both practical and philosophical implications of perspective. He finds perspective “fascinating for many reasons: it is

³⁴⁸ Christopher Wood, trans. “Introduction,” in *Perspective as a Symbolic Form* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 21.

³⁴⁹ Hubert Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective*, trans. John Goodman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994); James Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1994); and Margaret Iversen, “The Discourse of Perspective in the Twentieth Century: Panofsky, Damisch, Lacan,” *Oxford Art Journal* 28 (2005): 193–202.

³⁵⁰ Allister Neher, “How Perspective Could Be a Symbolic Form,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 63 (2005): 359–73; and Emmanuel Alloa, “Could Perspective Ever Be a Symbolic Form?” *Journal of Aesthetics and Phenomenology* 2 (2015): 51–71.

³⁵¹ Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective*, 53.

³⁵² Iversen, “The Discourse of Perspective in the Twentieth Century,” 201.

unencompassably complicated as a metaphor, it is ghettoized as a technique, it lives in a limbo between disciplines, visiting many discourses and not belonging to any one.”³⁵³

Neher explains what Panofsky might have meant with “perspective as a symbolic form” by often negating Damisch’s reading of the iconic article. She differentiates between retinal, optical, and visual images to explain the two perspectives that Panofsky defines. She claims that it is the discreteness of the visual image among cultures, as opposed to the shared retinal and optical images, which enabled antique and Renaissance perspectives.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, Neher suggests a view of perspective by interpreting Cassirer’s philosophy of symbolic forms and concludes that different perspectives might exist in the “symbolic form of perspective.”³⁵⁵ Neher’s more inclusive interpretation is not implied in Panofsky’s narrow definition of perspective. Even though Panofsky notes that “it is essential to ask of artistic periods and regions not only whether they have perspective, but also which perspective they have,” he still asserts an evolutionary history of perspective shaped by the transition from aggregate space to systematic space.³⁵⁶ As Alloa demonstrates, Panofsky’s handling of perspective as a symbolic form does not align with Cassirer’s symbol system of

³⁵³ Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective*, 269.

³⁵⁴ Neher says that while “we all have the same retinal image and the same optical image when looking at the same rectangular wall, the visual image of a modern citizen of the Western World will be distinctly different from what would have been experienced by an ancient Greek or Roman.” Neher, “How Perspective Could Be a Symbolic Form,” 370.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 370.

³⁵⁶ Panofsky, *Perspective as a Symbolic Form*, 41.

language, art, myth, and technology and cannot be applied to different periods and regions.³⁵⁷

Multiview: An Alternative Term

A mode of representation that scholars often call “plan views” was frequently used to depict the Islamic holy sites. This term refers to a combination of plan and elevation drawings; nevertheless, these representations do not always delineate a plan. In several examples, they are composed of only four elevations juxtaposed in a rectangular arrangement, which create an illusion of a plan (Figure 57). Even though David Roxburgh uses the term “plan view” to describe a representation of the Masjid al-Haram in a pilgrimage certificate, he acknowledges that “[a]lmost all of the individual elements are shown in elevation, albeit without a consistent ground-line, but the image is arranged as a plan.”³⁵⁸ In an earlier publication, he describes the spatial concept of Persianate paintings with useful terms to comprehend the visual mode described in this section. He examines a scene from the *Shāhnāma* of Shah Tahmasp (ca. 1522 and 1535) noting its “combinations of viewing perspectives” that allow “plans and elevations, interiors and exteriors” to be viewed in one composition.³⁵⁹ Based on Roxburgh’s observation about Persianate paintings,

³⁵⁷ Alloa, “Could Perspective Ever Be a Symbolic Form?” 66.

³⁵⁸ Roxburgh, “Visualising the Sites and Monuments of Islamic Pilgrimage,” 54.

³⁵⁹ Roxburgh, “Micrographia,” 25.

Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu notes that sixteenth-century Ottoman representations of urban space also shared a “multifocal and multiperspectival mode.”³⁶⁰

Scholars suggest different ways of categorizing or naming this commonly encountered visual mode. For instance, Charlotte Maury defines it as a mix of plan and elevation and refers to them as “flat representations in twisted perspective.” Twisted perspective often describes the mutual use of frontal and profile views to depict human figures in Ancient Egyptian art. Maury adopts this term and emphasizes the multiplicity of viewpoints which allows the subject to be viewed from different directions.³⁶¹ Rachel Milstein refers to the same visual mode as “concentric bird’s-eye view,” putting emphasis on multiple viewpoints around a center.³⁶² However, there is not always an evidence of “bird’s-eye view” (looking at an object or space from above) in this mode, unless the Ka‘ba or some other structures are shown in elevation oblique.

For the sake of consistency and accuracy in this present study, I avoid using terms such as “plan,” “perspective,” or “bird’s-eye view” to describe this particular mode of representation. There are several representations of this mode which have no trace of a plan, a vanishing point, or an aerial view. If one considers the plan of the Masjid al-Haram or the Masjid al-Nabawi simply as a rectangle drawn in a single line, then one might think that such a plan is superimposed with four elevations. Otherwise, only an illusion of a mosque plan is created with the folding or juxtaposition of four

³⁶⁰ Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, “Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56 (2014): 27.

³⁶¹ Maury, “Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries,” 550–54.

³⁶² Rachel Milstein, “The Evolution of a Visual Motif: The Temple and the Ka‘ba,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 19 (1999): 34.

courtyard elevations, stacking arches, or other arrangements of arcades and facades (Figure 93). Therefore, from this point onwards, I will refer to these types of representations as “multiviews” rather than “plan views,” because the presence of a plan is not always clear in this specific visual mode. In some representations, only some structures, such as the Dome of the Rock, *ḥaṭīm* (semicircular wall where *ḥijr ʿIsmāʿīl* is located) and *ṣāh* or *biʿr* (well), are rendered as plans or top views; however, this does not point to the coherent presence of a plan.

This visual mode is not peculiar to the Islamic world or representations of the holy sites; there exist multiviews from different regions and periods. For instance, an ancient wall painting (1504–1425 BC) from the Tomb of Rekhmire (Hierakonpolis) depicts an Egyptian garden with a central pond (Figure 60).³⁶³ Three strips of foliage radiate from the pond, similar to other representations of gardens in Ancient Egyptian art. Even though the foliage rotates on four sides and a gated structure is placed with a 90-degree rotation, figures remain oriented towards a single direction due to the standpoint of the beholder.

A medieval example from Europe further exemplifies this visual mode (Figure 63). The double-page water supply drawing in the Eadwine Psalter renders the Canterbury Cathedral and its priory (12th c.).³⁶⁴ Francis Woodman describes this representation as a “bird’s-eye view” while accepting that it cannot be “fully understood from any one angle, but has to be turned from one elevation to the next.”

³⁶³ I have come across this image in Panofsky, *Perspective as a Symbolic Form*, note 24, fig. 16. However, I have used the original image in Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 247–48, fig. 63.

³⁶⁴ Francis Woodman, “The Waterworks Drawings of the Eadwine Psalter,” in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, eds. Margaret Gibson, T.A. Heslop, and Richard W. Pfaff (London: Modern Humanities Research Association; Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 171.

Even though the drawing appears to be rendered from up above, it is in fact an aggregate of elevations superimposed with water pipes in plan. P. D. A. Harvey describes it not as a plan but as a “picture map, showing the buildings in elevation.”³⁶⁵ Here, the buildings are shown with their pitched roofs and arcaded courtyards, which is very similar to the rendition of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi with their domes and arches (Figures 90, 91, 92, and 94).

Multiviews were also a part of Chinese visual culture. To illustrate, a woodblock from *Yongle Dadian* (Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign, 1409) visualizes the seat of local government at Rongzhou (Guangxi) using orthographic projection (Figure 64). Here, six clusters of buildings are shown in elevation and separated by walls in plan. Walls are pierced by gates in elevation; gates lead to pathways in plan; and pathways tie buildings in elevation. Such a sequential arrangement of plan and elevation helps the beholder comprehend the three-dimensional space of the government precinct from multiple viewpoints. Cordell Yee describes this representational mode as “variable perspective” emphasizing its multiple viewpoints:

The standpoint of the observer, instead of being fixed, is movable without restriction or else multiple. Each portion of the composition is drawn with its own viewpoint perpendicular to it at some distance. This convention was useful for composing a spatially dynamic sequence of scenes on, for example, scrolls, one of the traditional media for Chinese painting and maps. Unlike paintings in frames, scroll paintings are often too long to be viewed all at once. A moving viewpoint seems well suited for a medium in which the image passes before the observer section by section as it is unrolled. On sheet maps of restricted length, this technique could be adapted to create multiple

³⁶⁵ P. D. A. Harvey, “Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe,” in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 467.

ground planes: one might have to imagine oneself rotating, instead of moving laterally, in order to view the depicted objects correctly.³⁶⁶

Yee notes that this particular visual mode operates very effectively in scroll format as images can be viewed one at a time as the scroll unfolds. As it was mentioned earlier, oblique projection also serves the scroll format well. Compared to perspective drawings, orthographic and paraline drawings do not force a certain viewpoint on the beholder, which might obstruct sequential viewing. Scrolls depicting the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites have also utilized multiviews, sometimes with certain objects in elevation oblique.

The use of multiviews was not limited to scrolls, but it was utilized in other media and contexts as well. Sixteenth-century Mesoamerican cartography frequently employed multiviews such as those of Tenochtitlan (1524), Ameca (1579), Cholula (1581), and the Franciscan monastic complex of Tlaxcala (c.1584).³⁶⁷ The multiview of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) renders the Aztec capital before its destruction in 1521 under the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés. According to Barbara Mundy, the map of the city might remind of European maps, such as those of Jerusalem, because it was copied and carved in Europe. Mundy continues by saying that the map's sources were essentially Culhua-Mexica based on its concentric layout and iconographic details.³⁶⁸ The central square with its temple-pyramids and the radiating

³⁶⁶ Cordell D. K. Yee, "Chinese Cartography among the Arts: Objectivity, Subjectivity, Representation," in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, book 2 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 146.

³⁶⁷ Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geograficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 83, 84, fig. 34. See also Leonardo Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura del Rinascimento*, vol. 1 (Bari: Editori Laterza, 1968) fig. 523, fig. 571.

³⁶⁸ The map was published in Cortés's first Latin edition of his second letter (of five) to the Emperor Charles V. Barbara E. Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 13, 26. See also, Barbara E.

urban fabric towards the lake periphery follow the representational modes of Aztec cosmographical maps. The multiview of Cholula (Puebla) depicts the city with great details with a closer look at the street network (Figure 65). Here, the Franciscan monastery of San Gabriel and the surrounding six churches stand out in the urban fabric.³⁶⁹ Each block of houses is depicted with a 90-degree rotation of facades, which eventually form streets. Religious monuments, however, face the same direction. Each church is labelled and differentiated with hills and towers in its own block. Similar to that of Cholula, street network and building blocks stand out in the multiview of the New Town of Edinburgh (Figure 66).³⁷⁰ The superimposition of plan and elevation continues in this late example by Robert Kirkwood (1819). Such a demonstration allows the viewer to visualize the width and length of streets and sidewalks as well as the facades of buildings.

There are specialized European drawings of “laid-out wall elevations,” which are comparable to multiviews of the Islamic holy sites. In his book *The Palladians* (1982), John Harris records several eighteenth-century laid-out wall elevations.³⁷¹ These are scaled drawings of neo-Palladian interiors that might or might not have a plan in the center. To illustrate, William Kent visualizes his interior design for the House of Lords at the new Parliament (1735) with four elevations surrounding a plan (Figure 67).³⁷² These elevations render arcades and balustrades on the lower level,

Mundy, “Mesoamerican Cartography,” in *The History of Cartography*, eds. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, vol. 2, book 3 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 183–247.

³⁶⁹ Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 127.

³⁷⁰ Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura del Rinascimento*, vol. 2, fig. 1299.

³⁷¹ John Harris, *The Palladians* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 4–6, 147, 54, 56, pl. 1, fig. 88.

³⁷² The drawing is accompanied by the sketches of the monarch, his royal party, and vessels. For a more detailed description of the drawing and other drawings by William Kent, see the exhibition

and windows and niches on the upper level around a stepped seating area for the lords. Here, the choice for depicting the interior of an arcaded structure is very similar to that for multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi. In the exhibition catalogue of *Architecture and Its Image*, Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman provide a detailed description of a similar drawing. This is James Wyatt's design for a room in the Island Temple at Fawley Court (1771), which is a juxtaposition of a plan and four interior elevations. The authors' description of the drawing is as follows:

This cruciform layout of multiple views in orthographic projection — which might be interpreted as depicting the room with its ceiling removed and its walls slit along their angles, then let down and outwards until flat with the floor plan — not only facilitated draughting but also resulted in a representation quite easy to understand.³⁷³

Blau and Kaufman rightfully envision this laid-out drawing as the unfolding of a box which increases the legibility of the plan and four elevations. Such cruciform drawings differ from rectangular multiviews with their hollow corners and common employment of plans in the center. In multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, corners are either filled with arches or elevations are shifted and compacted to complete the rectangular layout. However, in multiviews, elevations of the holy mosques do not encompass a plan, unless one accepts a plan as a single-line rectangle (Figure 93).

catalogue Susan Weber, ed. *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 337–38. See also the short video that animates the folding of elevations from Kent's drawing. "Putting Our House in Order: William Kent's Designs for the Houses of Parliament," University of Cambridge, accessed April 10, 2017, <http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/putting-our-house-in-order>.

³⁷³ Blau and Kaufman, *Architecture and Its Image*, 179, cat. 15.

Composite Plans

A number of early existing plans visualize architectural elements in elevation, which is uncommon in modern drawing practices except for denoting the imprints of very specific structures such as a barrel vault (rendered as a half circle). As I have previously noted, plans denote horizontal imprints by their strict definition. Nevertheless, some ancient, antique, and medieval plans incorporate vertical imprints which display a more flexible demonstration of architecture on two-dimensional media. For instance, a drawing on limestone (ca. 12th BC) and another one on papyrus (ca. 12th BC) depict two different Egyptian tombs utilizing both plan and elevation.³⁷⁴ The hybrid use of horizontal and vertical imprints in the limestone drawing captures the rhythm of the successive chambers in the tomb structure (Figure 61). Starting at the narrow end, each door is projected inside the double-line drawn chamber suggesting an inward move. Similar to the composite Egyptian tomb plans, the Severan Marble Plan of Rome, or the *Forma Urbis Romae* (203–8 AD), depicts certain elements in elevation. This colossus scaled plan depicts architectural features of the city perhaps for administrative purposes including water management.³⁷⁵ Here, aqueducts appear in elevation, while the buildings are drawing in plan.

Evangelia Hadjityphonos mentions the use of “composite architectural drawings” in Byzantium and medieval Europe to describe a combination of orthographic

³⁷⁴ For both drawings, see Shore, “Egyptian Cartography,” 126–27.

³⁷⁵ O. A. W. Dilke, “Roman Large-Scale Mapping in the Early Empire,” in *History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 1987), 226–30.

projections.³⁷⁶ She gives examples of what she calls “composite architectural drawings” which are in fact drawing sets of sections and plans. How I use the term “composite” is quite different from how Hadjityphonos handles it. For instance, the plan of Saint Gall (9th century) purveys the composite plan approach for certain sections of the Carolingian monastic complex (Figure 62). The cloisters of the monks, the novitiate, and the infirmary, as well as the arcaded porches of the abbot’s house are delineated with their arches in elevation. Referring to such examples, Walter Horn and Ernest Born attract attention to the tandem use of vertical and horizontal projections in their monumental study on the scaled plan of Saint Gall. They indicate how wall openings are represented distinctly in the form of arches in elevation ($\cap\cap$), two strokes interrupting a line ($\vdash \vdash$), and two strokes crossing a continuous line ($\vdash\vdash$).³⁷⁷ In the case of the cloister of the monks (Figure 62), the arched windows and doors of the semi-open walkway are projected inwards with four paths leading to a square plant bed. The text distributed around the paths reads as “four paths across cloister” (*quattuor semitae transuersum claustri*) with a clockwise rotation starting at the bottom.³⁷⁸ As it will be discussed later, such rotational arrangement of inscriptions was also utilized in Ottoman representations of the holy sites.

³⁷⁶ Evangelia Hadjityphonos, “Presentations and Representations of Architecture in Byzantium: The Thought Behind the Image,” in *Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art*, eds. Slobadan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjityphonos (New Haven; London: Princeton University Art Museum, 2010), 121.

³⁷⁷ Walter Horn and Ernest Born, eds. *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of Architecture & Economy of & Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 55–63.

³⁷⁸ Walter Horn, “Catalogue: Explanatory Titles of the Plan,” in *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of Architecture & Economy of & Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, eds. Walter Horn and Ernest Born (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 81–82.

As in former periods and regions, there existed a tradition of working with architectural drawings in Ottoman architectural practice.³⁷⁹ Buildings and the built environment were depicted in numerous maps, albums, and manuscripts in the early years of the empire; yet, there survive only a limited number of architectural drawings from this period. The majority of architectural drawings that survive today are from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when European conventions were widespread in drawing practices.³⁸⁰

In a number of Ottoman plans, some architectural elements such as wall openings appear in elevation as in ancient and medieval plans. Several scholars point out this important feature of Ottoman architectural plans; however, they do not elaborate much on it, nor demonstrate its wide use in both architecture and painting.³⁸¹ To

³⁷⁹ Some publications on Ottoman architectural drawings are: Behçet Ünsal, "Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi'nde Bulunan Mimari Planlar Üzerine," in *Türk Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları ve İncelemeleri*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İ.D.G.S.A. Türk Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1963), 168–97; Orhan Erdenen, "Eski Yapılarımızda Plan Meselesi," *Mimarlık* 26 (1965): 19–23; Faruk Kocacık, "XIX. Yüzyılda Göçmen Köylerine İlişkin Bazı Yapı Planları," in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi, Ord. Prof. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Hâtura Sayısı* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1979), 415–26, 997–1001; and Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," 223–43.

³⁸⁰ In her recent book on late Ottoman architectural practice, Oya Şenyurt focuses on a large number of nineteenth-century drawings in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives. She discusses the use of a grid and the role of text in architectural drawings, the adoption of generic plan types for different building functions, and the inconsistency in visual language of drawings. Oya Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin Temel İlkeleri: Resim ve İnşâ Üzerinden Geliştirilen Farklı Bir Yaklaşım* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2015). Abdülkadir Dündar also focuses on drawings in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives as well as those in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives. He provides an overview of the Office/Corps of Royal Architects (Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı) and the division of labor in design, construction, and supervision processes. Even though Hassa Mimarlar Ocağı was replaced by Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürlüğü in 1831, the majority of drawings studied in this dissertation are from late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Abdülkadir Dündar, "Arşivlerdeki Plân ve Çizimler Işığında Osmanlı İmar Sistemi" (PhD diss., Ankara University, 1999). Tülay Artan mentions drawings of five *köşks* in Acıbadem (designed by Alexandre Vallauray) for princes and two *konaks* in Nişantaşı designed for bureaucrats. Tülay Artan, "Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi'ndeki Bir Grup Mimari Çizimin Düşündürdükleri," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992): 7–55.

³⁸¹ Maurice Cerasi, "Late Ottoman Architects and Master Builders," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 93; Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin Temel İlkeleri*, 423; Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," 224–26; and Ünsal, "Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi'nde Bulunan Mimari Planlar Üzerine," 191.

illustrate, two sixteenth-century bathhouse plans from an album in the Austrian National Library in Vienna show an awareness and knowledge of drawing architectural elements in elevation.³⁸² The thick walls of the bathhouses are pierced by arched doors and window grills that would normally appear in elevation drawings. Similar conventions also continued in the following centuries. In two seventeenth- or eighteenth-century plans in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, a series of *hāns* are delineated with their arcades, gates, and doors in elevation.³⁸³ In a much later example (after 1873), the plan of the Arap-Hoca village mosque and school is depicted with the windows and doors inserted into the double-line walls, and the elevation of the minaret right outside the mosque walls.³⁸⁴

The superimposition of two pictorial systems (multiview and paraline) and of plans and elevations within a single pictorial system (multiview) were common in the visual culture of the Ottoman Empire. The plan of a synagogue dated to 29 Zilhicce 1210 / 5 July 1796 in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives exemplifies both hybrid uses very well (Figure 68).³⁸⁵ In this single-line drawing, the doors are elaborately shown in elevation, whereas the windows are shown in oblique. Due to the projection of the windows in the center, a sense of depth is acquired for the main

³⁸² According to Necipoğlu, the album (Cod. 8615) was compiled in 1584–86 with an Austrian copy of one of the Ottoman plans. Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," 224–26.

³⁸³ See 9495/1 and 9495/2 in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives. Ünsal, "Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi'nde Bulunan Mimari Planlar Üzerine," 172–73.

³⁸⁴ The Arap Hoca village in Edirne was founded around 1873 for Ottoman subjects who migrated from the Crimea. Kocacık erroneously defines this plan as that of the Gökçedere village mosque in Cısr-i Mustafapaşa (now Svilengrad). See BOA İrade Dosya no. 46876 ek. 6 no. 2 in Kocacık, "XIX. Yüzyılda Göçmen Köylerine İlişkin Bazı Yapı Planları," 426–27, 1001. See also Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin Temel İlkeleri*, 206.

³⁸⁵ See BOA., HAT. Dosya no. 178, Gömlek no. 7943 in Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin Temel İlkeleri*, 206.

hall of the synagogue. Yet, the inward projection of the doors and windows in the central space can be misleading without the inscriptions in the plan. The central space can easily be misinterpreted as a courtyard rather than the enclosed area described as the “synagogue space” (*sīnāvī maḥal*).

Composite plans are also present in manuscript and lithograph copies of İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi’s *Ma’rifetnāme*. This encyclopedic work of astronomy, astrology, geography, and theology consists of the plan of Şeyh İsmail Fakirullah Tillovi’s house, the mentor of İbrahim Hakkı (Figure 69). Many copies of the *Ma’rifetnāme* consist of plans rendering a rectangular drawing composed of six divisions including two courtyards. These plans are fully annotated and labelled clarifying the identification of each division and architectural element. Each division, or room, has a detailed annotation of its dimensions, upper structure (*sakf*), and floor (*zemīn*) materials. Furthermore, architectural elements such as doors (sing. *bāb*), windows (sing. *revzen*), furnaces (sing. *ocāk*), and cabinets (sing. *dolab*) receive labels. In a manuscript copy of the *Ma’rifetnāme* from the New York Public Library (Spencer Turk Ms. 14), the single-line plan of the shaykh’s house depicts doors with pointed arches, windows with grills, and furnaces with chimneys (Figure 69).³⁸⁶ It also demonstrates two arches, barrel vaults, or iwans (or sing. *eyvān*) in the form of half circles. As the *Ma’rifetnāme* case confirms, composite plans were not reserved for architectural practice, but they also appeared in manuscript culture.

³⁸⁶ See Spencer Turk. Ms. 12 and Spencer Turk. Ms. 14 in Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, 270–73, cat. IV.6, cat. IV.7. See also Bağcı, *Konya Mevlānā Müzesi Resimli Elyazmaları*, 126–37. For a modern print of the *Ma’rifetnāme*, see Duralı Yılmaz and Hüsnü Kılıç, eds. and trans. *Marifetname. Erzurumlu İbrahim Hakkı Hazretleri*, vol. 1–3 (İstanbul: Huzur Yayınevi, 2003).

Graphic Construction of Space

Representations of the Islamic holy sites do not stand isolated within the visual culture of the Ottoman Empire or the Islamic word. Architectural details, structures, and cityscapes were depicted in various media and settings from metalwork to mosaics. In *The Mediation of Ornament*, Oleg Grabar states that “the overwhelming majority of architectural images found in every technique and in thousands of examples do not refer to a type of building, purpose, or function, or to specific buildings.”³⁸⁷ Apart from such images through which architecture operates as an intermediary, there are also explicitly iconographic and/or representational ones such as those of the Islamic pilgrimage sites. Grabar structures his book chapter on architecture around the frontispieces of the illustrated Sanaa Qur’an. Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer dates the fragments of this manuscript to ca. 710–15 and refers to its paintings as mosque types realized during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I (r. 705–15).³⁸⁸ He associates the painting on the right-hand page with a type applied in the Great Mosque of Damascus (Figure 70) and the one on the left-hand page with another type used during the expansions of the Masjid al-Nabawi and the Great Mosque of Sanaa (Figure 71). Oleg Grabar, however, suggests that the

³⁸⁷ Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 186.

³⁸⁸ In his article, the author conducts a detailed analysis of garden, mihrab, lamp, minbar, arches, and gate motifs. Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, “Architekturbilder im Koran: Eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadenzeit aus dem Yemen,” *Pantheon* 45 (1987): 9. See also Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, “Masterworks of Islamic Book Art: Koranic Calligraphy and Illumination in the Manuscripts Found in the Great Mosque in Sanaa,” in *Yemen: Three Thousand Years of Art and Civilization in Arabia Felix*, ed. Werner Daum (Innsbruck; Frankfurt/Main: Pinguin-Verlag; Umschau-Verlag, 1987), 180–81; and von Bothmer, “Early Qur’an Manuscripts Found in the Great Mosque of Sanaa (Yemen),” in *Art of Islam: Earthly Beauty, Heavenly Art*, eds. Mikhail B. Piotrovsky and John Vrieze (Amsterdam; London: Die Nieuwe Kerk; Lund Humphries, 1999), 101.

manuscript might be a later production and that the presence of paintings is for decorative enhancement rather than a display of Umayyad mosque types.³⁸⁹

Both von Bothmer and Grabar point out the use of architectural representations in early manuscript illumination.³⁹⁰ For instance, in two Kufic Qur'an copies on parchment, a row of arches above a broad horizontal band and two rows of arches confined within two narrow bands function as verse separators.³⁹¹ Each arch is lit by a lamp and every two arches are topped with stepped domes. Such a formula was also applied in the illustrated Sanaa Qur'an and representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi. In a Hijazi Qur'an, the arches/niches are piled on top of each other to form a horizontal band (Figure 72).³⁹² This formula creates a different visual effect which was also used to represent arcades of the holy mosques (Figures 91 and 94).

As in the Islamic world, images of specific or generic architecture, cityscape, and landscape in Ottoman maps, albums, and manuscripts set examples to comprehend the graphic construction of space and examine representations of the holy sites.³⁹³

³⁸⁹ Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 155–62, 172–74, notes 3–5.

³⁹⁰ von Bothmer, “Masterworks of Islamic Book Art,” 179–80; and Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 164.

³⁹¹ Bernhard Moritz, ed. *Arabic Paleography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hijra till the Year 1000* (Cairo: Publications of the Khedivial Library, 1905), pl. 2, pl. 6.

³⁹² von Bothmer, “Early Qur'an Manuscripts Found in the Great Mosque of Sanaa (Yemen),” 99, cat. 35.

³⁹³ There are a number of works that focus on representations of architecture, cityscape, and landscape in Ottoman manuscripts and maps. For dissertations on the subject, see: M. Pınar Emiralioglu, “Cognizance of the Ottoman World: Visual and Textual Representations in Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire (1514–1596)” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006); Alin Talasoğlu, “XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatının Şehir Kuruluşları ve Mimarlıkla İlişkisi” (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 2000); Kathryn Ann Ebel, “City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and the Visual Culture of the Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1253–1603” (PhD diss., University of Texas, 2002); and İffet Orbay, “İstanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001). For

For instance, the elevation of the Süleymaniye Mosque (Figure 73) in Seyyid Lokman's *Süleymānnāme* (1579) and that of the Selimiye Mosque in Seyyid Lokman's *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān* (1581) display an understanding of orthographic projection, elaborated to record as many details as possible.³⁹⁴ Illustrating this point, domes and minarets that are not visible on a facade are added to the composition, providing more information about the architecture. In the *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān*, another monument, the Hagia Sophia is shown in a different way with oblique wall and roof surfaces (Figure 74).³⁹⁵ As opposed to the flattening of the third dimension in the Süleymaniye and Selimiye paintings, the oblique planes in the Hagia Sophia painting provide information about all three axes.

Besides such paintings of individual monuments, there is another group of images that Michael Rogers calls "topographical illustrations" or "town views," and which Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu describes as "topographical representations" (*topografik temsiller*) or "city images" (*şehir imgeleri*).³⁹⁶ İffet Orbay refers to the same group of

the publications that came out of these dissertations, see M. Pinar Emirlioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture In the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); İffet Orbay, "İstanbul'a Bakış: Kitāb-i Bahriye Yazmalarında İstanbul Tasvirinin Ortaya Çıkışı ve Evrimi (16.–17. Yüzyıl)," *Gelenek, Kimlik, Birleşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat – Günsel Renda'ya Armağan*, eds. Zeynep Yasa Yaman and Serpil Bağcı (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2011), 199–208; and Kathryn Ann Ebel, "Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 60 (2008): 1–22. See also Metin And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 1: Minyatür* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 374–425.

³⁹⁴ Emine Fetvacı, "The Production of the Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 263–315; Filiz Çağman, "Şehname-i Selim Han ve Minyatürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 5 (1973): 411–42; Wright, *Islam: Faith, Art, Culture*, 149, fig. 106; and Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 168–69, fig. 137.

³⁹⁵ Serpil Bağcı, et al., *Ottoman Painting* (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2010), 125, fig. 85; and Çağman, "Şehname-i Selim Han ve Minyatürleri," 420, 430, fig. 4.

³⁹⁶ J. Michael Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, book 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 228–53; and Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, "Osmanlı Şehir Tahayyülünün Görsel ve Edebi İzleri: Onaltıncı ve Onyedinci Yüzyıl Menzilname ve Seyahatnamelerinde Şehir İmgeleri," in *Tradition, Identity, Synthesis: Cultural Crossings and Art – in Honor of Günsel Renda*, eds. Zeynep Yasa Yaman and Serpil Bağcı (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2011), 139–50.

images as “picture maps,” whereas Alin Talasoğlu defines them as “city views” (*şehir görünüşleri*).³⁹⁷ In *Ottoman Painting*, the authors refer to a tradition of topographic painting in the sixteenth century, which comprised “town views” and “plan-illustrations” and eventually led to a genre of landscape painting.³⁹⁸ Günsel Renda also addresses depictions of towns in maps and sea charts and refers to them as “town views” or “plan views.”³⁹⁹ Among others, a selection of images from Matrakçı Nasuh’s *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i İrâkeyn* (1537), Seyyid Lokman’s *Hünernâme* (1584-85), and copies of Piri Reis’s *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye* are frequently reproduced to define a genre of representations of cities in manuscript paintings and maps.⁴⁰⁰ Each scholar prefers different terms for images of cities, which are also applicable to representations of the holy sites. However, in this chapter, I suggest further elaborating the terminology based on pictorial systems and drawing techniques, rather than using terms such as topographic, city, or town views.

In their doctoral dissertations, Pınar Emiralioğlu and Kathryn Ann Ebel focus on cartographic and topographic depictions in the visual culture of the Ottoman Empire.

As Emiralioğlu shows, there existed a high level of “geographical consciousness” in

³⁹⁷ Orbay, “İstanbul’a Bakış,” 199–208. Talasoğlu, “XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatının Şehir Kuruluşları ve Mimarlıkla İlişkisi,” 1–3.

³⁹⁸ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 75–83.

³⁹⁹ Günsel Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts of the Sixteenth Century and Their Relation to Mediterranean Cartography,” in *Collogue Soliman Le Magnifique Et Son Temps, Paris 7–10 March 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: la Documentation Française, 1992), 282–89; and Renda, “Illustrated Maps and the Topkapı Palace Collection,” in *Before and after Piri Reis: Maps at Topkapı Palace* (Istanbul: Topkapı Palace Museum, 2013), 40–48.

⁴⁰⁰ For facsimile editions, monographs, and exhibition catalogues, see Nurhan Atasoy, eds. *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i İrâkeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân: Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menazilname’si*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Masa, 2015); Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın, eds. *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i İrâkeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976); Uşun Tükel, “Beyan-ı Menazil’in Resim Dili: Bir Yapısal Çözümleme” (PhD diss., İstanbul University, 1990); *Hünernâme Minyatürleri ve Sanatçıları* (İstanbul: Doğan Kardeş, 1969); Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus* (London: The Nour Foundation, 1996); and *Before and after Piri Reis: Maps at Topkapı Palace* (Istanbul: Topkapı Palace Museum, 2013).

sixteenth-century Ottoman visual culture, which was enhanced by the tradition of cartography.⁴⁰¹ She asserts that Ottoman geographers consolidated their positions at the Ottoman court with their maps and nautical charts when such works served imperial propaganda.⁴⁰² Similarly, Ebel claims that “city views” and “topographic paintings” in Ottoman illustrated histories reflected territorial expansion and imperial sovereignty.⁴⁰³

In *Beyān-ı Menāzil*, Matrakçı’s representations of cities display both multiview and paraline drawing techniques. For instance, in the double-page representation of Istanbul, oblique projection is utilized to show courtyards, whereas orthographic projection is utilized to show the elevations of monuments and houses. In the single-page representations of Sivas and Erzurum, orthographic projection is the dominant visual mode showing the elevations of city walls, monuments, and houses. The city walls are shown in the form of a rectangle with their bastions placed at an angle. In contrast, the city walls of Hillah (Hille) are demonstrated in the form of a parallelogram based on paraline drawing techniques. Here, the majority of monuments and houses are shown in elevation; however, there are also some that are shown in oblique.

The double-page paintings of Karbala and Najaf present another case, where the multiviews of the Shrines of Husayn and ‘Ali are placed on the right-hand pages and

⁴⁰¹ Emiralioğlu, “Cognizance of the Ottoman World,” 273.

⁴⁰² Emiralioğlu, “Cognizance of the Ottoman World,” 4, 15 and Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 4–5.

⁴⁰³ Ebel, “City Views, Imperial Visions,” 1, 13, 35 and Ebel, “Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century,” 18–20.

the urban space of the cities are on the left (Figure 75).⁴⁰⁴ Matrakçı's visual sources for the multiviews of the shrines were perhaps Shi'i pilgrimage manuals or certificates, in which the holy sites were depicted in a very similar way. Having looked at the representations of cities in the *Beyân-ı Menâzil*, one can safely assert that both orthographic and oblique projections were known to Matrakçı and that it was the decision of the artist (or the patron) to choose the appropriate projection type for different purposes.⁴⁰⁵ Later, in the paintings of the *Süleymännâme* (1558), such hybrid use of pictorial systems continued, as Günay has visually analyzed.⁴⁰⁶

In cases where oblique projection was the only drawing technique, solid forms and voids of buildings became prominent in compositions. Like orthographic projection, oblique projection was a befitting choice to visualize courtyard structures such as the Masjîd al-Haram and the Masjîd al-Nabawî. The seventeenth-century Ottoman-Venetian album kept in the Museo Correr exemplifies such a case. In this album of paintings, which consist of sultans' portraits and scenes of daily life, Ottoman-Venetian diplomatic relations, and the War of Crete, several representations of fortresses and caravanserais (sing. *hân*) stand out with their imposing form.⁴⁰⁷ Two *hâns* in Edirne, where the Venetian bailo Giovanni Cappello and secretary Giovanni Battista Ballarino were kept captive, are shown in elevation oblique (Figures 76 and

⁴⁰⁴ See also Nurhan Atasoy, eds. *Silahşor, Tarihçi, Matematikçi, Nakkaş, Hattat: Matrakçı Nasuh ve Menâzilname'si*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Masa, 2015), 138–42; and Yurdaydın, eds. *Beyân-ı Menâzil*, fol. 62b–63a, 64b–65a.

⁴⁰⁵ For an analysis of the Bitlis, Adana, and Seyitgazi paintings in terms of their drawing techniques, see Beyhan, "Representation of Architecture in the 16th Century Ottoman Miniature Painting," 49–69.

⁴⁰⁶ Günay, "Süleymännâme Minyatürlerinde Mekân ve Anlatım Teknikleri," 56–159.

⁴⁰⁷ E. Nathalie Rothman, "Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 40 (2012): 43; and Giandomenico Romanelli, "Venedik Büyükelçisi Soranzo," in *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri / Vedute di Venezia ed Istanbul Attraverso i Secoli* (İstanbul: İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezi, 1995), 231–32.

77).⁴⁰⁸ Both *hāns* have arcaded courtyards around which rooms are located. They are shown as double-storey buildings on the exterior, but a single-storey inside the courtyard. The first *hān* has a plain first floor whose chained gate is guarded by two janissaries (Figure 76). Its second floor is pierced by windows on the exterior and by arcades inside the courtyard. In contrast, the second *hān*'s second floor is pierced by arcades on the exterior and by windows inside the courtyard (Figure 77). Its first-floor facade is adorned with a fountain, arcades, doors, and windows. In addition, the second *hān* has a mosque and a bathhouse that have distinguished domes. The underdrawing, which is visible inside the courtyard of the second *hān*, indicates that the mosque and the bathhouse were originally occupying a more central space, but were relocated in the final stage.

The Büyük Valide Han in Istanbul has a slightly different representation that is frequently referred as “reverse” or “inverted” perspective in Byzantine art (Figure 78).⁴⁰⁹ Here, the parallel lines of the side walls converge at a vanishing point towards the spectator.⁴¹⁰ Within the given context, this drawing should not be interpreted as a divergence from paraline to perspective drawings, as foreshortening is not consistent within the same album page and among other representations within the same album. The relatively small width of the *hān*'s front facade might be a result of its irregular plan, the painter's choice about managing leftover space on the paper, or his/her preference of inverted perspective over elevation oblique. Similar to the second *hān*

⁴⁰⁸ See *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, 174, 196.

⁴⁰⁹ See *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, 174.

⁴¹⁰ For inverted perspective, see Pavel Florensky, *Beyond Vision*, eds. Nicoletta Misler, trans. Wendy Salmond (London, Reaktion Books, 2002), 218, 267; Rudolf Arnheim, “Inverted Perspective in Art: Display and Expression,” *Leonardo* 5 (1972): 125–35; and Clemena Antonova, “On the Problem of ‘Reverse Perspective’: Definitions East and West,” *Leonardo* 43 (2010): 464–69.

in Edirne, the Büyük Valide Han is also depicted with its mosque. All three *hāns* differ in their exteriors and courtyards. However, each *hān*'s domes are shown with three rows of semicircles and a row of circles that gives thickness to the section underneath. The demonstration of such thickness under domes is not evident in several representations of the holy mosques (Figures 99, 102, 104, and 105). When drawn in elevation oblique, walls and arcades of the holy mosques often appear to be flat, unless there is more than one row of domes on one side of the buildings.

Another elevation oblique, this time from an early-nineteenth-century architectural drawing in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives, confirms the appropriateness of this technique to depict buildings with courtyards (Figure 79).⁴¹¹ Unlike the album paintings of *hāns* and most representations of the holy sites depicting already existing structures, the project drawings of Mahmud II's (r. 1808–39) military barracks visualize a structure that was planned to be built across the Siyavuş Paşa Mosque in Sofia. Even though several technical mistakes or distortions exist, the plan (*musattaḥ resim*) and three-dimensional drawing (*mücessem resim*) of the military barracks successfully convey the two- and three-dimensional information of the structure. The plan can be measured based on the scale bar in the lower middle, whereas the elevation oblique does not follow the same scale. Here, the corners of the structure are drawn with oblique rather than perpendicular lines, which gives the impression of diverging surfaces on the exterior (from top to bottom) and inside the three courtyards (from bottom to top). The double-arched gate in the front facade is also drawn at an oblique angle, contrasting with the windows on the same facade.

⁴¹¹ See BOA HAT., Dosya no: 1249, Gömlek no: 48358 F in Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin Temel İlkeleri*, 197.

Such distortions, however, do not affect the overall impression of the paraline drawing accentuating the voids of the courtyards that are not apparent in the plan.

As in illustrated histories, atlases, and portolans, representations of architecture, cityscape, and landscape in military plans and water supply maps displayed a variety of drawing techniques and pictorial attributes. Large-size siege plans, for instance, depicted strategic locations and served military expansion. They marked fortifications, topographical features, or coastlines, and initiated positions of the encampment and the navy. A number of siege plans kept in the Topkapı Palace Museum, such as those of Kiev (ca. 1495–1506), Belgrade (ca. 1521), Lepanto (ca. 1540–50), Malta (1565), and Szigetvár (1566), brought together traditions of cartography and painting for military expeditions on the western frontier.⁴¹²

Similar to the twelfth-century water supply map of the Canterbury Cathedral (Figure 63), several Ottoman water supply maps were also drawn using a variety of techniques.⁴¹³ Water distribution as well as construction and repair of infrastructure

⁴¹² These five siege plans are respectively TSMA E. 12090/1, TSMA E. 9440, TSM 17/348, TSMK YY. 1118, and TSMA E. 12356. For these siege plans, see “Before and after Piri Reis,” cat. 47–51. For more information about the Kiev and Belgrade siege maps, see Ebel, “City Views, Imperial Visions,” 43–47. See also Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans,” in *The History of Cartography*, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, book 1 (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 210–15.

⁴¹³ Three seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Beylik water supply maps display various uses of orthographic and oblique projections. These are TSMA E. 12481, TMSK H. 1816, and TSMK H. 1815 in sequence. The first map is an early-seventeenth-century copy of Davud Ağa’s water supply map prepared for Murad III in 992/1584 and shows the distribution of water from the Old Palace. It is a schematic sketch in black and red ink that heavily depends on text for the viewer to make sense of the drawing. The second map shows the water distribution between Beyazid and the Topkapı Palace (1016/1607). This is a detailed map which utilizes orthographic projection to visualize frontal views of structures on the water supply system. The third map shows a section between the Valens Aqueduct and the Topkapı Palace (1161/1748) utilizing both orthographic and oblique projections. The walls surrounding the first courtyard of the palace are shown in oblique, whereas the arcades of the second courtyard are shown in elevation. For further information about these maps, see Kazım Çeçen and Celal Kolay, *Topkapı Sarayı’na Su Sağlayan İsale Hatları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi; İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi, 1997), 28–48; and *Before and After Piri Reis*, 164–72, cat. 40–42.

required significant planning that can be traced from longitudinal water supply maps (sing. *suyolu harītası*). These maps often depicted structures such as distribution chambers (sing. *maḵsem*), water towers (sing. *su terāzisi*), and aqueducts, along with water channels.

The hybrid use of two pictorial systems is notable in the Köprülü and Süleymaniye water supply maps. The Köprülü map (ca. 1672) depicts houses on both sides of the Divanyolu (Figure 80), similar to the projections of the market place in Mina (*bāzār Minā*) and the *mas'ā* (the trotting space between Safa and Marwa) in pilgrimage manuals (Figure 94).⁴¹⁴ The map ends with two elevation obliques that are connected to the water supply system. Similarly, at one end of the Süleymaniye water supply map, the elevation of the Süleymaniye Mosque is combined with the oblique drawing of its garden walls (Figure 81).⁴¹⁵ If the entire mosque and its garden were shown as a paraline drawing, then the mosque courtyard would have been visible as well. However, the artist must have drawn the elevation before the oblique walls of the garden, as the garden wall on the left does not join the courtyard wall. Here, one can clearly see that the artist did not succeed in piecing together two different pictorial systems.

In the Bayezid water supply map dated to 1812–13, the hybrid use of plan and elevation is striking despite its more sophisticated cartographic method (Figure

⁴¹⁴ See the Köprülü water supply map (formerly no. 2441 in the Köprülü Library, now Köprülü İlave 197 in the Süleymaniye Library) in Kazım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Suyolları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi; İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi, 1999), 165–72.

⁴¹⁵ See the Süleymaniye water supply map in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (no. 3337) in Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Suyolları*, 134–40.

82).⁴¹⁶ This is a scaled map with a detailed verbal description of its purpose and content in a Rococo cartouche. Elements in plan and elevation can be differentiated via the map's color palette. Here, the majority of buildings and plots are viewed from above and colored in orange. Several monuments and water structures, however, are viewed from the front and colored in white and blue. The Fatih Complex stands out in the urban fabric with the change in color and drawing technique. The blue and white elevation of the mosque is surrounded by the top views of madrasas shown in blue. The gates leading to the complex are rendered as elevations, similar to those in composite plans.

As in Istanbul, the water management in the Haramayn was a challenging task that required planning. A late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century water supply and repair map of Mecca provides valuable information about the distribution of fountains within the city (Figure 83).⁴¹⁷ This 1/2500 scaled map (*harīta*) of Mecca is surrounded by the 1/150 scaled plans that depict (*irā'e eden mürtesemler*) fifteen fountains above and below ground level (*çeşme* and *bāzān*). In the map, the outline of the city is designated with dotted lines beyond which contour lines determine level differences. Based on the legend provided on the bottom left corner, water conduits, fountains, water towers, and water taps can easily be located in the map and the plans.

⁴¹⁶ See the Bayezid water supply map in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (no. 3338-39) in Kazım Çeçen, *II. Bayezid Suyolu Haritaları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi; İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi, 1997), 24–35.

⁴¹⁷ I was not able to physically examine this map; therefore, I could not rely on the date (Zilhicce 1341 / July–August 1923) mentioned in the digital catalogue for two reasons. First, Mecca was under the rule of Husayn bin 'Ali al-Hashimi, Sharif of Mecca and the King of the Hijaz, at that date. Second, I was not able to locate that given date anywhere on the map. As far as I can tell from its photograph, the map has been damaged and restored. The map could initially have had a date which might have been misread because of its poor condition. See BOA HRT. 920.

Multiviews of the Islamic Pilgrimage and Visitation Sites

In the Islamic world, some of the earliest-known visual representations of the holy sites are from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, which are multiviews. Publications by Dominique Sourdel and Janine Sourdel-Thomine, and Şule Aksoy and Rachel Milstein show that the Seljuk, Burid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk pilgrimage scrolls at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul date between 476/1084 and 710/1310, with the earliest illustrated one dating to 589/1193.⁴¹⁸ As Sheila Blair points out, an early thirteenth-century stone slab kept at the Iraq Museum in Baghdad is also among the early representations of the Maşjid al-Haram.⁴¹⁹ These early multiviews established conventions for later depictions of the Islamic holy sites. For instance, the Ayyubid pilgrimage scroll dated to 608/1212 and the early-thirteenth-century stone slab depict the Maşjid al-Haram in a way that repeatedly appears in different media and periods (Figures 84 and 85).⁴²⁰ The block printed scroll depicts the holy sites in a vertical sequence based on the order of pilgrimage and visitation. In both examples, the four elevations of the mosque's arcades are placed with a 90-degree rotation around the northeast facade of the Ka'ba, which gives an idea about

⁴¹⁸ Among many other documents, these scrolls were found at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in 1893. Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide*; and Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," 101–34. Pamela Berger points out the similarities between Islamic and Jewish pilgrimage scrolls and sheets in terms of iconography and style. Pamela Berger, *The Crescent on the Temple: The Dome of the Rock as Image of the Ancient Jewish Sanctuary* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 225–51.

⁴¹⁹ Vincenzo Strika, for the first time, dated the slab to sometime between 486/1093 and 498/1104; however, Sheila Blair corrected the date to the early thirteenth century. The stone slab was originally from the Maqam Ibrahim in Mosul and was signed by 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Harami al-Makki, a stone carver from Mecca. Strika, "A Ka'bah Picture in the Iraq Museum," 196; and Blair, "Inscribing the Hajj," 163.

⁴²⁰ For the scroll in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (no. 4091), see Aksoy and Milstein, "A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates," 104–5 and Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine, *Certificats de pèlerinage d'époque ayyoubide*, cat. 40. For the slab in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad (no. 1149), see Blair, "Inscribing the Hajj," 163.

the shape of the courtyard. The remaining architectural elements, such as the *ḥaḥīm* (the semi-circular wall), minbar, and *maqām Ibrāhīm*, also surround the Ka'ba with a rotation. In Figures 84 and 85 and other multiviews of the holy mosques, the number of arches on the right-or-left and upper-or-lower sides of the courtyards determines the shape and proportion of the buildings based on a recurring unit. To illustrate, the Masjid al-Haram appears to have a rectangular form in Figure 84, whereas it has a square form in Figure 85.

Visual representations of Islamic holy sites multiplied in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, after the Ottoman dynasty attained the caliphate. After the Mamluk defeat in the Battle of Ridaniye in 1517, the Ottoman army entered Cairo and Selim I (r. 1512–20) adopted the title of *Hādimū'l-Harameyn* (Custodian of the Two Sanctuaries). As Zeren Tanındı demonstrates, one of the earliest Ottoman representations of the Islamic holy sites is from a pilgrimage scroll (951/1544–45) attesting the completion of the hajj on behalf of Şehzade Mehmed, a son of Sultan Süleyman I (Figure 86).⁴²¹ There exists another scroll from the same period named *Teşekkürnâme*, which served a different purpose. Following the water supply system and building projects that Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66) commissioned in 1540, the Haramayn officials and residents signed and sent an illustrated scroll to the sultan to express their gratitude.⁴²²

Similar to scrolls, pilgrimage manuals also consisted of a sequence of representations. These representations, however, were painted on different pages due

⁴²¹ This scroll is held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 1812). Tanındı, “Resimli Bir Hac Vekaletnamesi,” 2–6; and *Before and After Piri Reis*, 222–23, cat. 61.

⁴²² This scroll is held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives (E. 7750). Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” 134–36; and *Before and After Piri Reis*, 220–21, cat. 60.

to the codex format and the content of the text. The Persian poet Muhyi al-Din Lari's (d. 933/1526–27) *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* was a popular pilgrimage manual in verse dedicated to Muzaffar b. Mahmud Shah (r. 1511–26) of the Gujarat Sultanate. As Milstein points out, there are several surviving copies of the book, which attest to a sixteenth-century Meccan school of painting.⁴²³ There exist also pilgrimage manuals in Ottoman Turkish verse or prose recording *manāzil* (stops on the pilgrimage route) and/or *manāsik* (rites of the pilgrimage) with/out images. As Menderes Coşkun demonstrates, in some of these manuscripts, such as in Nabi's *Tuḥfetü'l-Ḥarameyn* (1090/1679), verses from the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* were incorporated into the text.⁴²⁴

Another sixteenth-century pilgrimage manual dedicated to a ruler is the *Şifatü'l-Ḥarameyn*.⁴²⁵ The only known copy of this Chaghatay Turkish text, now in the Manisa Public Library (MHK 5145), was written by Hayati 'Abd al-'Aziz bin Mahmud al-Isfahani in 927/1521 and dedicated to Sultan Süleyman I. The pictorial program of the *Şifatü'l-Ḥarameyn* is very similar to that of Muhyi al-Din Lari's *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* and Moralı Bahti's *Menāsikü'l-Ḥacc* in depicting sequential sites. Late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century illustrated copies of Mehmed Edib's pilgrimage account of *Neḥçetü'l-Menāzil* (Path of Stations) have a rather limited collection of images that is confined to Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.

Even though the architecture and urban space of the holy sites changed over time, early pictorial conventions were sustained in various other media over the centuries.

⁴²³ Milstein, "Futuh-i Haramayn," 188.

⁴²⁴ Coşkun, *Manzum ve Mensur Osmanlı Hac Seyahatnameleri*, 75–78.

⁴²⁵ Maury, "Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries," 550–52.

Multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi were applied to several seventeenth-century ceramic panels. These ceramic panels were placed towards the qibla direction in mosques or private devotional spaces in the Topkapı Palace. They could be manufactured as singular Masjid al-Haram compositions, a dyad of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, or with additional sites such as ‘Arafat. For instance, the Masjid al-Nabawi tile in the Louvre Museum (OA 3919/557) most probably belonged to the decoration program of a religious space along with its matching Masjid al-Haram tile.⁴²⁶ Similar to the sixteenth-century proxy pilgrimage scroll (Figure 86), this tile depicts the north facade of the Tomb of the Prophet with the inward-projection of the mosque’s arcades with a lamp hanging in each arch (Figure 87).

Multiviews are also encountered in other contexts such as a *mevlid* miscellany in the Süleymaniye Library (Galata Mevlevihanesi 76) (Figures 88 and 89).⁴²⁷ This manuscript starts with Süleyman Çelebi’s *Mevlid-i Şerîf* and continues with a number of texts, including tales (sing. *dāsitān*) and stories (sing. *hikāye*) of the Prophet’s miracles, which is followed by a section about the history of the Ka’ba, the black stone, the Zamzam, and the station of Abraham, as well as the virtues of the major and minor pilgrimages, and ritual worship and fasting in Mecca. Finally, it ends with representations of the pilgrimage and visitation sites followed by praises (*medḥ*) of the Prophet. The paintings in this manuscript are interesting in that they depict the

⁴²⁶ This panel was displayed at the *Hajj* exhibition at the British Museum. Porter, ed. *Hajj*, 82–83, 273, fig. 50.

⁴²⁷ The manuscript carries the endowment inscriptions of Bezmialem Valide Sultan dated to 1261/1845. It was brought to the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul perhaps from the Mosque of Bezmialem Valide Sultan in 1335/1919 and was transferred to the Divan Edebiyatı Müzesi (Galata Mevlevihanesi) several decades later. It was copied by Mustafa Kütahi in 1208/1793–94 and by Hakkakzade Mustafa Hilmi in 1257/1841–42. I would like to thank Zeren Tanındı for bringing this manuscript to my attention and sharing her study notes with me.

Prophet Muhammad, Fatima, Khadija, ‘A’isha, Maymuna, the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Hasan, Husayn, Abraham, Ishmael, Hamza, and the archangel Gabriel with the sites with which they are associated and show the four Sunni imams on a double-page composition without any geographical or architectural setting. The depictions of figures in this manuscript are very similar to those in Darir’s *Siyer-i Nebī* (Figure 97), while architectural representations are reminiscent of those in pilgrimage manuals (Figures 179 and 189).⁴²⁸

In some multiviews, the elevations of the arcades and other architectural elements are arranged with a 90-degree rotation, as if the holy mosques were projected inwards or outwards (Figure 90). Such arrangement generates movement in the composition and suggests an active way of reading the text and the image. Elevations of the arcades and the other architectural elements are drawn from multiple viewpoints (at least four) and brought together in a way that requires reading from multiple directions (usually four).⁴²⁹ Labels denoting certain architectural elements or topographical features tend to rotate with the elevations. Thereby, the reading process slows down, as deciphering oblique or upside down text takes longer and requires a different movement of the eye. In some instances, one also has to rotate his/her head/body or the book to fully comprehend the image and the text. Such diagonal or rotational arrangement is also applied to the names of God and the Prophet, verses, interlinear translations, or marginalia in manuscripts, calligraphic panels, or prints. As Marianna

⁴²⁸ For a comparison between Süleyman Çelebi’s *Mevlid-i Şerīf* and Darir’s *Siyer-i Nebī* prior to the following author’s knowledge about the Süleymaniye miscellany, see Zeren Tanındı, “Siyer-i Nebī’de Mevlid Metni ve Görsel İmgeleri,” *Uluslararası Süleyman Çelebi ve Mevlid: Yazılışı, Yayılışı ve Etkileri Sempozyumu, 17–19 Ekim 2007, Bursa* (Bursa: Osmangazi Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2007), 87–94.

⁴²⁹ Maury strongly emphasizes the multiplicity of viewpoints in the category she defines as “twisted perspective” and fewer viewpoints in other examples. Maury, “Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries,” 550–57.

Shreve Simpson points out, *chalīpā* (cross), or the technique of switching from horizontal verses to oblique ones was used in Persian poetry to prepare the reader for upcoming illustrations.⁴³⁰ Ünver Rüstem demonstrates that obliquely written text had a different motive in interlinear translations of the Qur'an. It helped the reader distinguish the main text from the translation and sustained a visual hierarchy along with calligraphic style, color, or size.⁴³¹

As in examples of earlier centuries, the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi are shown as multiviews in a lithograph copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Osman Ergin Kitapları 200) in the Atatürk Library (Figure 90). Here, it is worth noting that multiviews were not frequently encountered in lithograph copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, whereas they were more widespread in lithograph copies of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, especially in those printed in Lucknow.⁴³² Another important feature of this print is that it has Persian interlinear translations and marginal commentary similar to Kashmiri copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. Even though this book was printed in Istanbul, there could be an influence from the Indian Subcontinent during its production process.

In Figure 90, four minarets spring from the corners of the introverted courtyard, leaving the other three on three sides. The first row of arcades circumscribes the courtyard uninterrupted, whereas the second row punctuates with each introduction

⁴³⁰ Marianna Shreve Simpson, "The Peck Shahnama: From Shiraz to Princeton," in *The Peck Shahnama: Princeton's Great Persian Book of Kings*, eds. Marianna Shreve Simpson and Louis Marlow (New Haven; London: Yale University Press; Princeton University Art Museum, 2015), 25, note 46.

⁴³¹ Ünver Rüstem, "Rendering the Word of God: The Art of Qur'ans with Interlinear Persian and Turkish Translations," Freer|Sackler, accessed January 28, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O5YsNZcipfE&t=1s>.

⁴³² For instance, see the *Futuh al-Haramayn* (Lucknow: Nawal Kishawr, 1880) at the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford (IND 49 D 137).

of a gate. In order to read the names of the gates at the top of the page (*bāb al-widāʿ*, *bāb al-ʿumra*, and *bāb Umm Hanī*), one has to bodily engage with the work and rotate his/her head/body, the book, or the JPEG image in my case. Such interactive gaze and/or reading works better with orthographic projection than other visual modes.

As Thomas Wells Schaller notes:

It is the very straightforwardness of the orthogonal drawing's communicativeness, usually without flourish, pictorial, or decorative intent, that establishes the truth of the assertion that drawing is the language of architecture. It is on this level that the relationship between the drawn image of a building and the written word can be established. An idea about design and an idea about spoken language are two methods of graphic communication that speak to the human mind by the graphic use of line. However, while there is interest in articulating the similarities between "drawn" and "written" means of communication, there is also danger in too emphatic an assertion of that sameness.⁴³³

As products of orthographic projection, multiviews of the Islamic holy sites have the "straightforwardness" that Schaller emphasizes. Labels frequently appear in multiviews at the risk of repetition for text and image. However, they can also communicate information about the name of a certain gate or the function of a domed structure, which is not known to the audience. Moreover, they can animate the act of reading the image with verbal input and movement.

The double-page multiview of the Masjid al-Nabawi in an early manuscript copy of the *Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt* (1120/1708–9) held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1018) further exemplifies such interaction, as it requires movement to read some of its labels (Figure 91).⁴³⁴ Labels such as "bāb Fāṭima al-Zahrāʿ," "bāb Jibrīl," and

⁴³³ Thomas W. Schaller, *The Art of Architectural Drawing: Imagination and Technique* (London; New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1997), 66.

⁴³⁴ This manuscript was dated to 1120/1708–9 and copied by Ahmed b. Abdullah Kuşası. For a

“maqām Jibrīl” are written upside down on top of the right-hand page, whereas labels such as “mināra bāb al-salām,” “mash‘al,” and “nakhl Fāṭima” are sideways on both pages. The image, however, necessitates less mobility to read, as the arcades on four sides, the burial chamber, and the five minarets face the same direction. There are also two other directions from which the central arcades, the mihrab of the Prophet, ‘Uthman, and Sultan Süleyman, and the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, and Fatima can be viewed. However, these are smaller components of the composition dominated by the imposing arcades, burial chamber, and minarets. Such a double-page and horizontal composition is not common and must have caused some difficulties in design. At least two challenges are evident in this composition: the positioning of the Burial Chamber and the tombs and the overriding of the minarets and the gates with the arcades.

In an example from the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (no. 101-0183), the representations of the Maşjid al-Haram and the Maşjid al-Nabawi are constructed in a different way (Figures 57 and 92).⁴³⁵ The north and south arcades of the holy mosques can be viewed from the same direction, unlike other examples where all arcades are systematically projected inwards or outwards. Furthermore, as in some seventeenth-century ceramic panels of the Maşjid al-Haram (Figure 28), there is a combination of multiview and paraline drawings in this double-page painting.⁴³⁶ On the right-hand

description of the manuscript and its paintings, see Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” 138–41; Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” 411, 433; and Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 265, cat. 5477.

⁴³⁵ Tanındı and Aldemir Kilercik, *Sakıp Sabancı Museum Collection of the Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*, 24, 164–67, cat. 65.

⁴³⁶ See the Maşjid al-Haram tile in Hoca Şemseddin Mosque in Küre (Kastamonu) and the one in the Louvre Museum (OA 3919/558) in Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 146, 150. See the tile at the Benaki Museum (ΓΕ 124) in Porter, ed. *Hajj*, 116–17.

page, the arcades of the Masjid al-Haram and some other elements are shown in elevation, whereas the Ka'ba, the minbar, and the stations of the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali schools are shown in oblique. The labels for the Jabal Thawr and the Jabal 'Arafat identify the hills outside Mecca and the label for the Masjid Quba misidentifies the famous mosque which is originally outside Medina. On the left-hand page, the arcades of the Masjid al-Nabawi are shown in elevation, whereas the minbar, the *qubbat khazīna*, and the *murqad Fāṭima az-Zahrā'* are shown in oblique.

Multiviews of the Islamic holy sites tend to have a limited coverage often defining small areas such as the Masjid al-Haram, Mina, 'Arafat, the Masjid al-Nabawi, Jannat al-Baqi', or the Haram al-Sharif. These sites occupy different pages in pilgrimage manuals and sections in pilgrimage scrolls.⁴³⁷ However, in a large-size multiview of Mecca in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives and a number of copies of Murad Nakşibendi's *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil*, the Masjid al-Haram is depicted with its greater surrounding on a single sheet (Figures 94 and 169). Both of these monolithic compositions enable the viewer to observe the mosque with its immediate surrounding and the city with its vicinities, all at once. In the former monolith, some sites do not reflect their correct spatial relationship to the mosque. This is perhaps due to compositional concerns and the limited space around the centrally-placed mosque. For instance, the placements of the *mas'ā* and the Suq al-Layl below the mosque (in the east and northeast) and Mina, Muzdalifa, and 'Arafat on the left of the mosque (in the east and southeast) roughly correspond to their original orientations, whereas the placement of the Jannat al-Mu'alla on the top right corner

⁴³⁷ In a sixteenth-century pilgrimage manual based on the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi are shown with their immediate surroundings. See the reproductions in Milstein, "Kitāb Shawq-Nāma," 19, fig. 11.

of the mosque (in the west) does not display the cemetery's actual orientation (Figures 94 and 127).⁴³⁸ This multiview would have made more sense, had the Jannat al-Mu'alla been shown on the bottom right corner (in the north). The representation of the Masjid al-Haram in this monolith also deserves attention (Figure 94). Similar to the details of the lithograph (Figure 90), the width of the gates are meticulously indicated at the outer periphery, whereas the arcades are shown in groups of three arches at the inner periphery.

Paraline Views of the Islamic Pilgrimage and Visitation Sites

In a number of illustrated manuscripts, representations of the Ka'ba, the Masjid al-Haram or Mecca contextualized narratives from text. The Prophet Muhammad's night journey (*isrā'*) between Mecca and Jerusalem and his heavenly ascension (*mir'āj*) were frequently illustrated in the *mi'rājnāma* genre and manuscripts depicting *mi'rāj* narratives such as Jami's *Yusūf wa Zulaykhā* and the first book of Nizami's *Khamisa*, *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Treasury of Secrets). Some early elevation obliques of the Masjid al-Haram come from these books. For instance, the fifteenth-century *mir'āj* scenes in the TSMK and BL copies of the *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Figure 96), and the *mir'āj* and *ṭawāf* scenes in the BL *Miscellany of Iskandar Sultan* (Figure 95) depict the holy mosque as elevation obliques.⁴³⁹ In these scenes, the static

⁴³⁸ For a detailed reading of the labels, see Yılmaz, ed. *Belgelerle Osmanlı Devrinde Hicaz*, vol. 1, 36–37.

⁴³⁹ Christiane Gruber, "The Prophet Muḥammad's Ascension (Mi'rāj) in Islamic Art and Literature, ca. 1300–1600" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005), 255–63. For a broader perspective of *mi'rāj* tales and paintings, see the edited volume Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby, eds. *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters with the Islamic Mi'rāj Tales* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

elevation obliques of the Masjid al-Haram occupy the lower parts of the compositions, whereas the dynamic renderings of angels and clouds sprawl in the upper parts. The walls of the Masjid al-Haram seem to have no thickness as its superstructure is not delineated.

Besides such manuscript paintings from the Islamic world, there are also Ottoman paintings which depict the Ka'ba and the Masjid al-Haram while illustrating the text. As Zeren Tanındı mentions, the six-volume copy of Darir's *Siyer-i Nebi* (1595) is crucial for the genre of religious painting, as it has a very generous number of paintings depicting the life of the Prophet Muhammad.⁴⁴⁰ Some of these paintings consist of oblique drawings of the Ka'ba as parts of their compositions. For instance, a painting from the second volume shows 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud reciting the Qur'an before the members of the Quraysh (Figure 97). Here, the stations of the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali are shown in elevation whereas the Ka'ba, the arcades, the minbar, and the *maṭāf* (the area of circumambulation) are shown in oblique. There are also manuscript paintings of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi that record the deeds of the Ottoman sultans in the Haramayn. For instance, in Seyyid Lokman's *Şehnâme-i Selim Hân* (1581), Selim II's repair works at the masjid is shown with builders, stone masons, and sacrificial animals on site (Figure 98).⁴⁴¹ In both the recitation and repair scenes, the Ka'ba, the *maṭāf*, and the minbar are shown

⁴⁴⁰ The six-volume illustrated copy of Darir's *Siyer-i Nebi* (1388) was commissioned by Murad III (r. 1574–95) and then completed in 1595 during the reign of Mehmed III (1595–1603). The first, second, and the sixth volumes are kept at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 1221, 1222 and 1223), the third volume is now at the New York Public Library (Spencer Turk Ms. 4), the fourth volume at the Chester Beatty Library (T 419), a copy of the fourth volume at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (T 1974), and the fifth volume is missing. For an overview of religious painting and details of the *Siyer-i Nebi*, see Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebi: İslam Tasvir Sanatında Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı* (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), 31–37. See also Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 158–65.

⁴⁴¹ Çağman, "Şehname-i Selim Han ve Minyatürleri," 424.

in three-dimensional forms, whereas the stations (*maqāmāt*) of four Sunni schools contrast them with their two-dimensionality.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century paraline views of the holy sites were not confined to manuscripts, but they were also encountered in a myriad of media and settings, from ceramic panels to wall paintings. Oblique projection was not yet another visual mode to depict the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites, but its uses were intentional in several examples, if not all. A ceramic panel (no. 2735) from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Bursa provides very valuable information about the practice of this technique in the Ottoman Empire (Figures 99, 100, and 101). Some representations of the holy sites could be copied from earlier examples or drawn using templates without giving much attention to pictorial systems, contemporary architecture, or urban space. Such repetition is not necessarily a negative phenomenon; rather, it is through these practicalities that conventions were established and images were produced in large quantities.

This late-seventeenth-century Kütahya or early-eighteenth-century Tekfur Sarayı ceramic panel is a crucial example that informs us about the production process of a representation.⁴⁴² A preparatory sketch on the back of the panel demonstrates how the artist practiced the elevation oblique before painting the design on the front of this tile or on another one (Figures 100 and 101). Similar preparatory sketches are also found on the back of two thirteenth-century Persian lustre tiles. As Venetia Porter notes, figural compositions were applied on the back of these two floral tiles

⁴⁴² I would like to thank Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu and Hans Theunissen for their valuable contribution regarding the identification and periodization of the tile. The tile was formerly identified as a product of Tekfur Sarayı by Kurt Erdmann and Sabih Erken. In Erken's article, the photograph of the Bursa tile (no. 2735) is erroneously published as the photograph of a tile from the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (no. 860). Kurt Erdmann, "Ka'bah-Fliesen," 196; and Sabih Erken, "Türk Çinçiliğinde Kabe Tasvirleri," 313–14, fig. 27–28.

which were perhaps sketches for frontal designs of other tiles that came from the same workshop.⁴⁴³

The sketch on the back of the Mecca tile must have been an exercise for what was planned to feature on the front of the same tile or another one with the same subject. It was applied with a darker tone of the slip used on the front and rendered an elevation oblique of a building with a number of domes, a frontal gate, and a courtyard with its gravel ground which should be the Masjid al-Haram. The holy mosque is shown with more detail and on a bigger scale on the front. Its western corner seems erroneously drawn, where its northwest and southwest facades meet with the *mināra ʿumra* at their intersection. This technical problem of intersecting planes was perhaps attempted to be solved in the sketch, as the triangular piece on the corner of the sketch implies. This preparatory drawing attests to the strong agency of the painter in choosing a particular pictorial system over another and testing it before the final design.

Unlike multiviews — which were often confined to the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, the Haram al-Sharif, or other pilgrimage and visitation sites — elevation obliques and perspectives allowed artists to zoom out to have broader views of the holy cities. Many elevation obliques and perspectives depict Mecca, Medina, or Jerusalem with their holy mosques, urban fabric, or geographical features, whereas others discard the immediate surroundings of the holy mosques. In some prayer and pilgrimage manuals, both orthographic and oblique projections were used to depict the holy mosques and cities. For instance, in the Khalili prayer book (Figure 2), the

⁴⁴³ One of these tiles is from the British Museum, whereas the other one is from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Venetia Porter, *Islamic Tiles* (New York: Interlink Books, 1995), 46–47.

Masjid al-Haram was shown as a multiview, whereas the Masjid al-Nabawi was shown as a paraline view. Even though only the Prophet's Mosque appeared on the left-hand page, Mecca's geographical and architectural features found a presence on the right-hand page. The application of two pictorial systems in the same book was an intentional choice made to accommodate a certain amount of detail in or around the holy mosques. However, there are some exceptions to the content and coverage of pictorial systems. Some multiviews introduce geographical and architectural features from the surroundings of the holy mosques and cities (Figures 94 and 169), while some paraline and perspectival views exclusively display the holy mosques (Figure 104).

The alternating use of orthographic and oblique projections can also be detected in a copy of the *En 'ām-ı Şerīf* (YY 155) in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Figure 102). Here, the dyad of Mecca and Medina provides an opportunity to feature both techniques with an extensive use of gold. The elevation oblique of the Masjid al-Haram is surrounded by domed structures which do not provide much information about the urban fabric of Mecca. As in the Bursa tile (Figure 99), the mosque's western corner is awkwardly drawn where pointed arches are supposed to meet. The lack of volume in the depiction of the arcades and the Ka'ba parallelogram garbles the oblique projection towards flatness. The multiview of the Masjid al-Nabawi is also surrounded by domed structures; yet again, they are not representative of the mosque's precinct. The mosque's side arcades are depicted as stacks of pointed arches, whereas the front and back arcades are shown as rows of arches. Such a permutation fixes the beholder to viewpoints parallel to the front and back arcades. In the Masjid al-Nabawi, the elevations of the Burial Chamber and the Minbar

resemble those depicted on separate pages of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Figure 35). Overall, the elevation oblique of the Masjid al-Haram, the multiview of the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the elevations of the Burial Chamber and the Minbar reveal that the painter was accustomed to the extant corpus of the Haramayn imagery.

In a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (Laleli 1535), the Ka'ba and the Burial Chamber were shown with a technique that scholars call “reverse” or “inverted” perspective (Figure 103). In several representations of the holy sites, the back edge of prismatic structures can be longer than the front, which causes an illusion of “reverse” perspective; however, this is not a consistent application, as found in Byzantine art. In Figure 103, the edges of the Ka'ba and the Burial Chamber do not run parallel to each other, which violates the major principle of paraline drawings that requires parallel lines to stay parallel. Nevertheless, I do not think that these were intentional; rather, they were caused by free-hand drawing towards capturing elevation obliques as it might be the case in Figure 78.

In another copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3963), the elevation obliques of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi were rendered with more precision in technique, if not in architectural details (Figures 57 and 104). Here, the northeast facade of the Masjid al-Haram and the north facade of the Masjid al-Nabawi are parallel to the picture plane, which also allows the viewer to see one other facade from the exterior. As a result, two arcades of each holy mosque become visible from the interior. In this example, there is not much space for details of the urban fabric, because of the alignment of each mosque's main facade with the picture frame and the relative size of each mosque. Only generic hills are added to the background, suggesting an elevated horizon line.

Copies of the *Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt* are replete with elevation obliques, but here I would like to give another example of the same visual mode from the *ḵblenümā* in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (Figure 19) and the *ḥilye* in the Sadberk Hanım Museum (Figure 39).⁴⁴⁴ On these objects, the holy triad is executed in oblique projection. The paraline views of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the latter are fully labelled in black, red, and white and display a greater amount of details, whereas the former is rather simple without any inscriptions except for the artist's signature, Fahri. The Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif are the focal points in each depiction with elevated horizon lines.

To sum up, paraline drawings have the capacity to present the three-dimensional information of the holy cities in a single view, even though this capacity is not fully utilized in every representation. An eighteenth-century album (*mūraḵḵa*) in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (T 447) illustrates such competence to depict large areas via its paintings of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem (Figure 105).⁴⁴⁵ In each painting, the elevation obliques of the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif are surrounded by white cubical houses with pink or red flat roofs. All three cities are depicted against a gold and green background, in which mountains rise in Mecca and Medina and rich vegetation blooms in Medina and Jerusalem. These paintings are abundantly labelled, which helps the viewer identify each structure and gate.

⁴⁴⁴ For more information about these objects, see Chapter 1, sections “The Center of the World” and “The Holy Triad.”

⁴⁴⁵ Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library*, 83–85, cat. 447.

Perspectival Views of the Islamic Pilgrimage and Visitation Sites

Perspectival views were frequently inserted in manuscript or lithograph copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, but they also appeared in other media and settings such as ceramic panels and wall paintings. Not all manuscripts have a dated colophon or codicological and stylistic indicators of certain periods. Furthermore, not all colophons were contemporary with illumination and painting, since those could be added to manuscripts at a later date. A similar reasoning also applies to wall paintings as they could have been added following a building's construction, repair, or at some other time in its afterlife. In this regard, I find it essential to be cautious about dating images and not providing bold statements about pictorial modes. With perspective projection, I am not aware of very early representations of the holy sites from the Islamic world, as we have with orthographic (late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries) and oblique (fifteenth century) projections.⁴⁴⁶ Even though earlier examples might exist, it is safe to say that perspectival views of three major holy cities widely circulated in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

An oil painting of Mecca held in the Uppsala University Library (UU 2372), dated to 1710–12, is perhaps one of the early examples of perspective projection on such a big scale (85 x 111 cm).⁴⁴⁷ Nevertheless, my primary concern here is not about

⁴⁴⁶ However, this does not mean that European perspectives of Jerusalem do not exist. See Arad, "Mapping Divinity," 263–76.

⁴⁴⁷ This painting has received considerable scholarly attention. A symposium (*The Image of Mecca*, Uppsala, 5 May 2014) and a workshop (*Aspects on Early Representations of Mecca and the Ka'ba in Ottoman Art*, Istanbul, 20–21 April 2017) were held towards a book project about the Uppsala painting. See also Mehmet Tütüncü, "How a Kaaba Painting Changed the Perspectives: The Uppsala University Kaaba and Mecca Painting and Its Importance for the Cultural Historiography of Hajj," in *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, eds. Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde, 2013), 137–62.

finding origins; it is rather about showing diversity and media change. In late Ottoman visual culture, some manuscripts and prints stand out with their use of common models for representations of the holy sites (Figure 106–13, 115–16). For instance, in a lithograph copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 12075), mirror images of Mecca and Medina were colored by hand, leaving very little trace of the printing technique (Figure 106).⁴⁴⁸ This 1293/1876–77 edition of the prayer book was calligraphed by Hafız Osman Nuri Burduri (Kayışzade). It was lavishly illuminated as several other printed books of the period. The underlying Mecca and Medina lithographs followed the aesthetics of engravings despite their different printing technique. This is no surprise as the colored Mecca lithograph strongly resembles a print (Figure 111) made after the Mecca engraving in the second volume (1789) of d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général* (Figure 107). The colored Medina lithograph, however, looks as if it was sourced from a different example.

Similarities between the Mecca and Medina engravings in the *Tableau Général* and the paintings in the doublure of an album (1793) at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (A 3689) are also striking (Figures 109 and 110). As d'Ohsson has written, and Carter Findley and Elisabeth Fraser point out, the Mecca engraving was based on a painting executed in 1778 by an artist from Istanbul.⁴⁴⁹ Günsel Renda attributes the doublure paintings to the Ottoman-Greek painter Kostantin Kapıdağlı, whose works constituted the source for the engraved portrait of Selim III in the TSMK album and those of the Ottoman sultans' in the Young Album. Renda suggests that Kostantin Kapıdağlı's depictions of the holy cities could have provided prototypes for the

⁴⁴⁸ Renda, "Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar," cat. 14.

⁴⁴⁹ d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire othoman*, vol. 2, 244–45. See also Findley, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807)," 33 and Fraser, "'Dressing Turks in the French Manner,'" 213–14.

engravings in the *Tableau Général*.⁴⁵⁰ Moreover, Nurdan Küçükasköylü demonstrates that several engravings in the *Tableau Général* were based on paintings by Kapıdağlı and his atelier.⁴⁵¹ As Renda suggests and Küçükasköylü might agree, the Mecca and Medina engravings in the *Tableau Général* could be based on paintings by Kapıdağlı and his atelier. Another possibility is that both the engravings and the double paintings could be based on a prototype by a different artist. Whoever was behind the original Mecca and Medina images, the print format widely circulated and inspired other artists.

For instance, in Vienna, Carl Ponheimer engraved a Mecca image after a drawing by the Austrian Orientalist Andreas Magnus Hunglinger in 1803 (Figure 111).⁴⁵² Hunglinger's drawing was clearly based on the Mecca engraving in the *Tableau Général*. As the copy of the *Tableau Général* in the Topkapı Museum Library shows, the book was also available at the Ottoman court (Figures 107 and 108). Here, the Medina engraving was enhanced with gold to crown each minaret and dome with crescent-shaped finials (sing. *'alem*) and to illuminate the Tomb of the Prophet. In 1286/1869–70, several decades after Ponheimer's engraving, a print of the "Exalted House of God" (*Ka 'betullāhü' l- 'Ulyā*) signed by Mahmud was specifically produced for the Ottoman market (Figure 112). A copy of this print in the Calligraphy Museum

⁴⁵⁰ Günsel Renda, "Illustrating the *Tableau Général* de l'Empire Othoman / *Tableau Général* de l'Empire Othoman'ın Resimlendirilmesi," in *The Torch of the Empire / İmparatorluğun Meşalesi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 70.

⁴⁵¹ Nurdan Küçükasköylü, "Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri (1770–1810)" (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2010), 77–93. See also Nurdan Küçükasköylü, "Circulating Images: Ottoman Painters, Travel Books, Overtones," *Comité International des Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes* (Rethymno: University of Crete, 2012), 1–7.

⁴⁵² Here I have used a copy in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (ARC.PT 75). "Panoramic Overview of Mecca," The Khalili Collections, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage/khalili-collection-hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage-panoramic-overview-of-mecca-arc-pt75/>. See also the copy in the British Library (1871,0513.28). Porter, *The Art of Hajj*, 28–29.

in Istanbul (no. 2205) was meticulously colored by hand.⁴⁵³ In the Berthault and Ponheimer engravings, the numbered sites and architectural features were identified in the legends for a European audience (Figures 107 and 111). In Mahmud's print, however, the numbering and the legend was made to appeal to an Ottoman audience. There were perhaps earlier or later Ottoman prints of this kind, as there exist very similar prints in the Calligraphy Museum in Istanbul (no. 2131 and no. 1727) and the Harvard Art Museums (no. 1995.827) which are missing the legends at the lower registers.⁴⁵⁴

The 1286/1869–70 print was brought to the Calligraphy Museum from the Hacı Ömer Efendi Mosque in Üsküdar, whereas a similar print without the legend and the hand coloring (no. 2131) was brought to the same museum from the Yahya Efendi Dergahı in Beşiktaş. As seen in Figure 192, a similar print or a painting after it was hung in the Sünbülü Tekke in Fındıkzade. A more permanent image was fixed to the spandrel of the Tomb of the Ladies (Havatin Türbesi) in Yeni Valide Mosque Complex in Eminönü (Figure 113).⁴⁵⁵ This wall painting must have been after a print that followed Ponheimer's engraving. Through the multiple-stepped process of translating Berthault's engraving to this wall painting, the perspectival view of Mecca was even more foreshortened and the foreground became even more congested.

⁴⁵³ Zübeyde Cihan Özsayiner, "Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi'ndeki Kutsal Kent Tasvirleri," *Antik Dekor* 84 (2004): 102.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 100–1; and "View of the Ka'ba at Mecca," Harvard Art Museums, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/215534>.

⁴⁵⁵ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 243, fig. 5.27.

In a number of prayer books, perspective projection was also applied to the monolithic views of the Rawda besides the dyads of Mecca and Medina (Figures 41 and 114). Even though the Rawda perspectives in these manuscripts are very similar, their Haramayn representations display more diversity. The Rawda perspectives offer a pictorial alternative to the isolated representations of the Burial Chamber and the Prophet's Minbar (Figures 32, 34, and 35). In these examples, an interspace from the gallery level on the southern section of the mosque is captured with the Burial Chamber on the right and an open door on the left (Figures 41 and 114). With perspective projection, columns and arches get shorter and narrower from right to left, and the spherical form of the Green Dome (*Qubbat al-Khadrā'*) over the Burial Chamber becomes distorted towards an elliptical shape. By contrast, the ceiling decoration works against the effect of a single vanishing point and becomes misleading for the beholder.

The dyads of Mecca and Medina — in the manuscripts that the Rawda perspectives appear — follow different models except for the Khalili (MSS 1213) and Süleymaniye (Pertevniyal 35) copies. Unlike other richly colored dyads, these two copies have monochrome perspectival views of the holy cities only with some touch of gold (Figure 115). Mountains frame the scenes at the bottom and top of the pages, and sparsely distributed structures surround the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi. The square grid inside the courtyard of the Masjid al-Nabawi recalls the application of checkerboard design on floor surfaces in other Ottoman paintings such as sultans' portraits and wall paintings. Here, the shortening of surfaces is not as powerful as the example in Figure 106, where the parallel lines of the holy mosques meet at a more dramatic angle. Domes, arches, and mountains pop out with the shading they receive in this monochrome drawing. A similar model for the dyad was

utilized in reverse order in a lithograph miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Figure 116). There is not much adaptation from the manuscript painting to the lithograph, except for palm trees surrounding the Masjid al-Nabawi and the mosque's shaded courtyard pavement. These manuscript and lithograph copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* demonstrate another set of examples showing how images of the holy sites were selectively multiplied and translated into different media: from painting to print, and vice versa. A similar attitude to painting and print was also prevalent in Qajar Iran. As Farshid Emami demonstrates based on renowned Persian texts such as the *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), the already established manuscript painting tradition was sustained in lithographic prints.⁴⁵⁶

Similar to other pictorial modes, perspectival views of Mecca and Medina were also painted on walls of mosques and tomb structures. In the Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Mosque in Manisa, the wall paintings of Mecca and Medina are located in the late-comers' porch, above the windows between the main door and the two extraneous mihrab niches (Figure 117). Dilek Şener attributes these paintings to the construction year of the mosque in 1206/1791–92; however, they might have been painted in the nineteenth century as well.⁴⁵⁷ Both Mecca and Medina views are framed by Baroque cartouches which repeat along the mosque's north wall and divide this longitudinal surface into vertical sections marked by windows and niches. On the right-hand side, Mecca is depicted in tones of gray, brown, and green with surrounding mountains

⁴⁵⁶ Farshid Emami, "The Lithographic Image and Its Audiences," in *Technologies of the Image*, eds. David J. Roxburgh and Mary McWilliams (Cambridge; New Haven: Harvard Art Museums; Yale University Press, 2017), 56–63.

⁴⁵⁷ Dilek Karaaziz Şener, "Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Camii Duvar Resimleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/10 (2014): 715–38; and Şener, "XVIII ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Duvar Resimleri," 157–60, 420. See also Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977), 126, 239; and Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı*, 32–39.

(Figure 119). On the left-hand side, Medina appears in the same color palette with its city walls and signature palm trees (Figure 120). Inside the Masjid al-Haram, not all structures are delineated around the Ka'ba, and the minbar is shown in an incorrect location. The Masjid al-Nabawi depiction has a greater error, which shows the Burial Chamber in the center of the courtyard and Fatima's garden behind it. There is very little diminution in the size of the houses from foreground to background, but there exists great variety in their facades, heights, and masses. The back facades of the holy mosques, however, shrink considerably compared to their front facades which are closer to the beholder. In both perspectival drawings, the vanishing points from the holy mosques correspond to a spot in the upper left part of the composition much higher than the horizon line.

Many perspectival views of Mecca and Medina direct their viewers to spots on either sides of the holy mosques at which parallel lines intersect. In some others, however, parallel lines meet at a vanishing point on the central vertical axis of each mosque. For instance, in the lithograph copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (Figures 57 and 106), the Masjid al-Haram stretch towards points on the left-hand side, whereas the Masjid al-Nabawi shrinks to a point in its central axis. These two approaches as well as the orientation of the captions and mirror images create different visual effects and position the beholder in different spots as he/she looks at this double-page composition. One finds it comfortable gazing at the Mecca image from the right, with the mosque's two exterior facades exposed. On the contrary, viewers quickly situate themselves in the middle while gazing at the Medina image and see only one lateral face.

Evaluation

In the late Ottoman Empire, multi- and paraline views were as crucial as perspectival and photographic views and were all utilized to represent the Islamic holy sites. Various visual modes coexisted in this period without any hierarchy or evolutionary process, contrary to dominant narratives of art history which overemphasize the role of perspective. Renaissance writers, their later followers, and then Panofsky have shown perspectival construction as a threshold marking the Renaissance or as a “symbolic form,” which in return shaped the art historical narrative. As Margaret Iversen points out, Panofsky not only presented an evolutionary history of linear (or central) perspective, but also a strong discrepancy between antique and modern perspectives.⁴⁵⁸ Consequently, the uses of perspective in different cultures have been interpreted in the categories of incapability, imitation, adaptation, or development, while other visual modes have not received the attention they deserve. My observation based on the presented materials is that, once artists got engaged in a new visual practice, some became immersed in it and internalized it, whereas others sustained earlier practices and did not abandon them.

Multi-, paraline, and perspectival views were not alternatives for one another, as they could convey three-dimensional information about space, form, and configuration in different ways and create manifold graphic qualities. Even though the execution of each drawing technique differs in each depiction, this does not necessarily point to the competence of painters. The majority of surviving representations are not scaled line drawings based on established architectural conventions or topographical

⁴⁵⁸ Iversen, “The Discourse of Perspective,” 195.

surveys.⁴⁵⁹ Rather, they are depictions based on imagination, observation, verbal descriptions, templates, or former examples.

Multiviews had a continuous application in pilgrimage scrolls and manuals, unlike ceramic panels, wall paintings, and prayer books displaying all three pictorial modes. The prevalent visual mode in hand-executed and printed copies of pilgrimage scrolls and the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* consists of multiviews, even though some mixed uses within the same manuscript or image exist. Perspectival views of Mecca, Medina, and/or Jerusalem were used in manuscript copies of Mehmed Edib's *Nehcetü'l-Menāzil* and Murad Nakşibendi's *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil* (Figures 169, 170, and 171); while a greater number of pilgrimage and visitations sites were depicted in multiviews in *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* copies.

As with the composite plans, the mixed use of two pictorial modes within the same image was possible in several examples. To illustrate, in a seventeenth-century pilgrimage manual and ceramic tile, the holy mosques are shown as predominantly multiviews with their arcades in oblique. In the *Manzūme-i der Menāsikü'l-Ḥacc* (1056/1646–47) in the Süleymaniye Library (Hacı Ahmed Paşa 344), both the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi are depicted with a combination of orthographic and oblique projections (Figures 121 and 122). Maury refers to a similar view of the Masjid al-Haram from a copy of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* in the Süleymaniye Library (Nuruosmaniye 1870) to describe the “introduction of three-

⁴⁵⁹ For some extant nineteenth-century scaled drawings of the holy mosques and maps of the holy cities in the Istanbul University Library (Figures 127–31), see Chapter 3, section “Sadiq Bey and the Ottoman committee of the Erkân-ı Harbiye.” For others preserved in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives and the General Directorate of Foundations' Archives (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi) for the purpose of renovations and carpet fittings, see Güler, ed. *Belgelerle Osmanlı Devrinde Hicaz: Medīne-i Münevvere-Cidde-Surre-Muhtelif*, 2–9, 115–25, 168–71; and Ateş, “Mescid-i Nebevî'nin Yapıldığı Günden Bu Yana Geçirdiği Genişletme Girişimleri,” 23–25, fig. 1.

dimensional representation and fewer viewing directions.”⁴⁶⁰ In the Masjid al-Haram depiction (Figure 122), the side arcades and the Ka‘ba appear in oblique, whereas the rest of the elements are shown in elevation. In the Masjid al-Nabawi depiction (Figure 122), only the side arcades are obliquely drawn. Both the northeast facade of the Masjid al-Haram and the north facade of the Masjid al-Nabawi are shown in elevation; therefore, arcades circumscribe the courtyards on only three sides. The ceramic tile in the Yeni Valide Mosque in Eminönü similarly delineates the side arcades and the *maṭāf* in oblique, whereas it shows mountains, minarets, and *maqāmāt* in elevation.⁴⁶¹

Another composite application appears in two late Ottoman wall paintings. To illustrate, the wall paintings of the Masjid al-Haram in Belendardıç and İdris Village Mosques register multi- and perspectival views at the same time.⁴⁶² The more detailed former painting delineates the mosque courtyard as a trapezoid and the minarets with decreasing heights based on principles of perspective (Figure 55). Nevertheless, the width of the minarets and the size of the arcades and domes do not change. In the latter painting, the trapezoid-shaped courtyard increases the effect of depth; nevertheless, the sizes of domes do not diminish from near to far. The row of domes covering the northeast wing of the Masjid al-Haram seems larger, but the other three wings are topped with domes of the same size. The color of domes and minarets in both examples alternate and provide rhythm to the composition. These

⁴⁶⁰ Maury, “Ottoman Representations of the Two Sanctuaries,” 554–57, fig. 4.

⁴⁶¹ Erken, “Türk Çiniliğinde Kabe Tasvirleri,” 314. Belgin Demirsar Arlı and Ara Altun, *Anadolu Toprağının Hazinesi Çini: Osmanlı Dönemi* (İstanbul: Kale Grubu Kültür Yayınları, 2008), 303–11.

⁴⁶² Dilek Şener notes that the completion of construction and decoration dates of the Belendardıç Village Mosque are 1300/1884 and 1301/1885–86, and of the İdris Village Mosque are 1318/1902 and Rumi 1329/1911. Şener, “XVIII ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Duvar Resimleri,” 42–44, 98–102.

wall paintings were perhaps painted at an acute angle according to the interior setting and the viewpoint of the beholder in mind.

Among paraline drawings, elevation oblique was the most preferred for depicting the holy sites. Other paraline views did exist but they were limited in number. For instance, Ma Fuchu's *Chao Jin Tu Ji* (Record of the Pilgrimage Journey, 1861) consists of a plan oblique of the Masjid al-Haram (Figure 123).⁴⁶³ In the woodblock print of the holy mosque, the caption reads “form/image of the Sacred Mosque and the Ka‘ba” (*shakl al-Masjid al-Ḥarām wa-l-Ka‘ba*) in the presence of labels for its three gates. The drawing was based on the rectangular plan of the mosque, and then its walls, arcades, and minarets were raised according to their heights.

In the majority of Haramayn representations, the northeast facade/arcade of the Masjid al-Haram and the north facade/arcade of the Masjid al-Nabawi run parallel to the picture plane and fall into the lower registers of compositions (Figure 57). Except for photographs and some perspectival views of the Haramayn, such orientation is preserved in several depictions regardless of pictorial mode. There was a smooth transition between most elevation obliques and perspectival views in which two facades of the holy mosques were exposed to the beholder with the addition of vanishing points. Jerusalem representations, however, show more diversity in terms of viewpoints (Figures 3, 15, 105, 162, 171, and 176). There exist several Haram al-Sharif depictions that are oriented towards the south; therefore, the Masjid al-Aqsa appears behind the focal point of the Dome of the Rock (Figures 3, 162, and 171).

⁴⁶³ In *Chao Jin Tu Ji*, Ma Fuchu (1794–1874) describes his pilgrimage from China to Mecca. For more information, see Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod, eds., *Architecture in Islamic Arts: Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum* (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2012), 60–61, cat. 10.

The common directionality of facades was perhaps the result of a mapping tradition, an iconographic tendency, and/or a practical decision. Islamic maps were frequently drawn with south at the top, a tradition which also roughly corresponds with the orientations of Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi multiviews. In several prints of Mecca, crowds of pilgrims are shown approaching the city from Mina in the east and entering the holy mosque from its northern and eastern gates where the *mas'ā* is located (Figures 106, 107, 111, and 112). According to d'Ohsson, the Mecca engraving in the *Tableau Général* captures the procession of pilgrims on the first day of the Eid al-Adha (Festival of Sacrifice) or the tenth day of the month Dhu al-Hijja.⁴⁶⁴ The movement of crowds then illustrates the temporality of pilgrimage and the performance of *tawāf* on a very specific day. With this orientation, one can also see the door of the Ka'ba on its northeastern facade and the black stone on its eastern corner from where the circumambulation begins. Such movement perhaps explains the iconographic decision in consistently depicting the northeast facade/arcade of the Masjid al-Haram and the Ka'ba. The practical decision, however, is likely be related to the large open area in front of the mosque from where its northeastern facade could be easily viewed. This orientation was going to be altered by painters and photographers capturing city views from surrounding hills such as Abu Qubays. The orientation of Masjid al-Nabawi representations was perhaps more of a practical choice, as the significant elements of the mosque are located in the southern section of the mosque. To illustrate, the Burial Chamber, the Prophet's mihrab and minbar, and the mihrabs of 'Uthman and Süleyman are all in the south. Looking at the holy mosque from the north to the south enables the depiction of all these in a linear arrangement.

⁴⁶⁴ d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire othoman*, vol. 2, 244–45.

Multi-, paraline, and perspectival views locate the beholder in different viewpoints. For instance, introverted and extraverted multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram position the beholder at numerous points in the courtyard, including the middle of the courtyard where the Ka‘ba is located. The rotational arrangement of the arcades imposes at least four different viewpoints, looking at the intercardinal directions ($\leftarrow\uparrow\rightarrow\downarrow$). Furthermore, the number of viewpoints can multiply until the courtyards are in-the-round, as elevations of the arcades allow them to be viewed from any point parallel to them. Based on the Topkapı Scroll, Necipoğlu discusses a similar concept, stating that the scroll’s geometric drawings provide a multiplicity of viewpoints and enable the formation of isotropic space.⁴⁶⁵

Labels in multiviews are often freely placed tilted or upside down to conform with potential reading/viewing directions. Such rotational strategy slows down the reading of text and image, and it enhances the viewing with bodily experiences. Inscriptions in paraline, perspectival, and photographic views, however, are more strictly placed for a less mobile reader/viewer. In several prints of Mecca perspectives (Figures 107, 111, and 112) and photographic views of the Masjid al-Haram (Figures 143 and 154), important structures receive numbers that match the legend provided below. Multiviews perfectly suit the layout of the Masjid al-Haram and the radial growth from the Ka‘ba, as it mimics the *tawāf* and turning towards the qibla. Square ceramic panels of the Masjid al-Haram confirm such congruity of layout and pictorial mode (Figure 160). Multiviews of the Masjid al-Nabawi and the Haram al-Sharif also provide multiple viewpoints; however, they do not create the same revolving effect that Masjid al-Haram depictions possess. An elevation oblique drawing of Mecca,

⁴⁶⁵ Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Scrutinizing Gaze in the Aesthetics of Islamic Visual Cultures: Sight, Insight, and Desire,” *Muqarnas* 32 (2015): 28.

Medina, or Jerusalem positions the beholder on a plane parallel to the main facade of the Masjid al-Haram, Masjid al-Nabawi, or the Haram al-Sharif. The beholder feels comfortable looking at the image from any point on this plane and to roam around visually. Perspectival views of the holy cities, however, fix the beholder to a single spot imposed by the vanishing point for the Masjid al-Haram, Masjid al-Nabawi, or the Haram al-Sharif.

CHAPTER 3

PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWS

This chapter focuses on photographic views of the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites among other visual modes. The structure of this chapter differs from the previous one, as photography has a relatively concise history and photographic views have a distinct process of production and circulation as well as indexical quality compared to other visual modes. Similar to multi-, paraline, and perspectival views, photographic views of Mecca and Medina had a big potential to circulate and be reproduced in different media.⁴⁶⁶ In Europe and the Islamic world, the appreciation of photography and the involvement with the medium greatly varied based on individual artists. Some artists discredited the uses of photography, whereas others acknowledged its agency and embraced its areas of application. As Dominique de Font-Réaulx notes, photography has played important roles in several European artists' creative processes whether those roles have been revealed or remained unknown.⁴⁶⁷ According to David Roxburgh, Qajar artists also used photography for image-making processes and attained creative translations between different

⁴⁶⁶ For instance, for a Japanese lacquer plaque of the Masjid al-Haram modelled after a European print, see Schweizer and Shalem, "Translating Visions," 148–73.

⁴⁶⁷ Dominique de Font-Réaulx, *Painting and Photography 1839–1914*, trans. David Radzinowicz (Paris: Flammarion, 2012), 263–65.

media.⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, as Ahmet Ersoy demonstrates based on the Hamidian era photography in the Ottoman Empire, the “mobility” and “mutability” of photographs enabled “multiple visual, textual, and material encounters” from paintings to illustrated journals.⁴⁶⁹

A recent exhibition entitled *Technologies of the Image* has explored the mobility of images in photography, lithography, lacquer, and painting in Qajar Iran.⁴⁷⁰ Furthermore, three major exhibitions have built upon European artists’ response to photography and their exploration of the medium’s capacities.⁴⁷¹ The catalogues of these exhibitions are helpful in articulating artists’ utilization of photographs in depicting the Islamic holy sites. Several artists had access to reservoirs of photographs and utilized them in their works.⁴⁷² Such reservoirs of images often included reproductions of artworks, photographs by artists and their families and

⁴⁶⁸ David J. Roxburgh, “Technologies of the Image: Art in 19th-Century Iran,” in *Technologies of the Image*, eds. David J. Roxburgh and Mary McWilliams (Cambridge; New Haven: Harvard Art Museums; Yale University Press, 2017), 12. See also Roxburgh, “Troubles with Perspective: Case Studies in Picture-Making from Qajar Iran,” in *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, eds. Jill H. Casid and Aruna D’Souza (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 112–14.

⁴⁶⁹ Ahmet Ersoy, “The Sultan and His Tribe: Documenting Ottoman Roots in the Abdülhamid II Photographic Albums,” in *Ottoman Arcadia: The Hamidian Expedition to the Land of Tribal Roots (1886)*, eds. Bahattin Öztuncay and Özge Ertem (Istanbul: Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2018), 33, 38; and Ersoy, “Ottomans and the Kodak Galaxy: Archiving Everyday Life and Historical Space in Ottoman Illustrated Journals,” *History of Photography* 40 (2016): 334, 341.

⁴⁷⁰ David J. Roxburgh and Mary McWilliams, eds. *Technologies of the Image* (Cambridge; New Haven: Harvard Art Museums; Yale University Press, 2017).

⁴⁷¹ For the exhibition catalogues, see Erika Billeter, ed. *Malerei und photographie in dialog, von 1840 bis heute* (Bern: Benteli Verlag, 1977); Elizabeth W. Easton, ed. *Snapshot: Painters and Photography, Bonnard to Vuillard* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012); and Dorothy Kosinski, ed. *The Artist and the Camera: Degas to Picasso* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1999).

⁴⁷² Among them are Pierre Bonnard (1867–1947), Hendrik Breitner (1857–1923), Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Henri Evenepoel (1872–99), Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), Fernand Khnopff (1858–1921), Alphonso Mucha (1860–1939), Edward Munch (1863–1944), Gustave Moreau (1826–98), George Henri Rivière (1864–1951), Félix Vallotton (1865–1925), and Franz von Stuck (1863–1928),.

friends, or commercially acquired images.⁴⁷³ As Ulrich Pohlmann points out, several European artists utilized photographs as study aids and translated photographic models into drawings and paintings via *quadrillage*, projection, and *photo-peinture*.⁴⁷⁴ According to Clément Chéroux, such analogical transformations are not merely reproductions of photographs that are “direct and complete; rather, they tend to be diffuse and multifaceted.”⁴⁷⁵

Several scholars have indicated Ottoman artists’ engagement with photography. Among them, Günsel Renda and Stefan Weber point out the agency of photographs in wall paintings, whereas Turan Erol suggests the same for canvas paintings.⁴⁷⁶ Moreover, Adnan Çoker focuses on Darüşşafaka painters and matches Ahmed Şekur and Darüşşafakalı Şefik’s paintings with their source photographs.⁴⁷⁷ Pelin Şahin Tekinalp also demonstrates links between specific examples. For instance, she pairs Abdullah Frères’ photograph of Çadır Kiosk (Kağthane) with a wall painting in Şale Kiosk (Yıldız Palace), and Pascal Sébah’s photograph of the Karnak Temple

⁴⁷³ For artists’ collections of photographs, see de Font-Réaulx, *Painting and Photography 1839–1914*, 244–95.

⁴⁷⁴ *Quadrillage* is a method of transferring an image onto another surface by using square grid. *Photo-peinture* is a method of fixing the photographic image on canvas by means of a sciopicon and a photosensitive emulsion. Ulrich Pohlmann, “Another Nature; or, Arsenal of Memory: Photography as Study Aid, 1850–1900,” in *The Artist and the Camera: Degas to Picasso*, ed. Dorothy Kosinski (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1999), 51–52.

⁴⁷⁵ Clément Chéroux, “A Sense of Context: Amateur Photography in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *Snapshot: Painters and Photography, Bonnard to Vuillard*, ed. Elizabeth W. Easton (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012), 44.

⁴⁷⁶ Günsel Renda, “Painted Decoration in 19th Century Ottoman Houses: Damascene Connection,” in *Actes du Ier Congrès International sur Corpus d’Archéologie Ottomane, 14–17 May 1996* (Zaghuan, Tunisie: Institut national du patrimoine, 1997), 96; Stefan Weber, “Images of Imagined Worlds: Self-Image and Worldview in Late Ottoman Wall Paintings of Damascus,” in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, eds. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2002), 158; and Turan Erol, “Painting in Turkey in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” in *A History of Turkish Painting*, eds. Günsel Renda, et al. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 104.

⁴⁷⁷ Adnan Çoker, “Fotoğraftan Resim ve Darüşşafakalı Ressamlar,” *Yeni Boyut* 9 (1995): 4–12.

Complex (Thebes) with a wall painting in the Şehzade Kiosk (Yıldız Palace).⁴⁷⁸ Berin Gölönü makes a deeper analysis about the use of photographs from the 1886 Söğüt Expedition in Hüseyin Zekai Paşa and Ahmed Şekur's landscape paintings, which served nationalistic ideologies.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur draw parallels between photography and the portrait paintings by Ohannes Kürkçiyān and Simon Agopyan, and link Vasilaki Kargopoulo's photograph of the İhlamur Kiosk to a painting by İbrahim.⁴⁸⁰

Several artists have incorporated photography into their artistic processes since the invention of photography in 1839. As in many paintings of landscapes, architecture, and cityscapes, a number of paintings depicting the Islamic holy sites were also completed after photographs or their reproductions. For instance, the French-Algerian painter Étienne (Nasreddine) Dinēt and the Ottoman painters Mahmud, Kolağası (Hoca) Ali Rıza, and Mimarzade Mehmed Ali painted the Haramayn after photographs or prints. As I will demonstrate in this chapter, it is possible to trace the sources of these painters, because only a handful of photographers are known to have photographed Mecca and Medina in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among them, the photographic oeuvres of the Egyptian army officer Muhammad Sadiq Bey (1832–1902), the Ottoman committee of the Erkān-ı Hārbiye (General Military Staff), the Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), and the

⁴⁷⁸ Pelin Şahin Tekinalp, "Links between Painting and Photography in Nineteenth-Century Turkey," *Historiography of Photography* 34 (2010): 291–99. See also Pelin Şahin Tekinalp, "Mount Vesuvius in Ottoman Wall Paintings in the Context of Ottoman-Italian Relations," *Annali dell'Università degli studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"* 71 (2011): 61–67.

⁴⁷⁹ Berin Gölönü, "Images with a Second Life: Photographs of the Hüdāvendigar Province That Became Landscape Paintings," in *Ottoman Arcadia: The Hamidian Expedition to the Land of Tribal Roots (1886)*, eds. Bahattin Öztuncay and Özge Ertem (Istanbul: Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, 2018), 107–19.

⁴⁸⁰ Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, *Constantinople and the Orientalists* (Istanbul: İşbank, 2002), 288–99.

Meccan doctor al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar are the earliest surviving ones and have been available in private and public spheres at least from the 1880s onwards.

In this chapter, I examine the photographic oeuvres of these four parties based on two major collections in the Istanbul and Leiden University Libraries and photographs preserved elsewhere. I reflect on the encounters between these parties and the circulation of early photographs of the Haramayn. I associate specific photographs and prints with paintings of the Islamic holy sites; however, immediate links between photography and other media is not my only concern. I am also interested in exploring the possibilities, limits, and uses of photographic views among other visual modes.

Early Photographers of the Haramayn

As Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan note, a very important connection “between the history of photography and Europe’s knowledge about the Middle East has existed since the invention of the daguerreotype” in 1839.⁴⁸¹ From the 1840s onwards, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria attracted many European photographers who searched for biblical and historical references. Many photographers such as Jakob August Lorent, James Robertson, and Félix Bonfils captured the holy sites in Jerusalem in the early decades of photography. With the development of the wet-collodion method and glass negatives, photography became widespread in these regions, and photographic studios proliferated in cosmopolitan centers such as Beirut, Cairo, Damascus,

⁴⁸¹ Ali Behdad and Luke Gartlan, eds. “Introduction,” in *Photography’s Orientalism: New Essays on Colonial Representations* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013), 1.

Istanbul, and Jerusalem.⁴⁸² These studios served locals and European tourists as well as the Egyptian khedives and the Ottoman sultans.

With the proliferation of steamships and then the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Red Sea and the south coast of the Arabian Peninsula became busier than they had ever been. Ports like Wajh, Yanbu, and Jidda became open to foreign trade and travellers, whereas the Haramayn remained isolated as an exclusively Muslim territory. By the mid-nineteenth century, a large number of Muslim pilgrims were coming from European colonies all over the world, and their travel across colonial territories was regulated by European powers. For instance, the British, Dutch, French, and Italian consulates in Jidda served to control pilgrimage traffic.⁴⁸³

Even though photography spread rapidly across the Middle East, so far, there are no surviving photographs of the Haramayn from the early decades of its use.⁴⁸⁴ In the 1880s, the Egyptian army officer Muhammad Sadiq Bey (1832–1902), the Ottoman committee of the Erkân-ı Harbiye (General Military Staff), the Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), and the Meccan doctor al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar had their camera equipment in the Haramayn. All three but Snouck Hurgronje shot views of the holy cities; the Dutch scholar took portraits of pilgrims, Ottoman officials, and locals in Jidda and Mecca.

There were three major encounters between these four parties from which photographs proliferated and were disseminated. The first encounter took place in

⁴⁸² Sui, “Pilgrimages to the Holy Sites of Islam and Early Photography,” 45.

⁴⁸³ European powers “issued passports, visas, and health certificates to their subjects, and then transported them to the Hijaz.” Wolfe, *One Thousand Roads to Mecca*, 192.

⁴⁸⁴ However, photographs of Jidda exist from the 1850s onwards. el-Hage, *Saudi Arabia*, 9.

1297/1880 between Sadiq Bey and the Ottoman committee. This might be the connection that resulted in the inclusion of Sadiq Bey's portfolio in the Yıldız Albums. The second contact was in 1302/1885 between Snouck Hurgronje and 'Abd al-Ghaffar, which enabled a wider exposure of the latter's photographs by their inclusion in *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka*. The third encounter was also in 1302/1885, but this time between Sadiq Bey and 'Abd al-Ghaffar. This contact might be the reason why Sadiq Bey's photographs ended up in the *Bilder Atlas* and how 'Abd al-Ghaffar's photographs made their way to the Yıldız Albums. An increasing number of photographers captured the Haramayn in the following years, among which are: H. A. Mirza and Sons, Ibrahim Rif'at Pasha, Mahmoud Arab Girly, and Muhammad 'Ali Efendi Sa'udi, as well as Ahmed Hamdi Muzaffer and Miralay Münir.⁴⁸⁵ Within the limits of this dissertation, I will not focus on the works of later photographers so as to maintain a concise study of the production and circulation of early Haramayn photographs and their translation into different media.

Sadiq Bey and the Ottoman Committee of the Erkân-ı Hârbiye

The Egyptian army officer Muhammad Sadiq Bey (1832–1902) is known to have taken the first known photographs of Medina during his first visit in 1277/1861.⁴⁸⁶

According to the pamphlets that advertised Sadiq Bey's photographic portfolio and the stickers and seals used with his photographs (Figures 124, 130, and 131), these

⁴⁸⁵ Mirza and Shavoosh, *The Illustrated Atlas of Mekkah and the Holy Environs*, 107–50; Sheehi, *Arab Imago*, 175–92; Kioumgi and Graham, *A Photographer of the Hajj*, ix–xviii; Asani and Gavin, "Through the Lens of Mirza of Delhi," 178–99; and *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 126–30.

⁴⁸⁶ For a short entry about Sadiq Bey, see Engin Özendes, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Fotoğrafçılık, 1839–1923* (İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, 2013), 183–85.

photographs were exhibited in the Egyptian pavilion at the Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia (1876).⁴⁸⁷ In his first book of four published in 1294/1877, *Nabdha fi istikshāf tarīq al-arḥ al-Ḥijāziyya* (A Short Report about Investigations of the Hijaz Route), Sadiq Bey published woodcuts after photographs taken during this trip. In this book, he described the photographs he took in Medina with an emphasis on his pioneering role in photography.⁴⁸⁸

Sadiq Bey gave cartographic drawing lessons at the Military School in Cairo after receiving his military training in Cairo and his engineering training at the École Polytechnique in Paris.⁴⁸⁹ In 1277/1861, he surveyed the pilgrimage routes in the Hijaz and accompanied Sa‘id Pasha (r. 1854–63), the governor of Egypt, in his visit to Medina. As Meraj Nawab Mirza and Abdullah Saleh Shawoosh also point out, Sadiq Bey mentions that he accompanied Sa‘id Pasha in his second book *Mash‘al al-Maḥmal* (Torch of the Maḥmal) published in 1298/1881.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ *Sotheby’s, Travel, Atlases and Natural History, 4 June 1998* (London: Sotheby’s, 1998), lot 328. I would like to thank Claude W. Sui and Oya Delahaye for providing me with the details of this catalogue.

⁴⁸⁸ Sadiq Bey published four books about his travels. Here, I have used a reprint of all four. Muhammad Sadiq Basha, *al-Rihla al-Ḥijāziyya*, ed. Muhammad Hammam Fakri (Beirut: Badr lil-Nashr Wal-Tawzi, 1999), 47. The original publications follow as: Sadiq Bey, *Nabdha fi istikshāf tarīq al-arḥ al-Ḥijāziyya min al-Wajh wa-Yanbu‘ al-Baḥr ila al-Madīna al-Nabawiyya* (Cairo: Maṭba‘ ‘Umūm Arkān Ḥarb, 1294/1877); Sadiq Bey, *Mash‘al al-maḥmal* (Cairo: Maṭba‘ Wadī al-Nīl, 1298/1881); Sadiq Bey, *Kawkab al-ḥajj fi safar al-maḥmal baḥaran wa-sīrahu barran* (Cairo: Maṭba‘ al-Amīriya, 1303/1886); and Sadiq Bey, *Dalīl al-ḥajj lil-wārid ila Makka wa-l-Madīna min kull fajj* (Cairo: Maṭba‘ al-Kubrā al-Amīriya, 1313/1896).

⁴⁸⁹ Sui, “Pilgrimages to the Holy Sites of Islam and Early Photography,” 46.

⁴⁹⁰ Sadiq Basha, *al-Rihla al-Ḥijaziya*, 259. See also Mirza and Shawoosh, *The Illustrated Atlas of Makkah and the Holy Environs*, 61. Two documents in the Prime Ministry’s Ottoman Archives relate to Sa‘id Pasha’s visit to Medina. The document dated to 1 Cemaziyelahir 1277/15 December 1860 requests the assistance of the governor of Jidda and the emir of Mecca during Sa‘id Pasha’s visit (A. }MKT.MHM., 204, 24). The document dated to 16 Ramazan 1277 / 28 March 1861 informs about the completion of Sa‘id Pasha’s visit (A. }MKT.MHM., 213, 45). These documents, however, do not refer to Sadiq Bey or anyone else in Sa‘id Pasha’s retinue.

Unfortunately, the 1861 photographs of Medina cannot be securely identified among the extant corpus attributed to Sadiq Bey.⁴⁹¹ Therefore, for now, the earliest surviving photographs of the Haramayn can then be dated to 1297–98/1880–81 which coincides with Sadiq Bey’s second visit and the Ottoman committee of the Erkān-ı Hārbiye’s (General Military Staff) assignment to the Hijaz for a geographical survey. Mirza and Shavoosh briefly mention the encounter between Sadiq Bey and the Erkān-ı Hārbiye. They use a pair of photographs to attest the concurrent presence of the committee and Sadiq Bey in the Masjid al-Haram during a Friday prayer.⁴⁹² In *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn* (2013), such an encounter is further elaborated by recognizing Sadiq Bey as a member of the Ottoman military committee that was charged with taking photographs and preparing maps in the Haramayn.⁴⁹³

In the Istanbul University Library, there are a number of maps (sing. *harīṭa*) and plans (sing. *maḳṭa ‘-i ufkī*) by the committee assigned by the Erkān-ı Hārbiye, which visualize different parts of the Hijaz by means of surveying (*istikṣāf ṣūretiyle/uṣūlüyle*).⁴⁹⁴ Among them, the maps of Mecca, Medina, Jidda, Yanbu, and

⁴⁹¹ The photograph of Medina, which is often dated to 1861 or 1880, has several copies. The Istanbul University Library (90770/4a–b) and Victoria & Albert Museum (2131-1924) copies’ are not fully cropped; therefore, they reveal the signature of Sadiq Bey and the date of Muharram 1298 / December 1880 – January 1881 in lower middle. If Sadiq Bey did not put a forward date to the photograph he took in 1861, then the earliest photographs of Medina have not come to light yet. For copies of this photograph, see: Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 118–19; *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 180–83; Wiczorek, Tellenbach, and Sui, eds., *To the Holy Lands*, 133; and Porter, ed. *Hajj*, 78–79, fig. 47.

⁴⁹² In a photograph taken by the Ottoman committee, Sadiq Bey appeared within the frame, whereas in a photograph taken by Sadiq Bey, the Ottoman committee was captured within the frame. Mirza and Shavoosh, *The Illustrated Atlas of Mekkah and the Holy Environs*, 54–55, 70–75.

⁴⁹³ *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, xli.

⁴⁹⁴ For earlier nineteenth-century drawings of the Masjid al-Nabawi and Medina as well as documents regarding the holy mosque’s repairs, see Güler, ed. *Belgelerle Osmanlı Devrinde Hicaz: Medīne-i Münevvere-Cidde-Surre-Muhtelif*, 2–9, 66–67, 111–25, 168–71.

Ta'if and the plans of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi date between 1297–98/1880–81, whereas that of the Hijaz dates to 1301/1883–84 (Figures 127, 128, 129, and 130).⁴⁹⁵ As Badr el-Hage notes based on *Mash' al al-Maḥmal*, Sadiq Bey met an Ottoman military committee of six officers in Mecca whose duty was to prepare maps of the Hijaz.⁴⁹⁶ Among them was a photographer named Ali Bey, who might be responsible for some of the photographs in the Yıldız Albums held in the Istanbul University Library. The map of Mecca and the plan of the Masjid al-Haram carry seals of the members of the committee assigned to the Hijaz.⁴⁹⁷ The city map consists of seals of Binbaşı Seyyid Mehmed Cemal, Kaymakam Seyyid Ahmed Cemaleddin, Kaymakam Ahmed Hakkı, and Miralay Hayri (Figure 127). In the mosque plan, the seal of a certain Binbaşı Seyyid Mehmed Sadık replaces the seal of Kaymakam Ahmed Hakkı (Figure 128). This is very likely the seal of the Egyptian photographer Sadiq Bey listed among the other members of the Ottoman committee of the Erkân-ı Harbiye.

Apart from this group of maps and plans, there are three later documents in the Istanbul University Library, which can be attributed to Sadiq Bey. These are the 1305/1888 map of Mecca, the 1301/1883–84 plan of the courtyard of the Masjid al-Haram (Figure 131), and the 1305/1887 report (*lā'iha*) about the repairs of the 'Ayn

⁴⁹⁵ İÜK no. 92252 is a 1/2000 scaled map of Mecca dated to Rebiülevvel 1298 / February–March 1881. İÜK no. 92253 is a 1/14000 scaled map of Medina dated to Cemaziyelevvel 1297 / April–May 1880. İÜK no. 92254 is a 1/5000 scaled map of Yanbu dated to Rebiülahir 1297 / March–April 1880. İÜK no. 92255 is a 1/160 scaled plan of Masjid al-Nabawi dated to Rebiülahir 1297 / March–April 1880. İÜK no. 92256 is a 1/400 scaled plan of the Masjid al-Haram dated to Rebiülahir 1298 / March 1881. İÜK no. 92257 is a 1/5000 scaled map of Ta'if dated to Şevval 1297 / September–October 1880. İÜK no. 92258 is a 1/300000 scaled map of the Hijaz dated to 1301/1883–84. İÜK no. 92259 is another map of Medina this time scaled to 1/2000 and dated to Cemaziyelahir 1297 / May–June 1880. İÜK no. 92260 is a 1/3000 scaled map of Jidda dated to Rebiülevvel 1298 / February–March 1881.

⁴⁹⁶ Sadiq Bey, *Mash' al al-maḥmal*, 31. See also el-Hage, *Saudi Arabia Caught in Time 1861–1939*, 23–24.

⁴⁹⁷ İÜK no. 92252 and İÜK no. 92256. See also *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 2–3.

Zubayda water supply system.⁴⁹⁸ These documents bear only one seal each, which read “Seyyid Meḥmed Şādık b. Muştafā” in the Mecca map and “Seyyid Meḥmed Şādık” in the Masjid al-Haram plan. In the plan of the mosque, his title is further explained as the lieutenant colonel of the General Military Staff and the head engineer of ‘Ayn Zubayda (*Ḳaymaḳām-ı Erkān-ı Ḥarb ve ‘Ayn-ı Zübeyde Sermühendisi*). Unlike the 1298/1881 plan of the Masjid al-Haram (Figure 128), this one does not show the surrounding of the mosque and the two domes (*qubbatayn*) that were removed from the courtyard in 1882 (Figure 131). The upper structures of the stations (*maqāmāt*) are partially demonstrated in the plan and the elevations of the stations are shown on the right-hand side of the drawing. Moreover, the legend on the left provides the names of the stations and other structures that are numbered in the plan.

Sadiq Bey’s name also appears in the Hijaz province yearbooks (*Ḥicāz Vilāyeti Sālnāmesi*) of 1301/1884 and 1303/1886.⁴⁹⁹ In the former, Sadiq Bey is mentioned as a lieutenant colonel of the General Military Staff (*Erkān-ı Ḥarbiye Ḳaymaḳāmu*) and the head of the Military Building Commission in Mecca (*Ebniye-i ‘Askeriye Ḳomisyonu*).⁵⁰⁰ In the latter, he is recorded as a colonel of the General Military Staff

⁴⁹⁸ İÜK T 4660 is a 1/20000 scaled map of Mecca (also showing Mina, Muzdalifa, and ‘Arafat) dated to 14 Cemaziyelevvel 1305 H / 28 January 1888. İÜK no. 93679 is a 1/200 scaled plan of the Masjid al-Haram dated to 1301/1883–84. İÜK T 4659 is a repair report dated to 11 Rebiülahir 1305 / 27 December 1887. For more information about the ‘Ayn Zubayda water supply system, see Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Harameyn Vakıfları (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar)*, 79–83; and Söylemezoğlu, *Hicaz Seyahatnamesi*, 144.

⁴⁹⁹ Five yearbooks of the province of the Hijaz were published 1301/1884, 1303/1886, 1305/1888, 1306/1889, and 1309/1892 in Mecca. *Ḥicāz Vilāyeti Sālnāmesi* (Mecca: Hicaz Vilayet Matbaası, 1301, 1303, 1305, 1306, 1309). For a facsimile and transcription of the 1303/1886 yearbook, see Selman Soydemir, Kemal Erkan, and Osman Doğan, *Hicaz Vilāyet Salnamesi, H. 1303 / M. 1886* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008). See also no. 4129–32 and no. 2911 in İsmail Bakar, *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi Kütüphanesi Yıllıklar, Sālnāmeler, Nevsāller ve Takvimler* (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2008), 224.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ḥicāz Vilāyeti Sālnāmesi 1301*, 88.

(*Erkân-ı Harbiye Mîralayı*) and the head engineer of the State Building Commission (*Ebniye-i Mîriye İnşâ'at Komisyonu*).⁵⁰¹ From his title in the 1881 Masjid al-Haram plan to the ones in the 1884 and 1886 yearbooks, one can follow the change in Sadiq Bey's military rank within five years: major (*biñbaşı*), lieutenant colonel (*ķaymaķām*), and colonel (*mîralay*).

During his second visit to the Hijaz as the commander of the Egyptian *maħmal* (*ķurre emîni* or *amîr al-ħajj*) in 1297–98/1880–81, Sadiq Bey took photographs of both Mecca and Medina that were marketed in the form of photographic portfolios. A photograph of the Ka'ba taken during this visit was awarded a gold medal at the Third International Geographical Congress and Exhibition in Venice in 1881.⁵⁰² Furthermore, Sadiq Bey's second book *Mash'al al-Maħmal* (Torch of the Mahmal) came out in 1298/1881 after this visit. Here, Sadiq Bey's pilgrimage account was accompanied by woodcuts made after the photographs of the Masjid al-Nabawi and Medina. Sadiq Bey's other books *Kawkab al-Ĥajj* (Star of Hajj) and *Dalîl al-Ĥajj* (Guide to the Hajj) were published in 1303/1886 and 1313/1896 following his third and fourth visits in 1301/1884 and 1302/1885. Unlike the woodcuts in *Mash'al al-Maħmal*, Sadiq Bey's photographs in *Dalîl al-Ĥajj* were printed using the photomechanical process which allowed reproductions directly from photographs without the need for relief or intaglio processes.

⁵⁰¹ *Hicâz Vilâyeti Sâlnâmesi 1303*, 62, 64. For the transcription see, Soydemir, et al. *Hicaz Vilâyet Salnamesi, H. 1303 / M. 1886*, 51–52.

⁵⁰² See the pamphlets that advertised Sadiq Bey's photographic portfolios (Figures 124) and the introduction of Sadiq Bey's fourth book *Dalîl al-Ĥajj* in Sadiq Basha, *al-Rihla al-Ĥijâziyya*, 259.

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar

The Dutch scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) established his reputation as the first European photographer to visit Mecca in 1885; nevertheless, he is known for his portraits rather than architectural photography. A few Europeans such as Charles Montagu Doughty (1876) and John Fryer Thomas Keane (1877) managed to penetrate the Haramayn in disguise in the second half of the nineteenth century. These travelers published their travelogues on their return to Europe and achieved certain popularity; nevertheless, none of them pursued ambitious scholarly research or carried a camera like Snouck Hurgronje did.

Snouck Hurgronje received his doctoral degree from Leiden University in 1880 with his dissertation entitled *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (The Meccan Festival) in which he described the rites of pilgrimage and their possible origins.⁵⁰³ He travelled to Jidda in August 1884 and stayed at the Dutch Consulate before moving into a house in the Muslim quarter of the city. There he converted to Islam and took the name ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, before he went to Mecca.⁵⁰⁴ Snouck Hurgronje stayed in Mecca until he was expelled from the city in August 1885 and before he could perform the pilgrimage.⁵⁰⁵

Returning to Leiden, Snouck Hurgronje published two volumes on Mecca which were accompanied by two portfolios of collotype photographs as well as chromo- and tinted lithographs. First, the volumes *Mekke: Die Stadt und Ihre Herren* (Mecca:

⁵⁰³ Jan Just Witkam, “Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje: A tour d’horizon of His Life and Work,” in *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936): Orientalist* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2007), 12. See also James Henry Monahan, “Introduction,” in *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning of the Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago* (Leiden; London: Brill; Luzac, 1931), v.

⁵⁰⁴ van der Wal, *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*, v.

⁵⁰⁵ Mols and Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, 7.

The City and Its Rulers) and *Mekka: Aus dem Heutigen Leben* (Mecca: From the Daily Life) were published in 1888 and 1889.⁵⁰⁶ Then, the portfolios *Bilder Atlas* (Picture Atlas) and *Bilder aus Mekka* (Pictures from Mecca) followed in 1889.⁵⁰⁷ These publications reflect Snouck Hurgronje's interest in religious scholarship in Mecca besides ethnic groups, especially those from the Dutch East-Indies. His latter interest was a response to the "concerns of the Dutch colonial authorities, who feared the spread of pan-Islamism" and its potential effects in their colonies.⁵⁰⁸ Snouck Hurgronje's employment as an advisor on indigenous and Arab affairs in the Dutch East-Indies (1889–1906) further attests that his interest in Mecca was not only personal and academic but also political.⁵⁰⁹

Snouck Hurgronje was familiar with Sadiq Bey's photographs and at least one of his books by the time he published his works. In this first portfolio *Bilder Atlas*, Snouck Hurgronje included a tinted lithograph of the Masjid al-Haram and a collotype of the Ka'ba after two albumen prints by Sadiq Bey. Snouck Hurgronje also has mentioned Sadiq Bey and made reference to *Kawkab al-Hajj* in his second book *Mekka: Aus*

⁵⁰⁶ The first volume is about the history of Mecca, whereas the second one is on Meccan society. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka: Die Stadt und Ihre Herren* (Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1888); and *Mekka: Aus dem Heutigen Leben* (Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1889). The English translation of the second volume was first published under the title *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* by Brill in 1931. The second edition was published in 1970 and the third edition was published with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam in 2007. Here, I use the earliest edition for the body of text, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, trans. James Henry Monahan (Leiden; London: Brill; Luzac, 1931).

⁵⁰⁷ For a selection of images from *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka*, see Angelo Pesce, ed. *Makkah a Hundred Years Ago or C. Snouck Hurgronje's Remarkable Albums* (London: Immel Publishing, 1986).

⁵⁰⁸ Robert Irwin, "Journey to Mecca: A History," in *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam*, ed. Venetia Porter (London: British Museum, 2012), 193.

⁵⁰⁹ Jan Just Witkam, "Introduction," in *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, trans. James Henry Monahan (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), xv-xvi. See also Witkam, "Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje," 19, 28–31.

dem Heutigen Leben. In a footnote, Snouck Hurgronje has mentioned Sadiq Bey's book with the following words: "in spite of all superficiality, there are many valuable data on the geography and ethnography of Arabia."⁵¹⁰

The Meccan doctor Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, Snouck Hurgronje's namesake, also took some of the early photographs of the Masjid al-Haram and Mecca. His photographs circulated widely in *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka* with his salient signatures and captions removed in the collotypes. The traces of 'Abd al-Ghaffar's distinctive calligraphic signature "Photograph by al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, doctor of Mecca" (*fuṭuḡrāfiyāt al-Sayyīd 'Abd al-Ghaffār, ṭabīb Makka*) and his prominently-placed captions are in fact vaguely visible in some photographs in *Bilder aus Mekka*. In the preface to *Bilder aus Mekka*, Snouck Hurgronje writes about a Meccan doctor whom he instructed in photography without mentioning the name 'Abd al-Ghaffar: "Shortly after my two-volume work *Mecca* was completed with *Bilder Atlas*, I received a shipment of many very interesting recent shots from the Meccan doctor whom I taught photography during my stay in the holy city."⁵¹¹

It is not clear why Snouck Hurgronje does not mention 'Abd al-Ghaffar's name for his several photographs, even though he credits Siegfried Langer for a single photograph in *Bilder Atlas*.⁵¹² As a series of letters between the two men reveal, 'Abd al-Ghaffar was the host to Snouck Hurgronje in Mecca and his co-worker in

⁵¹⁰ Snouck Hurgronje refers to Sadiq Bey's book in the context of circumcision in different tribes. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, 113, note 1.

⁵¹¹ Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka* (Leiden: Brill, 1889), n.p.

⁵¹² Oostdam and Witkam suggest that Snouck Hurgronje must have erased 'Abd al-Ghaffar's captions and signatures from the plates for aesthetic reasons rather than forgery. Oostdam and Witkam, *West Arabian Encounters*, 32. Claude Sui suggests another reason which is to protect his provider from possible charges and keep their collaboration confidential. Sui, "Pilgrimages to the Holy Sites of Islam and Early Photography," 57.

their photographic studio. Snouck Hurgronje left his photography equipment to ‘Abd al-Ghaffar when leaving Mecca and commissioned him to take photographs during the hajj season. The consignments and letters from ‘Abd al-Ghaffar were passed on to Snouck Hurgronje by the Dutch vice consul P. N. van der Chijs in Jidda.⁵¹³ It was via these consignments that photographs by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar and Sadiq Bey reached Leiden and appeared in *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka* in the form of photographic prints and lithographs.

The Yıldız Albums

The Yıldız Albums, compiled during the long reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909), are also known as the Abdülhamid Albums. The majority of these albums are preserved in the Istanbul University Library and a set of their copies are kept at the Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture (IRCICA) in Istanbul. There are also two large collections of albums that are now at the Library of Congress and the British Library.⁵¹⁴ The Yıldız Albums consist of numerous depictions of cities within Ottoman territories as well as Europe. Among those in the Istanbul University Library, at least eleven albums include photographs from the Hijaz.⁵¹⁵ Some of these albums consist of photographs by Sadiq Bey, the Erkân-ı Harbiye, and ‘Abd al-Ghaffar.

⁵¹³ For the correspondences in the Leiden University Library, see Or. 18.097 S 32.1–7.

⁵¹⁴ See Nurhan Atasoy, “Sultan Abdülhamid II’s Photo-Collections in Istanbul,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): v-vi and other articles in the same volume.

⁵¹⁵ These albums are 90543 (The Guesthouse in Mecca), 90743 (Mecca and Medina), 90744 (Mecca, Medina, and Ta’if), 90745 (Mecca, Medina, and Ta’if), 90746 (Mecca, Medina, and Ta’if), 90747 (Medina), 90748 (Mecca and Ta’if), 90749 (Yanbu and Jidda), 90770 (Mecca and Medina), 90789 (Mecca), and 90877 (Hamidiyye Cavalary Regiments).

The Album 90770 consists of the entire portfolio of Sadiq Bey with an additional photograph of Mount Uhud and the Tomb and Mosque of Hamza.⁵¹⁶ All of the photographs are mounted on cardboard with their captions in *talīq* script. Sadiq Bey's name is legible on all photographs but the Uhud one, which might have been blackened. Sadiq Bey signed his photographs in Latin or Arabic, or in both. He perhaps had a diverse audience in mind while using both alphabets. The captions were further elaborated depending on the particular audience. For instance, the photographs in the Album 90770 were inscribed with Ottoman Turkish captions that were added to the mounts (Figure 149).

The Album 90789 is exclusively comprised of photographs signed by 'Abd al-Ghaffar. In this album, 'Abd al-Ghaffar's signatures and captions are fully legible unlike *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka* where they were intentionally removed. As with Sadiq Bey's photographs, it is not certain how 'Abd al-Ghaffar's photographs reached Istanbul. However, the Ottoman commission of the Erkān-ı Harbiye would have been the perfect mediator between Mecca and Istanbul, the way the Dutch vice consul mediated between Mecca and Leiden.

Bilder aus Mekka and the Album 90789 share several photographs in common. For instance, the first photograph in *Bilder aus Mekka* showing the courtyard of the mosque during the Friday prayer can also be found in the Album 90789 (Figures 132 and 133). In this photograph, the Ka'ba is viewed between the *bāb al-salām* and the *bāb al-Nabī* looking south. In the Yıldız photograph, the signature of 'Abd al-

⁵¹⁶ The caption on this photograph (90770/6b) reads as “Medīne-i Münevvere haricinde Uḥud Dağı ve Seyyidü'l-Şühedā 'Amm-ı Resūl-i Ekrem Ḥamza bin 'Abdūlmuttaḥalib efendimiz ḥazretlerinin merkad-ı şerīfī manzaraları.” For this photograph, see Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 122–23; and *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 280–81.

Ghaffar in the lower middle and the caption above “prayers around the Ka‘ba” (*al-ṣalawat ḥawla al-Ka‘ba*) are kept intact unlike the one in *Bilder aus Mekka*.

The four-part panorama of Mecca taken from Abu Qubays, the three-part panorama of ‘Arafat where pilgrims perform the rite of standing (*wukūf*), and the two-part panorama of Mina where pilgrims camp during the hajj appear in both *Bilder aus Mekka* and the Album 90789. The photograph of Muzdalifa, where pilgrims collect stones to throw at the three pillars (*jamarāt*) at Mina, is another common element between the two albums. Looking at this photograph in the Yıldız Album, one can see the retouches made on the photograph in *Bilder aus Mekka*. Hazy figures in the foreground and a vague camel caravan in the background are retouched to ensure that they are more distinct. The characteristic signature of ‘Abd al-Ghaffar is again placed prominently in the lower middle of the photograph.

The photographs of Mecca, Medina, Ta‘if, Jidda, and Yanbu in the Albums 90743–49 are likely to be taken by the Ottoman committee of the Erkān-ı Harbiye (Figures 141 and 143). These albums include the same shots and panoramas of Mecca and Medina within the same album or in different albums only with changes in contrast and tonality. Besides these albums, the Album 90877 is attributed to Behçet Bey and dated to 1888–89; however, one has to doubt this information.⁵¹⁷ This album consists of photographs of troops, buildings, and processions in Erzincan and Antep as well as imperial commissions in Mecca such as the Hamidiyye Barracks, the Artillery Barracks, a hospital, and a police station. One sees representations of the Hamidiyye Barracks and the police station in *Bilder Atlas* as well. In fact, the photograph of the

⁵¹⁷ For photographs from Album 90877, see Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 49, 54–59, 133–34 and *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 116–17, 120–23, 134–35, 140–41.

Hamidiyye Barracks in *Bilder Atlas* and the one in the Album 90877 are identical. Moreover, the tinted lithograph of the police station in *Bilder Atlas* must be after a copy of the police station photograph in the Album 90877, as the figures in the latter suggest. Therefore, Behçet Bey's photographs might be one of the sources for *Bilder Atlas*, or both Snouck Hurgronje and Behçet Bey might have used works by another photographer.

Bilder Atlas and Bilder aus Mekka

Bilder Atlas (36 x 27 cm) consists of a total of sixty-five photographic prints pasted on cardboard, with an addition of six tinted and four chromolithographs. The portfolio starts with collotype photographs and tinted lithographs of Masjid al-Haram and Mecca, continues with honorific portraits from Mecca and group portraits of pilgrims from Jidda, and ends with chromolithographs of objects from Mecca.

The first two folios in *Bilder Atlas* are tinted lithographs of the Masjid al-Haram and Mecca after photographs by Sadiq Bey and 'Abd al-Ghaffar. The first lithograph is after a two-partite panorama by Sadiq Bey which shows the masjid and the city looking west from the mountain of Abu Qubays. In the lower left corners of the panoramas in the Istanbul University Library and Victoria & Albert Museum, “صادق ١٢٩٧ بيك” (Şadīq Bey 1880) reads in black and “Sadic Bey” reads in white, aiming at legibility for different audiences.⁵¹⁸ The second lithograph depicts the courtyard of Masjid al-Haram when entered from the direction of the *bāb al-salām* looking south

⁵¹⁸ This panorama must be the first photograph in Sadiq Bey's portfolio. For different copies of this photograph, see 90770/3a–b in the Istanbul University Library, no. 2134-1924 in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, and WR 12/01 in the Reiss-Engelhorn Museum in Mannheim.

(Figure 154). It is after a photograph by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar whose copies are now kept in the Istanbul and Leiden University Libraries (Figure 153).⁵¹⁹ In both albumen prints, ‘Abd al-Ghaffar’s signature and caption “الحرم المكى” (al-Ḥaram al-Mekkā) are prominently placed, dominating the image.

The first six folios in *Bilder Atlas* depict the mosque and the city after photographs by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, Sadiq Bey, and the Ottoman committee of the Erkān-ı Ḥarbiye. Despite his conversion to Islam, it must have been a challenge for Snouck Hurgronje to set up his camera in the public spaces of Mecca, whereas ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, Sadiq Bey, or a member of the Ottoman committee could use their cameras more freely. Here, it should be noted that the authorship of some photographs is not always straightforward. Such uncertainty occurs between portrait photographs attributed to ‘Abd al-Ghaffar and Snouck Hurgronje, and outdoor photographs attributed to ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, Sadiq Bey, and the Ottoman committee. For instance, the lithograph of the Egyptian *maḥmal* in the fifth folio of *Bilder Atlas* is argued to be after a photograph by Sadiq Bey, even though the original photograph in Leiden University Library is signed by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar (Or. 12.288 L/4). Arnoud Vrolijk suggests that the photograph was taken by the Egyptian army officer and passed on to the Meccan doctor based on the circular outline of the lens that is absent in the rest of Abd al-Ghaffar’s photographs, the orderly setting of the *maḥmal* composition which could be achieved by a higher authority, and the photographic reproduction of the same photograph in Sadiq Bey’s *Dalīl al-Ḥajj*.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ See 90789/1 in the Istanbul University Library and Or. 26.367/5 in the Leiden University Library. The Istanbul copy was published in Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 89. The Leiden copy is a photograph of a photograph.

⁵²⁰ Vrolijk, “An Early Photograph of the Egyptian Mahmal in Mecca,” 209.

Portraits follow the architectural photographs in *Bilder Atlas*. The sequence of portraits reflects a hierarchical order among the portrait sitters. These portraits are organized in the following sequence: the Great Sharif of Mecca Awn al-Rafiq, the Ottoman governor of the Hijaz Osman Paşa, the guardian of the Ka‘ba (from the Bani Shaiba family), distinguished merchants and Turkish officials in Mecca, male members of the Great Sharif’s family, *sayyids* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) and members of the learned class in Mecca, and finally pilgrims in Mecca and Jidda. By placing portraits in such an order, from the most elevated officials to ordinary pilgrims, Snouck Hurgronje evidently reflected on the social hierarchy in the Hijaz.

In his captions, Snouck Hurgronje only mentions Awn al-Rafiq, Osman Paşa, Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (the son of Awn al-Rafiq) and Ali Reis by name.⁵²¹ The rest are defined according to their profession, country of origin, or kinship with the Great Sharif and the Bani Shaiba family.⁵²² Some of the captions are: nephew of the Great Sharif, children from the Bani Shaiba family, scribe of the Great Sharif, Meccan doctor, and pilgrims from Java, Sumatra, Jidda and Baghdad. By only naming the most prominent people, Snouck Hurgronje left others anonymous. In *Elbise-i ‘Osmāniyye*, a similar sense of anonymity is evident due to the categorization of costumes in terms of ethnicity, region, religion, and profession.

The seventeenth folio in *Bilder Atlas* is a lithograph showing a piece of the *kiswa* (the covering of the Ka‘ba), which separates the Meccan portraits from those taken in

⁵²¹ In the caption, Ali Reis is described as a *muezzin* (person who calls for prayer) from the family of ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr (one of the Prophet Muhammad’s companions).

⁵²² The members of the Bani Shaiba family are the guardians, or key keepers, of the Ka‘ba since the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

Jidda.⁵²³ The eighteenth folio is a lithograph depicting a group of musicians that was printed after a photograph taken by Snouck Hurgronje in the courtyard of the Dutch Consulate in Jidda. The source photograph for this lithograph, and the following portraits of pilgrims from the Dutch colonies and of street sellers were taken by Snouck Hurgronje in Jidda (except for a photograph by Siegfried Langer). However, the previous portraits in the portfolio were taken in Mecca either by Snouck Hurgronje or ‘Abd al-Ghaffar.

In *Bilder Atlas*, one can differentiate photographs taken in Jidda from those taken in Mecca based on the setting. For instance, the window, potted plants, and the textured irregular floor suggest that the photograph was taken in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate (Figure 134, upper and lower right). In these photographs, pilgrims are often grouped standing, sitting, or crouching in their local outfit and sometimes holding papers that might be travel permits. In photographs from Mecca, one can often spot a stretched textile pinned to the floor to obtain a uniform background and a carpet or textile spread on the ground to hide the irregularities of the surface (Figure 134, upper left).

Upon examining these portraits, one can suggest that photography helped Snouck Hurgronje establish professional connections. Similar to Sadık Bey who took portrait photographs of Shaykh ‘Umar al-Shaybi and Sharif Shawkat Pasha, Snouck Hurgronje photographed Osman Paşa, the Ottoman governor of the Hijaz province.⁵²⁴ Osman Paşa’s name and image frequently appear in *Bilder Atlas*. Besides his large-size honorific portrait in the portfolio, Osman Paşa is visible in

⁵²³ For a comparison, see the *kiswa* fragment in Mols, *Verlangen naar Mekka*, 164–65, cat. 68.

⁵²⁴ Jan Just Witkam, “Introduction,” xviii.

front of a large crowd on the streets of Mecca in the engraving depicting the Egyptian *maḥmal*. Furthermore, the captions of the photograph of the Hamidiyye Barracks and the lithograph of the police station bear the name of Osman Paşa as the patron of both buildings, even though the buildings were imperial commissions.

One can follow the systematic approach Snouck Hurgronje adopted for his ethnographic studies from *Bilder Atlas*. This approach is especially evident in the photographs of pilgrims from the Dutch East-Indies and the four chromolithographs of objects from Mecca which ends the portfolio. His captions of group portraits of pilgrims, such as those from Borneo, Jawa, Maluku, and Sumatra, reveal the regional classifications he considered for photographic documentation. Furthermore, the collection of objects he acquired while he was in the Hijaz hints at the well-planned structure of his ethnographic research.⁵²⁵

According to Allan Sekula, photography amalgamated honorific and repressive functions of portraiture in a melting pot that might be considered as an “archive” of bodies.⁵²⁶ It is possible to approach *Bilder Atlas* in a similar way in which portrait photographs operated both socially “ameliorative” and “repressive.”⁵²⁷ On one hand, the portraits of Meccans exemplify the more obvious honorific function. On the other hand, the group portraits taken in Jidda illustrate repressive pilgrim types who were considered as threats supporting pan-Islamism and required to report to the Dutch consulate upon their arrival to the city. A well-suited example in *Bilder Atlas*

⁵²⁵ Some of these objects can be found in Mols and Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, 161–77.

⁵²⁶ In her article, Sekula specifically focuses on photographs of criminals and attempts to define and regulate them. Allan Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” *October* 39 (1986): 6–10.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

demonstrates how a body in a group portrait could be identified and become even more instrumental for the Dutch ideology. #36 depicts Teungku di Cot Plieng (the second from the right), a supporter of independence in the East-Indies, among the collective bodies of other pilgrims from Aceh (seated) and two *wakīls* (standing).⁵²⁸ This photograph functions repressively with/out such identification and the possibility of an identity match highlights its divergence from an honorific portrait.

Bilder aus Mekka (36 x 27 cm) consists of twenty collotype photographs mounted on cardboard. In contrast to the dominant ethnographic approach in the *Bilder Atlas*, this second portfolio gives an overall view of Mecca and its environs except for the last three photographs. The portfolio starts with a view of the Ka‘ba taken from the courtyard of the Masjid al-Haram, continues with a panorama of the city on four pages, a front view of the Ottoman printing house, panoramas of pilgrim camps where the rites of the hajj are performed, a group portrait of four men and a camel, and ends with two interior views of an elaborately decorated room.

The logic behind the inclusion of the photograph of the printing house in *Bilder aus Mekka* must be the same as the inclusion of the photograph of the Hamidiyye Barracks and the lithograph of the police station in *Bilder Atlas*. These three buildings were recent imperial commissions that visualized the Ottoman sovereignty over Mecca. All three of them were located in the city center, very visible with their white-washed facades and Neo-Classical architectural styles that made them stand out among the surrounding buildings. With their inclusion in the portfolios, Snouck Hurgronje perhaps aimed to remind the European audience of the Ottoman presence

⁵²⁸ The caption of the image reads as ‘Pilger aus Gross-Atjeh mit zwei ‘Wakīl’s’.’ For the identification of Teungku di Cot Plieng, see Mols and Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, 64–65.

in Mecca and to attract their attention to the familiar and Neo-Classical architectural style adopted for imperial commissions.

The last three photographs in *Bilder aus Mekka* are very different from the rest which depict architecture, urban space, and the pilgrimage sites. Photographs in *Bilder aus Mekka* do not follow the systematic ethnographic approach that exists in *Bilder Atlas*, since Snouck Hurgronje only compiled photographs taken by 'Abd al-Ghaffar. Snouck Hurgronje's detailed explanations accompanying these three ethnographic images, as opposed to his short descriptions of photographs of Mecca, indicate their importance. As Snouck Hurgronje explains, the photograph with four figures and a camel depicts the action from right to left: the camel of Sharif Yahya decorated with silver embroidery, his attendant holding the bridle, Sharif Yahya himself in his riding outfit, and two other sharifs (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Hassan). Unlike the portraits taken in the courtyard of the Dutch consulate or the studio in Mecca, this photograph was taken outside in an arid landscape with hills in the background.

International Expositions and Photograph Albums

The nineteenth century's passion for cataloging, collecting and explaining the world in scientific, empirical terms was manifested in the formation of new disciplines such as anthropology and sociology, new theories like Darwin's evolution, as well as in the ways society used the new technology of photography. The photograph's ability to record more life-like detail than any other process led to its use as a tool for accumulating visual surveys of urban space, historical monuments, colonial possessions, and people of ethnic or occupational 'types'.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁹ Michelle L. Woodward, "Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization: Photographic Practice in the Late Ottoman Era," *History of Photography* 27 (2003): 364.

In the nineteenth century, as Michelle Woodward notes, photography was embraced by many disciplines for its potential to document the breadth and subjects of empires as well as built environments. Such themes were reworked in *Bilder Atlas*, *Bilder aus Mekka*, the *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye*, and the Abdülhamid Albums in the Library of Congress and the British Library. The former two are products of Snouck Hurgronje's personal interest guided by the Dutch government's ideological concerns, whereas the latter two are imperial commissions that represent the Ottoman Empire at the world expositions. Despite the different contexts, in which they were produced, all these albums show a special interest in ethnicity and in the Ottoman rule in the Arabian Peninsula.

The *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye* or *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie* is a costume album published during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76) for the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873. The album consists of seventy-four photomechanical prints which depict models in groups of two or three with costumes collected from various parts of the empire. It was prepared by Osman Hamdi Bey and Victor Marie de Launay and photographed by Pascal Sébah.⁵³⁰ The photographic prints in the *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye* were arranged in three sections based on geography: Istanbul and Thrace, Aegean and Mediterranean islands, and the Asian and African territories. Under these sections, the costumes were subdivided according to provinces. Each province, or group of provinces, received a general introduction followed by images and descriptions of costumes on each model. For instance, the provinces of the Hijaz,

⁵³⁰ Osman Hamdi Bey, the son of İbrahim Edhem Paşa the minister of Trade and Public Works, was an Ottoman painter and archaeologist. Victor Marie de Launay was a French artist working for the Ministry of Trade and Public Works. Pascal Sébah was an Ottoman photographer with Armenian descent and owned a photographic studio with his name in Istanbul and Cairo. Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism: The *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye* Album," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 190. See also Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 64–65.

Yemen and Tripoli were studied in the same group receiving their own introductory texts and a total of four photographs representing their costumes.⁵³¹

The *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye* was commissioned together with two other publications: the Ottoman architectural history book the *Uşûl-i Mi'mārî-i 'Osmānî / L'architecture ottomane / Die ottomanische Baukunst* and the Istanbul guide book *Le Bosphore et Constantinople / Der Bosphor und Constantinopel*. As Ahmet Ersoy demonstrates based on the 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna, “the Ottomans endeavored to define a unique and localized position for their empire in the context of this major global spectacle, negotiating their role as a prominent participant in the event.”⁵³² Long before the Library of Congress and British Library albums, this group of three books exemplified an attempt to regulate and shape the imperial image of the Ottoman Empire in the late Tanzimat period.⁵³³ Even though the books from the Viennese Exposition in 1873 and the albums from the Columbian Exposition in 1893 were compiled during the reigns of two different sultans, they had the common purpose of emphasizing the empire’s glorious past, rich culture, and vast territories.

The Library of Congress and the British Library each hold a set of fifty-one Yıldız Albums with approximately 1,800 photographs; however, none of them include photographs of the Haramayn. The albums at the Library of Congress were sent for the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and accompanied by Fatma

⁵³¹ A province is often introduced to the reader with its important cities, historical background, and social and economic structures. In the introductory text of the Hijaz province, Mecca and Medina are described in terms of their agriculture, architecture, religious significance, and relation to the port cities Jidda and Yanbu. Victor Marie de Launay and Osman Hamdi Bey, *1873 Yılında Türkiye’de Elbise-i ‘Osmāniyye*, trans. Erol Üyepazarcı (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1999), 437–39.

⁵³² Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary*, 31.

⁵³³ Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism,” 200–1; and Ersoy, “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period,” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 132–33.

Aliye Hanım's publications about women's role in Islamic societies. As Zeynep Çelik points out, there are a few themes that recur throughout these albums, such as Byzantine and Turkish architecture emphasizing the glory of the past; landscapes emphasizing the natural beauty of the Ottoman lands; new palaces, industrial facilities, and schools indicating the modernization of the state; and the education and employment of women showing the importance given to them by the state as part of social progress.⁵³⁴ Altogether these cohesive themes constructed a progressive image of the Ottoman Empire that was to appeal to an international audience.

The second set of albums was gifted to the British Museum in the same year as the World's Columbian Exposition, but they were received a year later in 1894 and then passed on to the British Library. They were accompanied by 280 books on various subjects.⁵³⁵ These albums are almost identical to those in the Library of Congress; they are the products of the same selection process. Books and albums in both libraries aimed to correct misconceptions about the empire and thus suggested a revision of Orientalist stereotypes.⁵³⁶ The albums at the Library of Congress and the British Library do not include photographs of the Haramayn; nevertheless, they include photographs from Yemen, another distant province of the Ottoman Empire

⁵³⁴ Zeynep Çelik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse at the World's Columbian Exposition," in *Noble Dreams Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930*, ed. Holly Edwards (Williamstown: Princeton University Press; Clark Art Institute, 2000), 77–97. See also George Hobart, "The Albums in the Library of Congress," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): 29–30; and William Allen, "Analyses of Abdul-Hamid's Gift Albums," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): 33–37.

⁵³⁵ Muhammad Isa Waley, "Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdülhamid II," *Electronic British Library Journal* (1991): 113, accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.bl.uk/eblj/1991/articles/pdf/article9.pdf>. See also Waley, "The Albums in the British Library," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (1988): 31–32.

⁵³⁶ According to Çelik, Fatma Aliye Hanım's books and Abdülhamid Albums "offered corrective to Orientalist stereotypes" in the Chicago World Fair. Çelik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse at the World's Columbian Exposition," 83.

whose relation with the central authority of the empire had always been delicate much like the Hijaz province. For instance, LOT 9527 in the Library of Congress consists of two plans, two exterior views, and a portrait of two students of the Imperial Military Middle School in Sanaa (#9–13).⁵³⁷ These were perhaps intended to accentuate the central authority of the empire over distant provinces as well as the investments they made to modernize the state. These photographs recall the representations of imperial architecture in *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka* which visualize Ottoman rule in distant provinces.

During the reign of Abdülhamid II, many new buildings and repairs were commissioned in and around Mecca, such as the Artillery Barracks built as an extension to the Ajyad Fortress, the Gayretiyye Barracks at Hind Fortress, the Hamidiyye Barracks, a hospital, and a guesthouse. Photographs of all these new buildings were compiled in the Yıldız Albums, the sultan's own photographic collection, yet none of them appeared in the LoC and BL albums. The albums sent abroad could certainly attract more attention, if they included photographs of the Haramayn, as it has been a territory where non-Muslims are not allowed.

Pilgrims and Locals

Photography changed the way that local residents of the Haramayn and pilgrims were represented with the holy mosques and cities at the same time and in the same context. For instance, in the BL *Miscellany of Iskandar Sultan* (Figure 95), *mir 'āj*

⁵³⁷ "LOT 9527," Library of Congress, accessed March 20, 2018, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=LOT%209527&co=ahii>.

scenes (Figure 96), and several paintings of the *Siyer-i Nebī* (Figure 97), the introduction of figures to multi- and paraline views provided a powerful sense of place for stories and miracles. I have also come across a number of pilgrimage manuals that depict the pilgrimage and visitation sites with human figures. For instance, in a copy of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* in the Leiden University Library (Or. 11.079), only the composition of the Jabal Uhud does not contain any figure.⁵³⁸ The Masjid al-Haram painting in the Leiden manuscript depicts several pilgrims in their *iḥrām*, praying with their hands raised or crossed on their chests (Figure 189, right). In the paintings of other sites such as Mount ‘Arafat, however, figures are shown in their everyday clothing engaged in different postures and gestures (Figure 189, left). In pilgrimage manuals similar to the Leiden one, the introduction of figures to representations of the Islamic holy sites reifies the temporality of pilgrimage and visitation. A similar interpretation is also valid for some nineteenth-century representations of Mecca and Medina, where schematic figures or crowds were added to perspectival views of the holy cities (Figures 106, 107, and 108).

In the Ottoman Empire, pilgrims and the *şurre* were often represented in single-folio album paintings outside the context of the Islamic holy sites. To illustrate, in the Diez, Pichelstein, Monnier, and AEM costume albums, pilgrims dressed in *iḥrām*, decorated mules, and/or camels loaded with *maḥmil-i şerīf* appear among other images representing the Ottoman lands.⁵³⁹ Furthermore, an image of a *şurre emīni* and an image of a drummer on camel back (heading towards Mecca) appear in the

⁵³⁸ I discuss another aspect of this manuscript in Chapter 4, section “Engagement with Images.”

⁵³⁹ Küçükhasköylü, “Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri (1770–1810),” 268–69, 283.

AEM album.⁵⁴⁰ According to Nurdan Küçükasköylü, the Diez, Pichelstein, and Monnier costume albums fall in a late period of Ottoman costume albums (1770–1810), which was shaped by works of the Ottoman-Greek painter Kostantin Kapıdağlı and his atelier, and of local and European artists who copied from them.⁵⁴¹ Küçükasköylü also demonstrates how some prints in Choisel-Gouffier’s *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (A Picturesque Voyage in Greece, 1782, 1809, and 1822) and Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson’s *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman* (1787–1820) were based on works by Kostantin’s atelier.⁵⁴²

It was with *Elbise-i ‘Osmaniyye* (1873) and *Bilder Atlas* (1888) that ethnography rather than authenticity was systematically studied to provide a portrayal of the Haramayn. In *Elbise-i ‘Osmaniyye*, under the section dedicated to the Hijaz, Yemen and Tripoli, the first photograph depicts the costumes of the guard of the Sharif of Mecca, a scholar of Mecca, and a resident of Djèaddèlè (near Mecca), whereas the second one shows a woman of the Harb tribe (near Medina), a man of the Harb tribe, and a woman of Djèaddèlè. The third photograph is of Yemenite costumes depicting a scholar of Hudaydah, a Muslim woman of Sanaa, and a bourgeois of Hudaydah. The final one shows costumes from all three provinces: a Muslim woman of Mecca, a merchant of Mocha (Yemen), and a young Moorish woman of Tripoli. In these photographs, models are posing in front of a blank wall without interaction among themselves or with the beholder. The costumes and accessories are regionally correct, yet they do not originally belong to the models.

⁵⁴⁰ Renda, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar,” cat. 1.

⁵⁴¹ Küçükasköylü, “Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri (1770–1810),” 65–77.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 77–93. See also Küçükasköylü, “Circulating Images, 1–7.

Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye is comparable to the LoC and BL albums which consist of photographs of students from various schools across the empire. In the photograph of students of the Imperial Military Middle School (Mekteb-i Rüşdiyye-i 'Askerî-i Şāhāne) in Sanaa, two boys with blank facial expressions are standing in the upright position in their school uniforms in front of a blank wall. Here, there is no emphasis on the ethnicity of the students; it is the caption that gives the sense of belonging to a region. On the contrary, the models in the third photograph mentioned above are differentiated by the distinct costumes they are wearing. In *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye*, one could observe diverse ethnicities within a city or among different cities but all in the Ottoman territories. In the student photographs of the Abdülhamid Albums; however, one could trace the Ottomanization of these territories through imperial institutions. Overall, in both cases, photographs conveyed a message related to the imperial power of the Ottoman Empire and the unity within its lands.

Both *Bilder Atlas* and *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye* are important ethnographic documents about the late-nineteenth-century Hijaz. They utilize photography to represent the diverse ethnic, religious, and social groups in the province. Even though *Elbise-i 'Osmaniyye* was partly detached from reality because costumes from all over the empire were worn by models in Istanbul, it still is “a product of serious ethnographic research.”⁵⁴³ *Bilder Atlas*, in contrast, contains honorific portraits of locals and Ottoman officials taken in Mecca. The ethnographic research in *Bilder Atlas* is rather reinforced by the repressive portraits of pilgrims and the four colored lithographs showing everyday objects from Mecca jugs, bowls, jewelry, Qur'an stands, and sandals. Costume albums have a long history in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, but

⁵⁴³ Ersoy, “A Sartorial Tribute to Late Tanzimat Ottomanism,” 193. See also Edhem Eldem, “Elbise-i Osmaniye’yi Tekrar Ele Almak 2,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 250 (2014): 46–51.

with the advent of photography these albums became more systematic as in the example of *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye*.⁵⁴⁴ Snouck Hurgronje saw photographs as ethnographic documents and utilized them by depicting both common people and notables in their hometown and as pilgrims.

Snouck Hurgronje took another advantage of photography and approached his audience via Orientalist stereotypes. There are four instances where women prominently appear in *Bilder Atlas*: The first photograph belongs to a Javanese pilgrim photographed in Jidda (#19d), the second is a portrait of a Meccan woman shot in Mecca (Figure 134, upper left, #25a), the third is a photograph of an elaborately dressed Meccan bride (Figure 134, lower left, #25c),⁵⁴⁵ and the fourth is a photograph of two women in their contrasting costumes and postures (Figure 134, lower right, #25d).⁵⁴⁶ Folio #19 stands for the diversity of pilgrims with a photograph of a female pilgrim and three photographs of two male pilgrims from Java, Sumatra, and Celebes. Folio #25, however, represents the harem through the photographs of a Meccan woman, a servant and a eunuch holding the baby of their patron (Figure 134, upper right, #25b), a bride, and a standing and a reclining woman. *Bilder aus Mekka* includes two more photographs that are complementary to the harem theme in *Bilder Atlas*. These are of a *rikah* which Snouck Hurgronje describes as “the throne chair, on which one [the groom] of Mecca raises the virgin bride on the first night of

⁵⁴⁴ For the reuse of images from the *Elbise-i 'Osmāniyye* in Auguste Racinet’s *Le Costume historique* (1888), see Edhem Eldem, “Elbise-i Osmaniye’yi Tekrar Ele Almak 3,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 252 (2014): 72–77.

⁵⁴⁵ For brief information about wedding outfits, see Mols and Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, 140–41.

⁵⁴⁶ The caption translates as “Ladies in the house and street costume, shot of Siegfried Langer” and partially explains the oddity of the photograph among the others in *Bilder Atlas*. The photograph was taken by the German traveller and researcher Siegfried Langer at the Dutch consulate in Jidda.

marriage” (#18a) and of a groom seated inside the *rikah* (#18b).⁵⁴⁷ By adding folio #25 to *Bilder Atlas* and folio #18 to *Bilder aus Mekka*, Snouck Hurgronje must have aimed to meet the expectations of his European audience about the Haramayn. As Malek Alloula points out based on postcards of Algerian women, photography enabled voyeurism into the harem, which was otherwise protected against the colonialist gaze.⁵⁴⁸ Similarly, Snouck Hurgronje’s choice of photographs deployed Orientalist phantasm other than ethnographic and architectural curiosity.⁵⁴⁹

Photographic Views of the Islamic Pilgrimage and Visitation Sites

Camera projections of the Islamic holy sites were not only disseminated in the photographic medium such as albumen prints and collotypes, but also reproduced in different media. Artists working with different media utilized them as sources for their works such as woodcuts, lithographs, and oil paintings. Similar to multi-, paraline, and perspectival views, photographic views of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites also appeared in prayer books. A lithograph edition of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* published in Cairo in 1333/1914 epitomizes the consistent use of religious imagery and the versatile selection of visual modes in prayer books (Figures 57 and

⁵⁴⁷ In *Bilder aus Mekka*, captions are not used; rather Snouck Hurgronje provides a list of plates under which he explains every single photograph. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka* (Leiden: Brill, 1889), n.p. See also Mols and Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, 140–41.

⁵⁴⁸ Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 67–69.

⁵⁴⁹ The Yıldız Albums and *Elbise-i ‘Osmaniyye*, however, handle the gender issue from a different perspective and thus suggest alternative ways of viewing the “Orient.” Zeynep Çelik suggests that new voices out of the Orientalist canon complicates the approach to arts and thus forces one to rethink beyond the reductionist codes. Zeynep Çelik, “Colonialism, Orientalism, and the Canon,” *Art Bulletin* 78 (1996): 205.

135). With the inclusion of photographic views — other scholars might suggest different visual modes — it is possible to distinguish among different pictorial and projection systems that were allocated to represent architecture and urban space of the Islamic holy sites.

In the Cairo edition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the photomechanical prints of Medina and the Masjid al-Haram are placed on opposite pages, following the description of the Rawda.⁵⁵⁰ These prints are perhaps after reproductions of Sadiq Bey and 'Abd al-Ghaffar's photographs, which appeared in postcards, illustrated journals, or books. To illustrate, the image on the right-hand page might be after a reproduction of Sadiq Bey's Medina photograph (Figure 149). This Medina print lacks certain details of the original photograph such as pilgrims' encampment outside the city walls, but it displays an enhancement of the background with silhouettes and the police station (*ẓabiṭa kārakolu*) with palm trees. Similarly, the image on the left-hand page might be after a reproduction of 'Abd al-Ghaffar's Masjid al-Haram photograph (Figure 152). This Mecca print lacks the characteristic caption and signature of the Meccan photographer and covers a larger area than the photograph in the Istanbul University Library.

In addition to prints, one also encounters photographic views of Mecca and Medina in oil paintings. So far, I have detected only a handful of painters who utilized photographs of the Haramayn in their works. These are the French-Algerian painter Étienne (Nasreddine) Dinet and the Ottoman painters Mahmud, Kolağası (Hoca) Ali

⁵⁵⁰ For a catalogue description, see Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 183.

Rıza, and Mimarzade Mehmed Ali. I proceed with the works of these painters with a special focus on the latter.

The consequences of lying have to be more central for photography than they ever can be for painting, because the flat, usually rectangular images which are photographs make a claim to be true that paintings can never make. A fake painting (one whose attribution is false) falsifies the history of art. A fake photograph (one which has been retouched or tampered with, or whose caption is false) falsifies reality. The history of photography could be recapitulated as the struggle between two different imperatives: beautification, which comes from the fine arts, and truth-telling, adapted from nineteenth-century literary models and from the (then) new profession of independent journalism.⁵⁵¹

When Susan Sontag compared photography and painting based on their “truthfulness,” she perhaps did not take paintings done after photographs into account. Or even if she did, she might have considered the translation between the two media as a divergence from reality and indexicality. As Roland Barthes also points out, a photograph possesses a kind of certainty to “authenticate itself” and to “ratify what it represents.”⁵⁵² The following examples question how far paintings can claim photographs’ role of “truthfulness,” “authenticity,” and “indexicality” when their sources are photographs *per se*.

Several artists who painted Orientalist themes, such as Eugène Delacroix, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Osman Hamdi Bey, and Étienne Dinet are known for their engagement with photography in their figurative or landscape compositions.⁵⁵³ For instance, the Ottoman painter Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910) himself as well as his wife and son

⁵⁵¹ Susan Sontag, “The Heroism of Vision,” in *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 2001), 86.

⁵⁵² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), 85.

⁵⁵³ For instance, see Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 119–25.

posed for photographs which were potential aids for his canvas paintings.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover, the French-Algerian painter Étienne Dinet (1861–1929) used photographs of the Haramayn for a series of paintings. Dinet was a faithful member of the Society of French Orientalist Painters whose “ethnographic sensibility” could be traced via his frequent attendance at the Salon exhibitions.⁵⁵⁵ His paintings illustrated a number of books coauthored by Sliman ben Ibrahim including *Le pèlerinage a la maison sacrée d’Allah* (1930). Dinet painted several small canvases of Mecca, the Masjid al-Haram, Marwa, Mina, ‘Arafat, Jabal an-Nur, Medina, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and a pilgrimage caravan in Jidda. Some of these paintings illustrate *Le pèlerinage a la maison sacrée d’Allah*, in which Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim share their pilgrimage journey from Bou Saada to Mecca and back.⁵⁵⁶ The authors compare and contrast their observations with those of Burckhardt and Burton throughout the book, and credit Courtellemont for his accurate and genuine descriptions in the appendix.⁵⁵⁷

As Denise Brahimi and Koudir Benchikou list in their catalogue, the majority of Dinet’s Hijaz paintings were displayed in Paris either at the Salon of 1914 or at his

⁵⁵⁴ Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı’ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), 355–58. Edhem Eldem, “Photography in the Service of Art,” in *Camera Ottomana*, eds. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015), 220–21. See also Emine Fetvacı “The Art of Osman Hamdi Bey,” in *Osman Hamdi Bey & The Americans*, eds. Renata Holod and Robert Ousterhout (Istanbul: Pera Museum Publications, 2011), 124–27. Semra Germaner and Zeynep İnankur, *Orientalism and Turkey* (Istanbul: The Turkish Cultural Service Foundation, 1989), 119–20.

⁵⁵⁵ Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 92.

⁵⁵⁶ These paintings are in the Frédéric Lung and Georges Devèche Collections. Denise Brahimi and Koudir Benchikou, *La vie et l’œuvre de Etienne Dinet* (Paris: ACR Édition, 1984), cat. 424–39.

⁵⁵⁷ Dinet and Sliman Ben Ibrahim, *Le pèlerinage a la maison sacrée d’Allah*, 177–178, 197.

retro perspective exhibition in the International Colonial Exposition of 1931.⁵⁵⁸ Dinet converted to Islam in 1913 and performed pilgrimage in 1929, shortly before his death. During his journey, he “renounced the artistic side of his pilgrimage” and focused on the pilgrimage experience and its spiritual enrichment.⁵⁵⁹ Therefore, Dinet’s sources for some of these works were photographs rather than sketches made *in situ*, most likely collotypes from Snouck Hurgronje’s *Bilder Atlas* and *Bilder aus Mekka* or reproductions from other sources.

For instance, in his two-partite painting of Mecca, Dinet perhaps painted after an albumen print by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar or a collotype of it in *Bilder aus Mekka* (#3) (Figures 136 and 137).⁵⁶⁰ The collotype in *Bilder aus Mekka* is a part of a four-partite panorama of Mecca whose second frame matches Dinet’s painting (#2–5). For his painting of the Masjid al-Haram, Dinet might have used an albumen print by Sadiq Bey from his portfolio (#3) or a collotype of it in *Bilder Atlas* (#3) (Figures 138 and 139).⁵⁶¹ In the photograph, the circumambulation of pilgrims around the Ka’ba resulted in hazy figures. Nevertheless, Dinet did not use the photograph as it is and added a dense crowd to the mosque courtyard. Dinet’s Mecca and Masjid al-Haram paintings are relatively distant to their possible sources compared to those of Mahmud, Hoca Ali Rıza, and Mimarzade Mehmed Ali (Figures 140, 142, and 145). In both examples (Figures 136 and 138), the correspondence between the sources and

⁵⁵⁸ Brahimi and Benchikou, *La vie et l’œuvre de Etienne Dinet*, cat. 424–39.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 144–45, 150, 292–93. See also Dinet and Sliman Ben Ibrahim, *Le pèlerinage a la maison sacrée d’Allah*, 31.

⁵⁶⁰ For a copy of ‘Abd al-Ghaffar’s photograph, see 90789/2 in the Istanbul University Library. For Dinet’s painting, see Brahimi and Benchikou, *La vie et l’œuvre de Etienne Dinet*, 154, cat. 425–26.

⁵⁶¹ For a copy of Sadiq Bey’s photograph, see 90770/8a in the Istanbul University Library. For Dinet’s painting, see Brahimi and Benchikou, *La vie et l’œuvre de Etienne Dinet*, 127, cat. 427.

paintings displays greater differences due to the impressionist treatment of light and color, additional figures, and adjustment of details. Here, one should also consider that Dinet might have used the aid of multiple photographs rather than just two.

There are two paintings of the Masjid al-Haram and Medina preserved in the Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture (IRCICA). Both of them are signed by Mahmud and dated to 1332/1913–14 or 1916–17 in their lower left corners.⁵⁶² Mahmud must have used photographs of the Masjid al-Haram and Medina, particularly those by the Ottoman committee of the Erkân-ı Hârbiye, or their reproductions as his sources. The original source for the Medina painting (Figure 140) is perhaps a two-partite panorama taken from the Armory in the northwest of the city (Figure 141).⁵⁶³ Like the Ottoman committee of the Erkân-ı Hârbiye, Sadiq Bey also captured the city from a very similar angle and viewpoint (Figure 149); which made it difficult to determine which Medina photograph was taken as a source in Mahmud's painting. At this point, comparing the shadows cast in each photograph lead me to Figure 141; nevertheless, Mahmud might have seen both of the photographs in the Yıldız Albums. Mahmud zoomed in his source rather than using the entire panorama and used earth tones to depict his subject.

⁵⁶² These paintings are hanging in the Seyir Kiosk of the Yıldız Palace which is currently used as the general directorate. The painter might be Üsküdarlı Mahmud (1878–1917) who graduated from the Military School (Mekteb-i Hârbiye) in 1898. Nüzhet İslimyeli, *Asker Ressamlar ve Ekoller* (Ankara: Asker Ressamlar Sanat Derneği Yayınları, 1965), 71.

⁵⁶³ Several copies of this panorama are preserved in the Istanbul University Library. In the figure list, I have used the 90743/10a–b copy of the photograph. Album 90743 contains panoramas of Mecca, Medina, and Jannat al-Baqi'. Each panorama has eight copies with varying brightness and contrast. Album 90744 also has two copies of the same selection of panoramas. For copies of the Medina panorama, see Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 112–13 and *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 172–75.

Another painting-and-photography pair is Figures 142 and 143. This oil painting of the Masjid al-Haram, held in the Calligraphy Museum in Istanbul (Figure 142), is signed by Kolağası Ali Rıza and dated to 1317/1899–1900 in its lower left corner.⁵⁶⁴ The red signature notes that the painter is the renowned Hoca Ali Rıza (*Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şāhāne resim dersi mu'āvini Kolağası 'Alī Rızā bendeleri sene 1317*), who taught in the Military School after graduating from the same institution in 1884.⁵⁶⁵ Hoca Ali Rıza is mostly known for his pencil drawings and landscapes. As in Mahmud's painting of the Masjid al-Haram, Hoca Ali Rıza's painting is after a photograph by the Ottoman committee of the Erkān-ı Harbiye, or its reproduction (Figure 143).⁵⁶⁶ The shot was taken looking north through the south-east domes of the mosque. Here (Figure 142), the two domes (*qubbatayn*) are visible in the courtyard which confirms that the painter used a photograph predating 1882, when the two structures were demolished. In Figure 143, the albumen print is pasted on cardboard where the caption and the labels are written. The structures in the courtyard are numbered from one to eight on the photograph and their labels follow in the lower section of the mount. Similar to Dinet and Mahmud, Hoca Ali Rıza translated a black-and-white photograph into a painting with earth tones. In photographs, different hues of the holy sites appeared in different tones.⁵⁶⁷ Therefore,

⁵⁶⁴ Cihan Özsayiner, "Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi'ndeki Kutsal Kent Tasvirleri," *Antik Dekor* 84 (2004): 98–100; and Sayiner "Türk Vakıf Hat Sanatları Müzesi'ndeki Kutsal Kent Tasvirleri," *Milli Saraylar* 10 (2012): 150–51.

⁵⁶⁵ For a short entry about Hoca Ali Rıza, see İslimyeli, *Asker Ressamlar ve Ekoller*, 56–59. See also Kemal Erhan, *Hoca Ali Rıza* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1980), 10.

⁵⁶⁶ Several copies of this photograph are preserved in the Istanbul University Library. In the figure list, I have used the 90744/14 copy of the photograph. For a copy of the Masjid al-Haram photograph, see Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 84–85.

⁵⁶⁷ See Aaron Scharf's argument about how photography influenced painting towards a more tonal state. Scharf, *Art and Photography*, 58–61.

when a black-and-white photograph was employed in a painting, the differentiation between hues was not always possible. Such distortion resulted in the application of a wide range of tones in a painting, as in the examples by Dinet, Mahmud, and Hoca Ali Rıza.

An Extended Case: The Fatih Mosque Painting

The print edition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* attests to the malleability of photography as a medium and the availability of religious imagery in Cairo. A more complex case further illustrates the flexible use of photographic views, this time based on an oil painting from Istanbul. This painting is currently hanging in the Fatih Mosque, on the pillar adjacent to the *müezzin*'s lodge (Figure 145). Similar to several wall paintings and ceramic panels in mosque interiors, the Fatih Mosque painting is directed towards the qibla, emphasizing and enhancing the direction of prayer. The painting displays merging views of the planets, the globe, the Hijaz Railway, the Masjid al-Haram, Medina, Istanbul, Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque, and a semi-open pavilion (Figure 145). It also incorporates a Kufic inscription from Sūrat al-Shūrā (42:19), “God is most subtle to His creatures,” above the Medina image. For the sake of brevity and coherence, I limit the focus of this section to the Masjid al-Haram and Medina images in this painting and two sets of images that proliferated from the same sources.

The Fatih Mosque painting is signed by the calligrapher and architect Mimarzade Mehmed Ali and dated to 25 November 1905 with a red inscription in the lower left corner of the canvas (*fī 27 Ramaẓanū 'l-Mübārek sene 1323, Meşīhat-ı 'Ulyā Mektübī*

Ḳalemi Hulefāsından Mi'mārzāde Mehmed 'Alī). According to İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, Mehmed Ali Efendi started working as a scribe at the Secretarial Office of the Shaykh al-Islam (*Meşihat-ı Mektübî Ḳalemi*) in 1909 and graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts (*Şanāyi '-i Nefīse Mektebi*) in 1912.⁵⁶⁸ The information provided by İnal does not confirm the inscription of the painting, as Mimarzade was not a *Meşihat* scribe yet in 1905. Therefore, one should either doubt his biographical information or the inscription. The date and title sections of the red inscription are written in two distinct calligraphic styles, the former in *naskh* and the latter in *ta'liq*, which makes one think that they might not be contemporaneous. Nevertheless, Mimarzade might have completed the painting between 1905 and 1909 before Abdülhamid II was removed from the throne, as the painting has been implicitly dedicated to the sultan with the images of the Hijaz Railway and Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque.

Mimarzade made another painting dedicated to Abdülhamid II, this time expressed with a *tuğrā* of the sultan and panegyrics.⁵⁶⁹ Calligraphy has a more dominant appearance in this second painting, despite the merging maps, vignettes, and views of the planets, the globe, the Hijaz Railway, Mecca, Medina, Istanbul, Yıldız Palace, Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque, and the Damascus Telegraph/Railway Monument. In the Fatih Mosque painting, Mimarzade also brought together many images like a collage and meticulously worked on details. For instance, the Ka'ba and the Green Dome reappears in isolation above the upper curve of the earth between the two holy cities.

⁵⁶⁸ Mimarzade also taught calligraphy, painting, and construction in several schools and served as the director of the Museum of Pious Foundations (*Evkâf-ı İslâmiyye Müzesi*). İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 576–80. See also Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu, “Mimarzāde Mehmed Ali Bey,” *Milli Saraylar* 14 (2015): 176–77.

⁵⁶⁹ The painting is preserved in the Calligraphy Collection of the National Palaces (Dolmabahçe Palace). Gökçe Demiray, “Mimarzāde Mehmed Ali'nin Eserinden II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı Panoraması,” *Milli Saraylar* 15 (2016): 160–67.

There is an open Qur'an on a stand in the pavilion, which is built in "Moorish" details of Neo-Ottoman architecture. The silhouettes of the historical peninsula and Üsküdar are composed of numerous minarets and domes piled on top of each other.

Similar to the Cairo edition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, a close-up view of the Ka'ba and the Masjid al-Haram is paired with a zoom-out view of Medina in the Fatih Mosque painting. As in the prayer book, the Masjid al-Haram image is after the same photograph by 'Abd al-Ghaffar or a reproduction of it. The Medina image, however, is after a chromolithograph which takes the same Medina photograph by Sadiq Bey as a source. According to a recent restoration report on the Fatih Mosque painting, there is no trace that Mimarzade used an underdrawing or grid to transfer his source images onto the canvas.⁵⁷⁰

The Medina image of the Fatih Mosque painting is after a chromolithograph, perhaps a postcard or some other color print (Figures 147 and 148).⁵⁷¹ Postcards extensively circulated in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries and a copy of Figure 147 is likely to be the inspiration for the painter. Here, Mimarzade applied the colors of the print to his painting in softer tones and cropped the right end of the postcard, allowing the Qur'anic inscription to wrap the holy image. However, Mahmud painted

⁵⁷⁰ The painting was publicized in the press when the Turkish president Abdullah Gül requested its restoration. The restoration of the painting was a collaborative project conducted in Istanbul in 2013–14 by a group of conservators from the Conservation and Restoration Workshop of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. For details of the restoration project, see Nienke Woltman, Laurant Homer, and Willen de Ridder, "Fatih Mosque Painting Restored," *The Picture Restorer* 46 (2015): 19–30. For a Turkish version of the article, see Nienke Woltman and Laurant Homer, "Mimarzade Mehmed Ali Bey'in Fatih Camii'ndeki Tablosu ve Zorlu Restorasyonu," *Milli Saraylar* 14 (2015): 174–75, 178–91.

⁵⁷¹ I refer to a postcard in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (ARC.PC 473) that was previously published in Kargılı, *Kutsal Yolculuk Hac*, 287. The red caption in the upper left reads as "Keepsake of Medina the Illuminated" (*Medīne-i Münevvere Yādigāri*). The red inscription in the upper middle of the postcard reads as "*hukūkü'l-tab'ı mahfuz sene 1270 şāhib-i imtiyāz Fizanlı Hadīd 'Abdurrahman*" noting the year 1270/1853–54 for Fizanlı Hadid Abdurrahman's right and privilege to print. It is important to note that the date might be specific to the permission, not to the print itself.

in natural tones, not knowing the original colors in the black and white Medina photograph or print.

This chromolithograph must be after a Medina photograph by Sadiq Bey, which was shot from the Armory (Tophane) in the northwest of the city (Figure 146), or after another photograph with the same angle (Figure 141). My suggestion for the source photograph is #10 in Sadiq Bey's portfolio (Figure 124 and 149), or a reproduction after Sadiq Bey's photograph. A photograph of Sadiq Bey's photograph exists in the Leiden University Library, which demonstrates that photographs were not always reproduced from their original negatives (Figure 150).⁵⁷² Here, Sadiq Bey's albumen print was photographed via the same method while reducing the details and size of the original.

There are two chromolithographs in the Painting Collection of the National Palaces (Dolmabahçe Palace) that are very similar to the postcard mentioned above (Figure 148).⁵⁷³ These two lithographs must also be after the same photographic or lithographic source. The prints in the National Palaces are much larger than the postcard and must have been designed to be hung on walls. Earth cracks in the foreground, urban fabric in the middleground, and mountains in the background are similarly applied to the lithographic stones of the postcard and the large-size prints (Figures 147 and 148). Nevertheless, black openings of buildings and color scheme

⁵⁷² The photograph (Or. 12.288 L/6) is in a folder of twenty-three albumen prints some which are signed by 'Abd al-Ghaffar.

⁵⁷³ These two lithographs are no. 12/2636 and no. 54/2500. The black inscriptions in the lower right of both prints read as "Ma'arif-i 'Umūmiyye Nezāret-i Celīlesinin 11 Zilka' de 315 tārīḥ ve 603/205 numaralı ruḥṣātnāmesiyle terṣīm ve tab' olunmuşdur" noting the license date of the print (11 Zilkade 1315 / 3 April 1898). It is important to note that the date is specific to the permission, not to the print itself.

vary significantly, confirming different artists' hands working with the same medium.

Having dealt with the set of Medina images, I can now focus on the Masjid al-Haram image of the Fatih Mosque painting, which must be after a photograph by 'Abd al-Ghaffar or a reproduction of it. A copy of this photograph is now in the Istanbul University Library in an album of fourteen albumen prints, all signed by 'Abd al-Ghaffar (Figure 152).⁵⁷⁴ The Leiden University Library also has a copy of it, which seems to be a photograph of an albumen print, not a copy from the original negative (Figure 153). A tinted lithograph was made after this photograph and published in *Bilder Atlas* (Figure 154), which multiplied its audience with a change in medium.

Apart from *Bilder Atlas*, the lithograph of the Masjid al-Haram also found an audience as a lantern slide (Figure 155). This lantern slide belongs to a box of twenty-five which is now preserved in the Leiden University Library.⁵⁷⁵ The German captions on the slides and the slide list on a separate sheet are all in Snouck Hurgronje's handwriting.⁵⁷⁶ In this box, there are other lantern slides which are made after photographs by 'Abd al-Ghaffar, Sadiq Bey, and Snouck Hurgronje. With their projection on a surface, lantern slides could reach several people at once. On the other hand, single photographs or photographs in albums had their own restrictions and could be viewed by a limited amount of people at a given time. These slides must have been prepared in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century as *Bilder*

⁵⁷⁴ For 90789/1 in the Istanbul University Library, see Dördüncü, *The Yıldız Albums of Sultan Abdülhamid II*, 89.

⁵⁷⁵ The caption on the slide reads as "Zentrum der Moschee," whereas the caption in *Bilder Atlas* reads as "Die Moschee." See SR 59/3 in the Leiden University Library.

⁵⁷⁶ I would like to thank Jan Just Witkam and Arnoud Vrolijk for confirming the owner of the handwriting.

Atlas was published in 1889 and Snouck Hurgronje died in 1936. However, not all slides are contemporaneous or by these three photographers. For instance, the last slide must be a later addition to the slide box as it is a portrait of Abdulaziz bin Saud (r. 1932–53), the founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.⁵⁷⁷ I have also come across a single slide of Sadiq Bey’s Mecca panorama in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection and five slides of all three photographers’ work auctioned at Sotheby’s. All six slides have German captions with the producer’s name, Theodor Benzinger of Stuttgart.⁵⁷⁸ Snouck Hurgronje perhaps used his lantern slides during lectures; however; the Benzinger slides seem to have served a commercial purpose.

Postcards also served such a purpose apart from their communicative, commemorative, and collectible characteristics. The Medina postcard has its Mecca counterpart which must be after the Masjid al-Haram photograph by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar or one of its reproductions (Figure 156).⁵⁷⁹ Both lithographic postcards have the same color palette and inscriptions (except for their captions), because they were printed by the same publisher. The Khalili copies of these postcards have their backs empty which suggests that they were not in postal circulation. As their captions also suggest, “Keepsake of Medina the Illuminated” (*Medīne-i Münevvere Yādigāri*) and

⁵⁷⁷ Judging by its irregular addition to the list of slides and the approximate date of the portrait (c. 1930s), the portrait of the king has to be added to the box at a later date.

⁵⁷⁸ For instance, the caption of the single slide in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (ARC.PP 125) reads as “Ansicht von Mekka” and its other label reads as “Th. Benzinger/Lichtbilderverlag/Stuttgart.” For the box of five slides, see *Sotheby’s, Travel, Atlases, Maps, and Natural History, 17 November 2015* (London: Sotheby’s, 2017), lot 120.

⁵⁷⁹ I refer to a postcard in the Khalili Collection (ARC.PC 472) which was previously published in Kargılı, *Kutsal Yolculuk Hac*, 286. The red caption in the upper left reads as “Keepsake of Mecca the Blessed” (*Mekke-i Mükerrreme Yādigāri*). The red inscription in the upper middle of the postcard reads as “*ḥuḳūḳü’l-ṭab‘-ı maḥūz sene 1270 şāḥib-i imtiyāz Fizanlı Hadīd ‘Abdurrahman*” noting the year 1270/1853–54 for Fizanlı Hadid Abdurrahman’s right and privilege to print. It is important to note that the date is specific to the permission, not to the print itself.

“Keepsake of Mecca the Blessed” (*Mekke-i Mükerrreme Yādigāri*), these two copies must have been initially purchased as souvenirs of the holy sites.

The last example of how ‘Abd al-Ghaffar’s photographic view of the Masjid al-Haram circulated is a Hereke prayer rug dated to 1325/1909 (Figure 159).⁵⁸⁰ As in some of the previous examples, the designer/weaver of the rug must have had access to a copy of the photograph or a reproduction of it (e.g., published in an illustrated journal).⁵⁸¹ Similar to the Fatih Mosque painting which was dedicated to Abdülhamid II, the prayer rug celebrated the enthronement of Sultan Mehmed Reşad (r. 1909–18) via his *tuğrā* in the upper middle and a poem in the lower registers.⁵⁸² ‘Abd al-Ghaffar’s shot is not very easily detectable at first sight due to the dramatization of the photographic view from the Ka‘ba to the arch. Such liberation from the camera projection is not visible in the *Bilder Atlas* lithograph or the lithographic postcard. Here, the designer/weaver of the prayer rug took the initiative to create a view that the user/worshipper could internalize as if he/she were in the holy mosque. Similar to the Fatih Mosque painting, such a translation of the photograph was beyond simply copying, because it included coloring, assembling, and staging images.

With this web of examples that I have studied based on the Fatih Mosque painting, one could trace how the source photographs by Sadiq Bey and ‘Abd al-Ghaffar proliferated and circulated in Europe and the Islamic world. Photographs reached

⁵⁸⁰ For a very brief article on the prayer rugs depicting the Ka‘ba, see Aldoğan, “Kābe Tasvirli Osmanlı Seccadeleri,” 163–64.

⁵⁸¹ For two other photographs of the Masjid al-Nabawi and the Masjid al-Haram published in illustrated journals, see the *Ma‘lūmāt* issues of 10 Zilhicce 1315 / 19 Nisan 1314 / 1 Mayıs 1898 and 11 Zilhicce 1315 / 20 Nisan 1314 / 2 Mayıs 1898.

⁵⁸² For the transliteration and translation of the poem, see Chapter 4, section “Representation of Power.”

diverse audiences and became an inspiration for artists working with other media. Starting with the Fatih Mosque painting and then with the Masjid al-Haram and Medina sets of images, I have tried to show that photographs taken in the Hijaz were translated into various media in different centers such as Istanbul, Leiden, and Stuttgart.

Evaluation

In this and the previous chapters, I have intended to show how the major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites were depicted via different modes of representation and how their depictions related to broader visual culture. By doing so, my aim was to point out the plurality of pictorial modes and media change in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. As Jonathan Crary rightly points out, “verisimilitude in representation, in which Renaissance perspective and photography are part of the same quest for a fully objective equivalent of a ‘natural vision’,” have shaped a model that historians have used to legitimize a continuous progress.⁵⁸³ Islamic art has long been criticized based on such a model imposed on vision, and thus for its “incapabilities” of life-like resemblance, truthfulness, perspective, light and shade, and so on. However, photography and print culture did not suddenly change former visual practices of depicting the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. Instead, various media and architectural drawing techniques coexisted with photography in the nineteenth century. Representations of Mecca and Medina were diversified with photographic views while multi-, paraline, and perspectival views

⁵⁸³ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 26.

still continued. Modes of vision and artistic choices introduced different viewpoints to depict the holy cities. For instance, artists often depicted the Masjid al-Haram looking south-west in multiviews, whereas photographers had a greater freedom of where to set their camera (Figure 57).

Photography could serve as a starting point for several artists working with different media, who wished to acquire authentication or verisimilitude. Photographs could be channeled into other media with varying degrees of distortion which resulted in endless possibilities. As Roxburgh demonstrates based on Qajar art, there existed “cross-medium interaction” and “selective appropriation and adaptation” among photography, lithography, lacquer, and painting.⁵⁸⁴ Image-making processes were no different in the late Ottoman Empire. As I show in the present and previous chapters, certain images of the Islamic holy sites circulated between paintings, engravings, and lithographs (Figures 106–13), between drawings and lithographs (Figures 115 and 116), and between paintings, lithographs, photographs, and their mechanical reproductions (Figures 135–56).

In other examples, medium and basic principles of compositions could remain the same while visual modes were subject to change. Such diversity in pictorial modes blurred the boundaries between signs, icons, and indexes, and thus complicated the scene for Eurocentric methods of art history. A group of three prayer rugs exemplify this case (Figures 157, 158, and 159): The first prayer rug is perhaps a seventeenth-century multiview of the Ka‘ba in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts (no. 287), the second is an early-twentieth-century perspectival view of the Masjid al-

⁵⁸⁴ David J. Roxburgh, “Painting after Photography in 19th-Century Iran,” in *Technologies of the Image*, eds. David J. Roxburgh and Mary McWilliams (Cambridge; New Haven: Harvard Art Museums; Yale University Press, 2017), 111, 119.

Nabawi in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (TXT 59), and the last one is an early-twentieth-century photographic view of the Ka'ba held in a private collection.⁵⁸⁵ The second one is quite odd because it depicts the Masjid al-Nabawi, rather than the Masjid al-Haram for a prayer rug that is meant to be used in the qibla direction.⁵⁸⁶

All three prayer rugs feature archways, which provide the feeling of prayer in a mosque, ideally inside the Masjid al-Haram or the Masjid al-Nabawi. In Figure 157, the curled lines springing from the lamps on both sides seem to form a single arch or a series of arcades surrounding the Ka'ba. In Figure 158, a triple archway is depicted below the Masjid al-Nabawi whereas, in Figure 159, the Masjid al-Haram is framed with an elaborate arch. When juxtaposed with the qibla direction, such designs could spark the imagination of worshippers to visualize the holy mosques during the *ṣalā*. The poem inscribed on the lower registers of the Hereke prayer rug also confirms such a connection between the qibla, mihrab, and the Ka'ba with panegyrics to the sultan (Figure 159). The first line of the poem reads “May God make the exalted Ka'ba the mihrab of prosperity” (*Ka'betü'l-'ulyāyı mihrāb-i füyüzāt eylesun*), hinting at the design logic of the prayer rug featuring an image of the Masjid al-Haram and an arch or a mihrab niche.⁵⁸⁷ For today's viewer, the Hereke prayer rug reinforces a stronger sense of praying in the holy mosque than the other two, due to its photographic reality that places the worshipper at ground level. However, this might

⁵⁸⁵ For the first and third prayer rugs, see Aldoğan, “Konya Mevlāna Müzesindeki Kābe Tasvirli Bir Seccade,” 23–27. For the second prayer rug, see Vernoit, *Occidentalism*, 39, cat. 17.

⁵⁸⁶ For another prayer rug depicting the Masjid al-Nabawi, see *Haremeyn: Hac – Mukaddese Yolculuk*, 184.

⁵⁸⁷ For the full transliteration and translation of the poem, see Chapter 4, section “Representation of Power.”

not be the case for contemporary users/worshippers of the other two prayer rugs, as they would be immersed in a different visual culture than of today. Despite the remoteness to the actual sites, all three prayer rugs perhaps stimulated a similar virtual experience of worshipping at the holy mosques, when they were juxtaposed with the qibla during the prayer.

Even though each mode of representation is unique, different media and visual modes could reflect similar approaches to image-making as in a photograph and a ceramic tile (Figures 160 and 161). The circle of six views of the Ka‘ba in the Leiden University Library (Or. 26.368, G1) reflects a very similar way of depicting architecture that was utilized in multiviews.⁵⁸⁸ Even though its subject is unusual, this photograph could be produced for a phenakistiscope, a viewing device that simulates movement based on evolving scenes (Figure 161). The tile in the late-comers’ porch of the Rüstem Paşa Mosque in Eminönü, as well as other square tiles of the Masjid al-Haram, also creates movement in viewing images and reading labels despite their fixation on walls (Figure 160).

In several multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram, the facades and other architectural elements of the mosque revolve around the Ka‘ba and can be viewed from at least four different directions. Similarly, the multiplicity of viewpoints is achieved in this unique photograph by looking at the Ka‘ba from six different vantage points. Even though each circular shot locates the viewer at a particular point, the six photographic views altogether complete a tour of the Ka‘ba in-the-round. The principle of viewing the circular photograph is no different than that of the square tile

⁵⁸⁸ Mols, *Verlangen naar Mekka*, 124–25, cat. 50. I would like to thank Kathleen Davidson for sharing her thoughts on this photograph. There exists another copy of this photograph in the Leiden University Library (Or. 18.097, S 66.6/1). This copy was pasted on cardboard perhaps for presentation purposes.

and fittingly corresponds with the radial growth from the Ka'ba. Therefore, the photograph provides an example of how this new medium could be manipulated to obtain a unique understanding of space that was freed from a fixed point of view. Overall, the prayer book quartet (Figure 57), prayer rug trio (Figures 157, 158, and 159), and the revolving images of the Ka'ba (Figures 160 and 161) attest to the multiplicity of approaches in representing the Islamic holy sites with exchanges in different media and visual modes.

CHAPTER 4

PERSONS, PLACES, AND USES

Representing the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites was stimulated by a great variety of motives, besides documentary and aesthetic concerns such as recording the state of structures, illustrating manuscripts, and decorating mosques. Objects of different media and contexts could serve the same purpose, whereas those of the same medium and context could serve different purposes. For instance, a wall painting of Mecca (Figure 55) and a reverse glass painting of the Ka'ba (Figure 195) could determine the qibla direction, while a pilgrimage manual could guide pilgrims as well as provide blessings, protection, and cure for its users (Figures 169–171, 179, and 189). In this chapter, I focus on various uses of representations, with a closer look at prayer books. Furthermore, I examine the production, circulation, reception, patronage, and ownership of prayer books, followed by the principles governing visual arrangement and architectural placement of representations.

Scholars have focused on the devotional uses of texts such as the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* and *al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*, and of religious imagery such as the seal of Solomon, but

the power of the images of these three holy sites has been overlooked.⁵⁸⁹ As some examples studied in this chapter show, images of the three holy cities did not solely function as representations, but they also could cater to those wishing to secure intercession, blessings, cure, and protection. Like other illustrated manuscripts produced in Islamic lands over the centuries, the various functions of Ottoman prayer books were just as important as their public and private uses in shaping their visual programs. In this regard, based on his study of illustrated copies of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri, Oleg Grabar has suggested five attitudes towards illustrating a literary text, which motivated the incorporation of images into manuscripts. In his opinion, illustrations can be literal, descriptive, interpretative, predominantly visual, and purely visual.⁵⁹⁰ If one also takes devotional texts into account, another attitude outsourced by the Qur'an, hadith, and commentaries, or by intercession, protection, healing, guidance, longing, memento, and virtual experience can be added to the list. With the increasing number of pilgrims in the late Ottoman Empire, all these different sources and various uses of prayer books contributed to the diversification and articulation of representations.

In “Picturing Holy Places,” John Renard argues that two-dimensional architectural imagery functions via presence, imagination, and memory based on a variety of

⁵⁸⁹ For instance, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, “From Text to Talisman: Al-Būṣīrī’s ‘Qaṣīdat al-Burdah’ (Mantle Ode) and the Supplicatory Ode,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37 (2006): 145–89; Venetia Porter, Liana Saif, and Emilie Savage-Smith, “Medieval Islamic Amulets, Talismans, and Magic,” in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, eds. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu, vol. 1 (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 522–57; Farouk Yahya, *Magic and Divination in Malay Illustrated Manuscripts* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 194–201; and Gruber, “‘Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected’,” 22–35.

⁵⁹⁰ Oleg Grabar, “Pictures or Commentaries: The Illustrations of the Maqamat of al-Hariri,” in *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100-1800*, vol. 2 (Hampshire; Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 190–202.

examples from different regions and periods including the Islamic world.⁵⁹¹ He shows that architectural imagery can document a particular patron's association with a place, feed the imagination for a spiritual experience, and create nostalgia for pilgrims. Renard also discusses that architectural imagery can have secondary functions such as indicating a ritual orientation and talismanic protection.⁵⁹² In this chapter, based on late Ottoman representations of the Islamic holy sites, I articulate the functions that Renard broadly mentions and add new ones to the list. I argue that, on one hand, depictions of the holy sites navigated, illustrated, described, or interpreted texts; increased the appreciation of books and *levhas*; and reminded users of Ottoman sovereignty over Islamic holy sites. On the other hand, they answered users' urge to seek out protection and healing; guided users in pilgrimage; mediated imagination and remembrance; and determined and confirmed the qibla direction.

Copying, Buying, and Selling Prayer Books

Biographical dictionaries name a number of calligraphers who copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* besides the Qur'an, and the "En'ām" (the prayer book or only the *sūra*). For instance, in *Devhatü'l-Küttāb* (Tree of Scribes), Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necib (d. 1171/1758) notes that the following calligraphers copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*: Ahmed Efendi, Hüseyin Beşe b. Ahmed, Hatibzade Mehmed Efendi, Eğrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, Attarzade Hüseyin Efendi, Osman Efendi, Mustafa Çelebi,

⁵⁹¹ John Renard, "Picturing Holy Places: On the Uses of Architectural Themes in Ornament and Icon," *Religion and the Arts* 5 (2001): 339–428.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 423–24.

Mollazade Mehmed Efendi, Mehmed Emin Efendi, and Yusuf Efendi.⁵⁹³ Similarly, in *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭāṭīn* (Gift of Calligraphers), Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin (d. 1202/1788) attributes realistic and exaggerated quantities of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies to the following calligraphers: Şeyh İbrahim b. Mehmed (13), İsmail Yesarizade (around 200), Şemseddin b. Süleyman (numerous, *müte'addid*), Mehmed b. Seyyid Mehmed b. Abdurrahman (1), Eğrikapılı Mehmed Rasim (thousands, *hezār*, including the “En'ām” and the *hilye*), and Seyyid Osman Eyyubi (1).⁵⁹⁴

It goes without saying that several other calligraphers also copied the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif*; however, not all of them were recorded in biographical dictionaries. Two *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copied by el-Hacc Ahmed Hanbeli II, held in the Beyazıt Library (Veliyyüddin 567 and 568), further exemplify the intensive production of prayer books. The calligrapher notes that these manuscripts are the fourth and fifth of multiple copies by his hand. Furthermore, there are other corpora of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which might have a single or multiple copyists. For instance, I have come across two series of five manuscripts in the İnebey Manuscript Library (HO 1223–27) in Bursa and the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1033–37) in Istanbul, which have similar bindings, illumination, and paintings.

The İnebey manuscripts were formerly kept in the library of the Haraççıoğlu Madrasa and inscribed with several scribbles and *şalawāt* on their flyleaves. All five manuscripts of this corpus measure around 28.4 x 18.5 cm and have gold rulings and eleven lines. They feature maroon leather bindings with flaps and medallions. These

⁵⁹³ Suyolcuzade Mehmed Necib, *Devha-tül-küttab*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifat (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı, 1942), 13, 40, 46, 52–53, 90, 98, 123, 125, 130, 145.

⁵⁹⁴ Müstakimzāde, *Tuhfe-i Haṭṭāṭīn*, 41, 110, 211, 381, 422, 621.

manuscripts open with rectangular headpieces defined only with gold. The İnebey corpus displays single or half-page compositions of the Minbar and the Tombs of the Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and ‘Umar simply drawn in black ink and gold. Only one of them (HO 1224) has a colophon that provides the completion date of 1166/1752–53 and the name of the calligrapher as Ahmed Uşaki, the disciple of Seyyid Mehmed Bursevi.

The Topkapı corpus reveals more information about the identities of its calligraphers. All five manuscripts are signed by different hands: Mehmed (*berber-i Serāy-i ‘Atīk*, EH 1033), İsmail Şükri (EH 1034), Mehmed Şehri (*kethüdā-i ğilmān-i Serāy-i ‘Atīk*, EH 1035), Mehmed Taviil (EH 1036), and Derviş Mehmed (EH 1037).⁵⁹⁵ EH 1035 and EH 1037 were completed in 1176/1762–63, whereas the other three remain undated. EH 1036 measures 13 x 8.5 cm and has gold rulings, while the remaining four roughly measure 15 x 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. 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 Topkapı corpus seem to be all by the same hand and from the same specimen. Their layouts and coloring are almost identical; however, they display small variations in the urban fabric and the perspectival cone of vision.

The İnebey and Topkapı corpora confirm that the popularity of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* in public and at the palace necessitated the rapid production of its copies.

⁵⁹⁵ Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. vol. 3, 269–70, cat. 5492–96.

Even though 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 be copied by at least three different calligraphers, while the copying of the text in the latter corpus was performed by five calligraphers, two of which were clearly associated with the palace. As these corpora set examples for the collective production of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies, archival documents such as inheritance records (*tereke* or *muħallefāt*) also provide valuable information about the market for prayer books.

In *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, İsmail Erünsal presents valuable research about the buying and selling of books in the Ottoman Empire based on inheritance records. He demonstrates that several devotional books appeared in inheritance records of booksellers (*şahāf*) and merchants (*tüccār*) along with other objects such as *levhas*, *hilyes*, and *kıblenümās*.⁵⁹⁶ Erünsal also provides prices for *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and *En'ām-ı Şerīf* manuscripts. For instance, he notes that a print copy of Karadavudzade's Turkish commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* could sell for up to 16,800 *aķçe* in the second half of the nineteenth century, a manuscript copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Yesarizade (Mustafa İzzet or İsmail) for 48,000 *aķçe* in 1872, a copy by Mustafa İzzet (Yesarizade or Kazasker) for 311,040 *aķçe* in 1887, and a copy by Şeyh Hamdullah for 16,200 *aķçe* in 1910.⁵⁹⁷ In 1872, a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*

⁵⁹⁶ İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013), 131–32, 163, 169, 170.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 123, 181, 192, 197. For the value of silver *guruş* (120 *aķçe*) in the nineteenth century, see the table in Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 208.

by Çemşir Hafız Mehmed Salih Efendi (d. 1236/1820) was sold for 96,000 *ağçe*, whereas a *muşhaf* by the same calligrapher was sold for 840,000 *ağçe*.⁵⁹⁸

Similarly, based on a selection of eighteenth-century inheritance records, Henning Sievert catches a glimpse of Ottoman bureaucrats' book collections. The author's analysis reveals that the *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, the "En'ām" (the *sūra* or the prayer book), the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and commentaries on the latter were among the commonly-owned manuscripts following the prevalence of Qur'an copies.⁵⁹⁹ In one of Bahir Mustafa Paşa's (a disgraced grand vizier) inheritance records from 1765, a copy of Mahdi al-Fasi's commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was sold for 4,800 *ağçe*, two *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were sold for 6,000 and 1,800 *ağçe*, and an *En'ām-ı Şerif* (perhaps only the Qur'an chapter) was sold for 620 *ağçe*.⁶⁰⁰ For comparison, in 1765, daily wages in Istanbul were as follows: a common laborer (*rençber*) earned 33.7 *ağçe*, a house/ship carpenter (*neccar*) 50 *ağçe*, a mason (*duvarcı*) 50.7 *ağçe*, and a cabinet maker (*marangoz*) 34.3 *ağçe*.⁶⁰¹ Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century prices for the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were relatively high considering the prevalence of prayer books. Despite some inconsistencies, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies were cheaper than most Qur'an copies and books on theology, but more expensive than books on geography and literature.

⁵⁹⁸ Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 197. See also İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 352–53.

⁵⁹⁹ Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze: Bücher von Bürokraten in den Muhallefāt-Registern," in *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 237–38.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 211–12, 239–41. For the value of silver *guruş* (120 *ağçe*) in the eighteenth century, see the table in Pamuk, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi*, 178.

⁶⁰¹ Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469–1998* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 194.

Illustrating Prayer Books

Erünsal notes that text blocks of the Qur'an, the *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, and the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* could be found in the inheritance records of booksellers, who could get them bound upon the request of buyers.⁶⁰² Similarly, booksellers could commission drawings and paintings in prayer books for the purchase of customers, or customers could have manuscripts illustrated once they purchased them. There exist several *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies that have blank folios following the textual description of the Rawda. Such folios were clearly left empty for images of the Islamic holy sites, such as the Rawda and the Haramayn. At some point in a manuscript's lifespan, images could directly be drawn or painted on blank folios, or separate folios could be pasted on already existing folios (Figures 36, 37, and 38) or inserted between text blocks. Even though it is more difficult to determine additions in the former case, in the latter case, alterations are easier to point out when the physical examination of a manuscript is possible. Furthermore, already existing depictions could be manipulated by directly drawing or painting on illustrated folios (Figures 34 and 35). All these interventions require great caution in dating manuscript paintings and reading colophons.

Even though the dynamics of calligrapher, illuminator, painter, and patron in shaping a manuscript might be different each time, artistic pedigree seems to have influenced the visual programs of several prayer books. The corpus of *En'ām-ı Şerif* copies studied in Chapter 1 and a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* held in the British Library (Or 6314) provide a plausible case for the calligraphers' role in determining the selection of

⁶⁰² Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, 132

religious imagery (Figures 162 and 163).⁶⁰³ The BL manuscript was completed on 23 Zilhicce 1207 / 1 August 1793 by Mahmud Raci, a student of the renowned calligrapher Mustafa Kütahi.⁶⁰⁴ Mahmud Raci taught calligraphy to Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, who copied the three manuscripts in the corpus mentioned in Chapter 1 (Figures 3 and 4). I have come across other copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif* by Mahmud Raci (Figures 41, 42, 43, and 44) and Mehmed Emin Rüşdi; however, these depict the Haramayn rather than the holy triad.⁶⁰⁵ Considering that there are only a limited number of extant prayer books representing the holy triad, it is reasonable to assume that the master and the disciple (Mahmud Raci and Mehmed Emin Rüşdi) were influential in the selection of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem for all four manuscripts.⁶⁰⁶ Even though the compositions of the images and their sequential arrangement within the manuscripts vary, the presence of the holy triad remains as a strong connection among these prayer books.

On the margins of the Haramayn representations in the BL manuscript, there are two small inscriptions denoting the city names “Mekke” and “Medine” above the

⁶⁰³ For a brief description of the manuscript, see 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), 15.

⁶⁰⁴ For a short entry on Mustafa Kütahi, see Şevket Rado, *Türk Hattatları* (İstanbul: Yayın Matbaacılık Ticaret Limited Şti., 1984), 180; and Uğur Derman, *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakıp Sabancı Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 90.

⁶⁰⁵ There exist many copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by students of Mustafa Kütahi; however, so far, I have come across only two that he copied himself, which are in the New York Public Library (M&A, Arab. Ms. 13) and the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (HS 74). The former manuscript is a miscellany of the *Hizb al-A'zam* and the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* which is signed by the calligrapher and dated to 1207/1792–93 at the end of each section. It has only the representations of Mecca and Medina. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, 47, cat. I.7, fig. 35. The latter is a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* dated to 1160/1747–48 and has only a half-page composition of the Masjid al-Nabawi. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*. vol. 3, 271, cat. 5501.

⁶⁰⁶ See the resemblance of Jerusalem images in Figures 162 and 171.

representations of the Haramayn (Figure 163), which must have been partially trimmed with the writing block in the final stage of binding. There are several other prayer books which have such verbal instructions on the margins of folios.⁶⁰⁷ These small inscriptions were likely to be added at an early stage of manuscript production to supervise the painting process and aid the person who implemented the paintings.

In addition to such directions in the margins, captions placed in cartouches could similarly mark pages where formerly appointed paintings and drawings were to be applied. Captions, however, could also be added after the completion of representations to identify what had already been implemented on folios.⁶⁰⁸ For instance, the red captions in the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* copies of the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 17069) and the Istanbul University Library (A 5573) could have been inscribed by calligraphers and painters before or after the painting and stamping of images (Figures 15, 16, 17, 18, 175, and 176).⁶⁰⁹ Nevertheless, labels, such as those denoting architectural elements, structures, and topographical features, were likely to be added to compositions after finishing the paintings and drawings.

There are other indicators concerning the process of adding images in prayer books. For instance, two unfinished Mecca and Medina compositions demonstrate that some paintings were applied to the paper after coating the ruled area with white paint. In a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 19048) and a copy of Karadavudzade's commentary in the Beyazıt Library (Veliyüddin 3569);

⁶⁰⁷ For scribal notations written on the margins or covered with paint, see John Seyller, "Painter's Directions in Early Indian Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 59 (2000): 303–18.

⁶⁰⁸ For instance see O'Kane, "The Uses of Captions in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts," 143.

⁶⁰⁹ In the İÜK manuscript, there are also captions that are incorporated into the Medina and Jerusalem impressions, which must have been engraved in the seals.

opaque watercolors, gold, and ink were applied on a primer (Figures 164 and 165).⁶¹⁰ In both compositions, the rhomboid shapes of the courtyards were drawn to form the elevation obliques of the mosques. The outer walls, however, were not completed, leaving the impression that the mosques are floating in the air. In the Beyazit manuscript, the walls of row houses were not finished either, whereas their roofs were already painted. In the AEM manuscript, the details of the mosque courtyards and the fore- and background hills were almost completed leaving the land- and cityscapes to be painted almost entirely in the next step.

As in other manuscript paintings from the Islamic world, there are several Ottoman prayer books which hint at the use of underdrawings for paintings in opaque watercolor. For instance, in a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Isl. Ms. 200) held in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), red lines are prominently revealed under the smudged fields of the Haramayn paintings. Without scientific investigation, it is not possible to know whether these red underdrawings were sketched directly on paper or outlined a dotted image after pouncing.⁶¹¹ Among the rich accumulation of representations of the Islamic holy sites, there was diversity and innovation as much as uniformity and repetition. Compositional coherence and common visual idiom could be achieved by an artist (or a group of artists) repeating the same composition with small changes and/or by an artist (or a group of artists)

⁶¹⁰ For the AEM manuscript, see Renda, “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazmalar,” cat. 15. The colophon of this manuscript also records the illuminator’s name, which I have not been able to read due to smudging.

⁶¹¹ The following essay provides an insight into Timurid scraps, preparatory drawings, sketches, and pounced drawings: Yves Porter, “Models, Sketches, and Pounced Drawings in the Diez Albums: First Steps in the Making of Illustrated Manuscripts,” in *The Diez Albums: Contexts and Contents*, eds. Julia Gonnella, Friederike Weis, and Christoph Rauch (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 353–79.

copying from an already existing composition.⁶¹² In both cases, the use of a model sheet or pouncing method could be employed to apply a certain layout on paper.

Institutional Ownership and Recitation of Prayer Books

The *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* were held at the Ottoman palace and in Medina libraries, endowed to other institutions, and owned by private individuals. In the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts (*Emānāt-ı Muḳaddese*), or the Apartment of the Holy Mantle (*Ḥırḳa-i Sa'ādet Dā'iresi*), at the Topkapı Palace, prayer books could be found among the sacred trusts (*emānāt*), such as the Prophet Muhammad's footprint, sandal, and mantle; blessed objects (*teberrükāt*), such as the sword of the Prophet David, the prayer rug of Fatima, and the *muşḥaf* of 'Uthman; and copies and commentaries of the Qur'an.⁶¹³ The sacred trusts and blessed objects, the core of which were brought to the palace following Selim I's attainment of the caliphate in 1517, were kept in several parts of the Topkapı Palace including the Privy Chamber (*Hāşş Oda*) that was specifically assigned for this purpose during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808–39).⁶¹⁴ In an inventory of the Apartment of the Holy Mantle (*Ḥırḳa-i Şerīf Sa'ādet-Redīf Odası*) dated to 23 Şaban 1269 / 1 June 1853, four *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were listed before and after copies of the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and the *Ḥizb al-A'zam* (Appendix 1).⁶¹⁵ These copies' calligraphers and the number of lines

⁶¹² For instance, see Zeren Tanındı, "Repetition of Illustrations in the Topkapı Palace and Diez Albums," in *The Diez Albums: Contexts and Contents*, eds. Julia Gonnella, Friederike Weis, and Christoph Rauch (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 163–93.

⁶¹³ Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 9–10, 262.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶¹⁵ TSMA d 900, fol. 3a.

were described as the following: Mustafa Kütahi (11 lines), Mehmed Hıfzı (11 lines), Edirneli Seyyid Abdullah (13 lines), and Veliyüddin (11 lines).⁶¹⁶

In the Fahreddin Paşa Notebook of 1325/1919, several *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, *En'ām-ı Şerif* (the prayer book or only the *sūra*), *Ḥizb al-A'zam*, and *Kitāb al-Shifā'* copies were recorded among numerous *maṣāḥif* in Medina libraries.⁶¹⁷ To illustrate, the following prayer books from Medina libraries were listed to be transferred to the Ottoman palace: two *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and two *En'ām-ı Şerif* from the Library of Ravza-i Mutahhara (Appendix 2); five *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, five *En'ām-ı Şerif*, two commentaries on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and one miscellany of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *Ḥizb al-A'zam* from the Library of the Mahmudiyye Madrasa; one *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the Library of Şifa Madrasa; one *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, one miscellany of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *Ḥizb al-A'zam*, and one *En'ām-ı Şerif* from the Library of Hamidiyye Madrasa; and one *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the Emin Paşa Library.⁶¹⁸ Such a record of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies in Medina libraries confirms that the Prophet was also venerated via this prayer book in the city where he was buried.

Several late-nineteenth-century printed catalogues of Istanbul libraries also include a varying number of *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and its commentaries, which indicate

⁶¹⁶ Respectively, these manuscripts are: HS 74 (formerly HS 351), HS 70 (formerly HS 347), HS 72 (formerly HS 349), and HS 71 (formerly HS 348). Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 3, 263, 270–71, cat. 5501, cat. 5466, cat. 5498, cat. 5503.

⁶¹⁷ For brief information about objects transferred from Medina to the capital, see Kahraman, ed. *Surre-i Hümayün*, 214, 237; and Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 252.

⁶¹⁸ TSMK YY 827, 22b–34b.

the availability of this prayer book at major libraries of the capital.⁶¹⁹ These catalogues list titles of books with a selection of the following criteria: author's name, number of volumes, language (e.g., 'Arabī and Türkī), size (e.g., *şagīr* and *vasīf*), date, copyist's name, calligraphic style (e.g., *nesih* and *talik*), number of folios, number of lines, headpiece (e.g., *müzehheb* and *müzeyyen*), ruling (e.g., *müzehheb* and *sürh*), endowment details, and print information (e.g., *maṭbū'* and *taş başması*).

In these library catalogues, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and its commentaries can be found under the section "books of hadith" (*kütübü'l-eḥādīs*), unless there are more specialized sections such as "books of prayers and special learnings" (*kütüb-i ed'ıye ve ḥavāşş*), as in the Library of Laleli Mosque (Appendix 3).⁶²⁰ Some of these catalogues consist in only one commentary (e.g., the Libraries of Kılıç Ali Paşa and Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa), while others include more than six *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies

⁶¹⁹ I was able to cross-check the majority of these library catalogues with the corresponding collections held in the Süleymaniye and Beyazıt Libraries today. I have consulted the following volumes at the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford: *Aksaray Vâlide Câmî'-i Şerîfi Kütüphanesi Defteri* (İstanbul, 1311/1893), 4–5; *Defter-i Fâtih Kütüphanesi* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, c. 1303/1885), 44, 47–48; *Defter-i Hekimoğlu 'Alî Paşa Kütüphanesi* (İstanbul, 1311/1893), 14; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Amuca Hüseyin Paşa* (İstanbul, 1310/1892), 13; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Aşir Efendi* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1306/1888), 13, 101; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Ârif Efendi* (İstanbul, 1310/1892), 27, 29; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Aya Şofya* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1304/1886), 35, 38; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Beşir Ağa* (İstanbul: Maṭba'a-ı 'Âmire, 1303/1885), 9; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Çelebi 'Abdullâh Efendi* (İstanbul: 'Âtım Maṭba'ası, 1311/1893), 4–5; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Dâmâdzâde Kaşasker Mehmed Murâd*. İstanbul, 1311/1893), 34, 37; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Es'ad Efendi* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, c. 1303/1885), 22; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Hâlet Efendi* (İstanbul, 1312/1894), 7; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Hüsrev Paşa* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, c. 1303/1885), 5–6; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Lâleli*. İstanbul (1311/1893), 111, 114–15; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Medrese-i Servîli* (İstanbul: 1311/1893), 5; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Mihrişâh Sulṭân* (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Maṭba'ası, 1310/1892), 7–8; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Nürosmâniyye* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1303/1885), 47, 55; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Râğib Paşa* (İstanbul, 1310/1892), 18–19; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Veliyyüddîn* (İstanbul: Maḥmūd Bey Maṭba'ası, 1304/1886), 32, 37; *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Yahyâ Efendi* (İstanbul, 1310/1892), 46; *Hamîdiyye Kütüphanesinde Maḥfûz Bulunan Kütüb-i Mevcûdenin Defteridir* (İstanbul: Maṭba'a-ı 'Osmaniyye, 1300/1882), 17; *Kılıç 'Alî Paşa Kütüphanesi Defteri* (İstanbul, 1311/1893), 15; and *Köprülüzâde Mehmed Paşa Kütüphanesinde Maḥfûz Kütüb-i Mevcûdenin Defteridir* (İstanbul, c. 1303/1885), 19.

⁶²⁰ *Defter-i Kütüphanesi-i Lâleli*, 109

(e.g., the Libraries of Laleli and Nuruosmaniye Mosques). Nevertheless, it is harder to pinpoint copies of the *En‘ām-ı Şerīf* in these catalogues, as they are not always differentiated from *Sūrat al-An‘ām*. So far, I have come across separate sections entitled “*Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*” and “*En‘ām-ı Şerīf*” only in the catalogue of the Library of the Pertevniyal Valide Mosque (Appendix 3).⁶²¹ This catalogue lists five *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, six commentaries on the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, and five *En‘ām-ı Şerīf*. Such high numbers correspond to the selection of prayer books in Pertevniyal Valide Sultan’s tomb and personal ownership, which I address in the present and following sections.⁶²²

Another royal lady who prominently endowed prayer books is Bezmialem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), the mother of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61). There are five *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* copies and a miscellany including the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* in the Beyazıt Library (B 1265–70), each of which carries the endowment inscriptions (1266/1849–50) and the impressions of Bezmialem Valide Sultan’s seal. These inscriptions and impressions are elaborately framed and illuminated, and appear at the beginning and end of each manuscript. I have previously mentioned three of these manuscripts for their unique depictions of prophetic vestiges that appeared in the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* (Figure 47) and one of them for its array of images that

⁶²¹ *Aksaray Vālide Cāmi‘-i Şerīfi Kütüphānesi Defteri*, 4–5.

⁶²² According to the endowment deeds of the Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Mosque, Bahar Bilgin notes that eleven *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* and nine “*En‘ām*” were endowed to the library among a total of 828 volumes. Here, the number provided for *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* must include the commentaries as well, while the number for “*En‘ām*” must include both the Qur’an chapter and the prayer book. Bahar Bilgin, “The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque Complex: Reflections on the Patronage of A Nineteenth Century Valide Sultan” (Master’s thesis, Koç University, 2016), 95–96. See also Nîmet Bayraktar, “İstanbul’da Kadınlar Tarafından Kurulmuş Kütüphaneler,” *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* 12 (1963): 94.

included a perspectival view of the Rawda (Figures 41–44).⁶²³ All six prayer books were clearly endowed several years after their production, as five manuscripts' colophons predate the endowment inscriptions and the one without the colophon is perhaps a Kashmiri copy (B 1267). Besides these prayer books, there is also a *mevlid* miscellany in the Süleymaniye Library (Galata Mevlevihanesi 76), which carries the endowment inscriptions of Bezmialem Valide Sultan dated to 1261/1845 (Figures 88 and 89).⁶²⁴ This manuscript ends with an illuminated medallion, in which the valide sultan is mentioned as the owner of the book (*bu Mevlüdü'n-Nebî kendü kitāblarıdır*).

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 where and when some of these prayer books might have been recited in the following centuries. Based on the Süleymaniye and Atik Valide Mosques' endowment deeds (1577 and 1583), Ergin compiles the lists of reciters employed in each mosque and the schedules of their recitations. Among the employees of the Süleymaniye Mosque, commissioned by Süleyman I (r. 1520–66), were ten reciters of prayer blessings for the Prophet Muhammad (sing. *şalavāthān*) and forty-one reciters of Sūrat al-An'ām (sing. *en 'āmcı* or *en 'āmḥān*).⁶²⁵ Both Sūrat al-An'ām and blessings for the Prophet were recited daily, the former being

⁶²³ For these manuscripts, see also Chapter 1, sections “Rawda” and “Prophetic Vestiges.”

⁶²⁴ For this manuscript, see also Chapter 2, section “Multiviews of the Islamic Pilgrimage and Visitation Sites.”

⁶²⁵ Nina Ergin, “The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and Qur'an Recital,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67 (2008): 206–8. 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: University of Texas Press, 2018), 37–58.

specifically assigned after each morning prayer. In the smaller Atik Valide Mosque, commissioned by Nurbanu Sultan (d. 1583), mother of Murad III (r. 1574–95), two reciters were employed to praise the Prophet after Friday morning and night prayers.⁶²⁶

Based on the Haramayn endowments of Ottoman sultans, royal women, and viziers, Güler lists the duties, number, and salaries of reciters of Qur'an sections (sing. *eczā`hān*) and blessings for the Prophet (sing. *şalavāthān*) assigned to the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi.⁶²⁷ The author notes that Safiye Sultan (d. 1619), mother of Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603), endowed money for forty *en`āmḥāns* who would conduct recitations at the Rawda for the state's continuity.⁶²⁸ I have not come across any surviving Ottoman copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* from the sixteenth century; however, there are extant manuscripts including Sūrat al-An`ām with or without the addition of other chapters of the Qur'an.⁶²⁹ As Simon Rettig notes, a copy of the *En`ām-ı Şerif* could have been more suitable for the public recitation of Sūrat al-An`ām, rather than an entire *muşḥaf*.⁶³⁰

In endowment deeds of other mosques, one can point to similar tasks that were carried out by *şalavāthāns*. For instance, in each of the following mosques, one person was employed to chant odes praising the Prophet (sing. *na`thān*) under female

⁶²⁶ Ibid., 211.

⁶²⁷ Güler, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Harameyn Vakıfları (16. ve 17. Yüzyıllar)*, 139–48.

⁶²⁸ Ibid. 143.

⁶²⁹ Bain, "The Late Ottoman En`am-ı Şerif," 50–58.

⁶³⁰ Simon Rettig, "The Rise of the En`am-ı Şerif," Freer|Sackler, accessed January 28, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KF3XSkx9I7o>.

patronage.⁶³¹ the Sultan Mosque in Manisa commissioned by Hafsa Sultan (d. 1534), a wife of Selim I (r. 1512–20); the Yeni Valide Mosque in Eminönü commissioned by Hatice Turhan Sultan (d. 1683), mother of Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87); and a mosque in Chios (Sakız) commissioned by Emetullah Rabia Gülnuş Sultan (d. 1715), mother of Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703) and Ahmed III (r. 1703–30).⁶³² Moreover, in Hatice Turhan Sultan’s *vakfiye* dated to 1663, forty *en ‘āmhāns* each were assigned to recite Sūrat al-An‘ām at the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi after every morning prayer.⁶³³

As Cornell and Witkam mention, the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, and litanies such as the *Ḥizb al-Barr* were recited out loud during Moroccan Sufi rituals.⁶³⁴ However, there is not much research done about the chanting of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* in the Ottoman territories.⁶³⁵ In addition to prayer blessings, *ṣalavāthāns* and *na‘thāns* of mosques might have chanted poems praising the Prophet such as

⁶³¹ For information about 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): 89–111. For epigraphic and recitation programs of sixteenth-century Ottoman mosques, see Nina Ergin, “Multi-Sensorial Messages of the Divine and the Personal: Qur’an Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques in Istanbul,” in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*, eds. Mohammad Gharipour and İrvın Cemil Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 105–18.

⁶³² Mehtap Maçal, “Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Üç Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi Mukayesesi” (Master’s thesis, Kırıkkale University, 2011), 27, 33, 40.

⁶³³ Among these *en ‘āmhāns*, one was assigned as a functionary (*mu‘arrif*) and one as a keeper of manuscripts (*şandūkī*). H. Ahmet Arslantürk, *Turhan Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi* (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012), 21–30, 127–34. See also Maçal, “Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Üç Valide Sultan Vakfiyesi Mukayesesi,” 33, 106–7.

⁶³⁴ Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 183; and Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 131–32.

⁶³⁵ For a short mention regarding the recitation of the *Şalāt-ı Mashīshīya* and the *Dalā’il 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 Ocak (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 2005), 144.

those by Zati and Vankulu, and recited the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.⁶³⁶ Based on Bezmialem Valide Sultan's endowment deed, Bahar Yolaç-Pollock notes that the valide sultan donated three *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and one *En'ām-ı Şerîf* to the Masjid al-Nabawi and commissioned three *delā'ilhāns* for the former's daily recitation (each person reciting one *hizib* a day).⁶³⁷ In a report (*'ilm ü haber*) dated to 1273/1857, the annual sum (6,000 *ğuruş*) that Bezmialem Valide Sultan endowed for the *delā'ilhāns* is recorded among the other *şurre* allowances.⁶³⁸ The valide sultan's recitation and building commissions in the Haramayn (e.g., a *sebīl* in Medina and a hospital in Mecca which was completed by Abdülhamid II), as well as the selection of the books endowed in her name display her special interest in the holy cities and devotional texts.

A direct examination of endowment deeds, which exceeds the limits of this dissertation, would certainly reveal more mosque recitations of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. Furthermore, other archival documents can provide information about the use of prayer books in different spheres. For instance, three inventory lists in the Atatürk Library recorded the objects kept in the Tomb of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1883), the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76), among which were an *En'ām-ı Şerîf* and a *Du'ā' Risālesi* (Appendix 4).⁶³⁹ These lists also included four

⁶³⁶ For poems of Zati and Vankulu, see Chapter 1, section “The Tomb of the Prophet.”

⁶³⁷ Bahar Yolaç-Pollock, “Contribution of Ottoman Imperial Women to the Tanzimat: The Case of Bezmialem and Pertevniyal Valide Sultans” (PhD diss., Koç University, forthcoming). I would like to thank the author for prematurely sharing her findings regarding Bezmialem Valide Sultan's charity in Medina.

⁶³⁸ See Ev.d, 83219 in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives. Budak et al., eds. *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Surre Alayları*, 45.

⁶³⁹ As it was noted in these documents, this *En'ām-ı Şerîf* was copied by Hafız Ali Şükri in nine lines. Even though I have not been able to identify this manuscript, I do not think it was just a volume of *Sūrat al-An'ām*. See Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Evrakı (PVS. Evr.) 3857–59 in the Atatürk Library. Among these documents, PVS. Evr. 3857 is dated to 20 Ramazan 1301 / 14 July 1884. Furthermore,

Qur'an copies, one to two printed catechisms, a scroll of seven gracious verses (*āyet-i kerīme muḥarrer tomār*), two printed seals/magic squares (*vefk-i mühr-i şerīfler*), the beard of the Prophet (*liḫye-i sa'ādet*), and blessed objects (*teberrükāt-i celīle*). Among the blessed objects are a piece of the golden waterspout of the Ka'ba (*altun oluḫdan kıt'a*), the keys/locks to Mecca and Medina (*miftāh-i şerīfler*), the veil of 'A'isha (*nikāb-i şerīf*) with her name inscribed on it, the cap of Uways al-Qarani (*tāc-i şerīf*), and the mantles of Hasan and Husayn (*hırka-i sa'ādetler*), which were kept in a box lined with silver.⁶⁴⁰ In a correspondence dated to 1288/1872, the valide sultan requested the recitation of the Qur'an and the scenting of her tomb on sacred days and some Friday and Monday nights, and noted that the blessed items and the relic of the Prophet were for reverence and esteem (*hürmet ve rağbet olunmaḫ içündür*).⁶⁴¹ These holy objects must have been on "loan" from the Topkapı Palace, so that Pertevniyal Valide Sultan could receive blessings during the veneration of the Prophet, Hasan, Husayn, 'A'isha, and Uways al-Qarani. Another royal lady took an earlier step of such strategic charity. Bezmialem Valide Sultan, according to her 1256/1840 endowment deed, ordered the placement of a *liḫye-i sa'ādet* in the Tomb of Eyüp Sultan, so that it could be visited during religious festivals.⁶⁴²

there is another undated document (PVS. Evr. 3860) that recorded the objects in the mosque, tomb, and school (*mekteb*) of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan and a document dated to 20 Ramazan 1301 / 14 July 1884 that lists the objects in her tomb and her personal books (PVS. Evr. 1676). See also Bilgin, "The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque Complex," 98.

⁶⁴⁰ At the Pavilion of the Sacred Trusts, there are two pieces of clothing that are identified as the mantles of Husayn. Therefore, there was a mistake in the inventories of either the tomb or the palace. Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 102–13, 152–61, 208–19. See also Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Emanat-ı Mukaddese*, 19–36.

⁶⁴¹ See PVS. Evr. 3604 in the Atatürk Library. See also Ali Akyıldız, "Müsrif, Fakat Hayırsever: Pertevniyal Valide Sultan," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 47 (2016): 345.

⁶⁴² *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın: Anadolu'da Kadının 9000 Yılı* (İstanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), 237.

Here, it should also be noted that two printed seals/magic squares were meticulously described in these inventories. One of these prints was noted to bear the Throne Verse and *Esmā'-i Hüsnā* on one side and chapters from the Qur'an, prayers, and disjoined/mysterious letters (*hurūf-ı muḳaṭṭa'*) on the other. The other print was noted to bear the Throne Verse and *Esmā'-i Hüsnā* on one side and the seven gracious verses and the Prophet's seal on the other. According to the inventories, these seals/magic squares were "printed for blessings for the troubled that were caught with eye, heart, and headaches, twinge, evil eye, and magic" (*göz ve yürek ve baş ağrısı ve şancu ve nazar ve si[h]re mübtelā olan derdlulara teberrüken basılıb*).⁶⁴³ Therefore, the Tomb of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan could provide its visitors with a range of blessed objects and texts with potential curative and protective powers, and the deceased herself could receive blessings in return.

Here, it is worth noting that mosques and tombs were not the only places where the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* could be publicly recited. According to Zehra Öztürk, Karadavudzade's Turkish commentary on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was read out loud in late Ottoman reading groups (sing. *meclis*, pl. *mecālis*).⁶⁴⁴ Süleyman Çelebi's *Mevlid-i Şerif*, Yazıcıoğlu's *Muhammediyye*, Darir's *Siyer-i Nebi*, and catechisms (*'ilm-i hāl*) were also among the religious texts that were read out loud.⁶⁴⁵ Certificates (sing. *icāzet*) of teaching, transmission, hearing, and reading/recitation found in *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies and its commentaries also attest to the auditory and public use of this prayer book and its commentaries. For instance, at the end of

⁶⁴³ PVS. Evr. 3857–59.

⁶⁴⁴ Zehra Öztürk, "Osmanlı Döneminde Kıraat Meclislerinde Okunan Halk Kitapları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 9 (2007): 421–23.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 405.

an Arabic commentary of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Isl. Ms. 525) held in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), the copyist Seyyid Nuh b. Seyyid Mehmed Kuruçay was authorized by Ömer b. Mustafa Erzincani to teach, transmit, and recite the commentary.⁶⁴⁶ Furthermore, in a document dated to 1265/1849, a teacher of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* named Melik Paşazade Şeyh Ali Efendi was listed as one of the former recipients of the *şurre*, which shows that al-Jazuli's renowned book was taught in the Hijaz.⁶⁴⁷ Similar to Seyyid Mehmed Kuruçay, Şeyh Ali Efendi could issue an *icāzet* to his students and contribute to the transmission and circulation of this prayer book.

Private Ownership of Prayer Books

Even though several ownership records and seal impressions of men survived, there are fewer instances concerning the private ownership of prayer books by Ottoman women. For instance, there are two lists in the Atatürk Library, which recorded Pertevniyal Valide Sultans's "personal scriptures/litanies that she had read for over forty-fifty years" (*kırk elli seneyi mütecāviz kırā'at buyurmakda oldukları evrād-i maḥşuşa*).⁶⁴⁸ These lists included a copy of the Qur'an (Hafız Osman, 1187/1773, 13 lines); a miscellany of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and *En'ām-ı Şerīf* (Hafız Hasan Raşid, 1253/1837–38, 7 lines); a copy of the *Evrād-i Fetḫiyye* (Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin

⁶⁴⁶ For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Evyn Kropf's detailed entry at "Muntij al-barakāt 'alā Dalā'il al-khayrāt," Mirllyn Catalog, accessed August 16, 2017, <https://mirllyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/006782183/Description#tabs>.

⁶⁴⁷ See Ev. HMK. SR, 3926 in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives. Also quoted in Ayaz, "Hilafet ve Siyaset," 260–62.

⁶⁴⁸ See PVS. Evr. 1676 and PVS. Evr. 2202 in the Atatürk Library. PVS. Evr. 1676 was dated to 20 Ramazan 1301 / 14 July 1884 and recorded the objects in Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's tomb as well as her personal books. PVS. Evr. 2202, however, listed only her personal books.

Burusavi, 1278/1861–62, 15 lines); a miscellany of the *Hizbü'l-Baḥr* and the *Devr-i Ā'īlā* (Abdüssamed el-Hacc Rasim Mehmed, 9 lines); and a miscellany of prayers, a formula of *Ḥatm-i Şerîf-i Hâcegān*, and *Esmā'-i Evliyā'* (7 lines); as well as the prayer beads of the valide sultan (Appendix 4).⁶⁴⁹ A letter in the Atatürk Library requests the placement of the valide sultan's personal prayer books and beads, those mentioned in these lists, in her tomb.⁶⁵⁰ In addition to these manuscripts, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan endowed a late copy of the fourth volume of the *Siyer-i Nebī* to the library of her building complex in Aksaray in 1279/1862–63.⁶⁵¹ The valide sultan was known for her piety, closeness to Sufi orders, and charitable works which also reached Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.⁶⁵² The contents of her library, tomb, and personal scriptures attest to her interest in the Islamic holy sites and devotional texts, as well as her status to endow and own highly-valued items.

There are other Ottoman royal women who had prayer books in their possessions. For instance, a miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *Hizb al-Baḥr* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (EH 1070) was dedicated to Huşyar Kadınefendi (d. 1859), a wife of Mahmud II (r. 1808–39).⁶⁵³ This manuscript was

⁶⁴⁹ I have not been able to identify these manuscripts; however, there is a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (Pertevniyal 33) and an *En'ām-ı Şerîf* in the Istanbul University Library (A 6386), which are close matches for two miscellanies mentioned in these two lists.

⁶⁵⁰ See PVS. Evr. 855 in the Atatürk Library.

⁶⁵¹ This manuscript is T. 1974 preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul. *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın*, 240 cat. C 77; and Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebī*, 34–35.

⁶⁵² Akyıldız, “Müsrif, Fakat Hayırsever,” 307–52; and Bilgin, “The Aksaray Pertevniyal Valide Sultan Mosque Complex,” 50–60.

⁶⁵³ For a short entry on Huşyar Kadınefendi, see Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları: Valide Sultanlar, Hatunlar, Hasekiler, Kadınefendiler, Sultanevendiler* (İstanbul: Alfa Tarih, 2015), 544–46.

copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, a disciple of (Laz) Ömer Vasfi, in 1232/1816–17.⁶⁵⁴ The calligrapher must be the same person who copied the corpus of CBL and AEM manuscripts; only, he named as his teacher Ömer Vasfi rather than Mahmud Raci almost two decades later. This manuscript includes a dyad of Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi multiviews that are stylistically very similar to the holy triad multiviews in the corpus, except for their lack of inscriptions. In Huşyar Kadın’s prayer miscellany, her name appears in an illuminated medallion which follows the colophon and appears to be contemporary with the illumination. The golden inscription in the crescent-shaped medallion reads: “Oh Muhammad, it is said the intercession is your community’s, Huşyar is your slave” (*Yā Muḥammed, k̄l şefā‘at ümmetindir, cāriyendir Huşyār*).

Atiyye Sultan (d. 1850), a daughter of Mahmud II and Piruzifelek Kadınefendi, also possessed a copy of the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt* that is now held in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (no. 1442).⁶⁵⁵ Like that of Huşyar Kadınefendi, Atiyye Sultan’s prayer book was copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi (Teberdār-i Serāy-i ‘Atīk) in Muharrem 1245 / July–August 1829.⁶⁵⁶ Atiyye Sultan’s copy of the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, however, consists of a dyad of Mecca and Medina perspectival views. In a golden lobed medallion preceding the colophon, the manuscript is prominently noted as belonging to the princess (*‘işmetlü ‘Atiyye Sultān ‘aleyhi’ş-şān efendimiz ḥazretlerinindir*).

⁶⁵⁴ Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, vol. 1, 134, cat. 392.

⁶⁵⁵ For a short entry on Atiyye Sultan, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 557–59.

⁶⁵⁶ For the visuals of this manuscript, see Gündüz and Taşkale, *Esmāü’n-Nebī*, 124–27.

Another royal lady who had a prayer book in her name is Düzdil Kadın Efendi (d. 1845),⁶⁵⁷ the third wife of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61). Düzdil Kadın Efendi's *En'ām-ı Şerīf* was completed in 1261/1845 and is now held in the Bavarian State Library in Munich (Cod. Turc 553).⁶⁵⁸ It was illuminated by Hüseyin and copied by Hafız Hasan Raşid, a disciple of Seyyid Mehmed Tahir Efendi (Figure 25).⁶⁵⁹ In addition to a simplified version of the holy triad multiviews in the CBL and AEM corpus and an array of religious imagery, this prayer book also incorporates a dyad of Mecca and Medina perspectives. In the double-page colophon of this manuscript, the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* is described as having been written specifically for Düzdil Kadın Efendi. Pertevniyal Valide Sultan also owned a miscellany of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* by the same calligrapher, which was dated to 1253/1837–38.⁶⁶⁰

Refia Sultan (d. 1880),⁶⁶¹ a daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid and Gülcemal Kadınefendi, also had an *En'ām-ı Şerīf* 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 Seyyid Mehmed Zakir, in 1294/1877.⁶⁶² This manuscript includes a dyad of Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi multiviews among a rich collection of religious imagery. According to Nabil

⁶⁵⁷ For a short entry on Düzdil Kadın Efendi, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 599.

⁶⁵⁸ Küçükbay, “Das sogenannte Dalā'il ül-Ḥayrāt,” 39–41. See also Chapter 1, sections “The House of God” and “The Holy Triad.”

⁶⁵⁹ For a short entry on Hafız Hasan Raşid, see İnal, *Son Hattatlar*, 300.

⁶⁶⁰ See PVS. Evr. 2202 and PVS. Evr. 1676 in the Atatürk Library (Appendix 4).

⁶⁶¹ For a short entry on Refia Sultan, see Sakaoğlu, *Bu Mülkün Kadın Sultanları*, 613–18. For an alphabet book (*elif-ba cüzü*) that belonged to Refia Sultan, see *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın*, 211, cat. C 14. For another copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by Mehmed Rasim, see Pertevniyal 35 in the Süleymaniye Library. Gündüz and Taşkale, *Esmāü'n-Nebī*, 148–51.

⁶⁶² Safwat, *Golden Pages*, 268–75, cat. 69.

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.⁶⁶³ Such an observation suggests that this prayer book might have been dedicated to Refia Sultan after its completion. The princess also owned a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* commissioned to the calligrapher Mehmed Şevket and a framed image of Mecca documented in her inheritance records.⁶⁶⁴

Besides these royal women, two Ottoman sultans and two renowned Europeans who owned copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* deserve attention. In the Istanbul University Library, there are two luxury *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copies of palatial production, in the names of Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) and his son Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61). The manuscript owned by Mahmud II (A 5757) was copied by Şeyh Süleyman Vehbi el-Burusavi in 1253/1837–38 and illuminated by Ser-Mücellid es-Seyyid Mehmed Salih in 1262/1845–46.⁶⁶⁵ The one owned by Sultan Abdülmecid (A 5557) was copied by Seyyid el-Hacc Mustafa İzzet, a disciple of Mustafa Vasıf, in 1258/1842–43.⁶⁶⁶ Both manuscripts are lavishly illuminated and incorporate a dyad of Mecca and Medina perspectives. So far, the findings in this chapter indicate that Mahmud II and his close family had a special interest in prayer books. The sultan himself, his wives (Bezmialem Valide Sultan, Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, and Huşyar Kadın), his

⁶⁶³ Ibid., 268.

⁶⁶⁴ Ali Akyıldız, *Refia Sultan: Mümin ve Müsrif Bir Padişah Kızı* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 14, 165. Please note that the author boldly labels Pertevniyal Valide Sultan as “extravagant” (*müsrif*) and “philanthropist” (*hayırsever*) in his article and Refia Sultan as “extravagant” (*müsrif*) and “faithful” (*mümin*) in his book.

⁶⁶⁵ For a short entry on İÜK A 5757, see Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı Sanatında Natural Üslupta Çiçekler* (İstanbul: Acar Matbaacılık Tesisleri, 1986), 232–33.

⁶⁶⁶ For a short entry on İÜK A 5557, see Ibid., 209–12.

daughter (Atiyye Sultan), his son (Abdülmeceid), his daughter-in-law (Düzdidil Kadın Efendi), and his granddaughter (Refia Sultan) owned and/or endowed copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerif*.

Adriaan Reland (d. 1718), a Dutch scholar of Islam and author of *De religione Mohammedica* (1705), also owned a Magribi copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which is now held in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Arab. 32 or A 12042).⁶⁶⁷ This manuscript displays an ownership record of Reland dated to 1703 (Figure 166, left folio). It also carries the signature of Johann Peter Berg (d. 1800), a German scholar of theology and oriental languages, who had acquired other manuscripts formerly owned by Reland (Figure 166, right folio).⁶⁶⁸ According to its accession file, this manuscript was acquired from Bernhard Moritz, the director of the Khedivial Library between 1896 and 1911, in 1929. This copy consists in a single-page composition of the tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, and 'Umar, above which are three lamps hanging from a horseshoe-shaped arch. In the last quarter of the text (between the sixth and seventh sections), there exist marginal glosses which were perhaps recorded by Reland rather than Berg, judging by the handwriting. Following the marginal note of “Names of God written under the throne of his glory” (*Nomina Dei sub throno gloriae scripta*), the names of the prophets from Adam to Muhammad are inscribed in the margins (Figure 167).⁶⁶⁹ The marginalia of the prophets' names corresponds with the original text, in which the names of God

⁶⁶⁷ For the catalogue entry, see Miroslav Krek, *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute of Chicago* (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1961), 5–6, cat. 20. I wish to thank Helen McDonald for helping me examine this manuscript.

⁶⁶⁸ Florian Sobieroj, *Islamischen handschriften: Thüringen*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011), xxvii–xxviii, 1–12, cat. 6. I would like to thank Jan Just Witkam for mentioning this catalogue.

⁶⁶⁹ I would like to thank Haris Theodoretis-Rigas for helping me with the transcription and translation of this marginal note.

pronounced by each prophet follow one another: “And I beseech thee by the names wherewith Adam invoked thee, on him be peace. And I beseech thee by the names wherewith Noah invoked thee, on him be peace...”⁶⁷⁰ These marginal notes display the engagement of the reader with the text, possibly Reland, who authored a book on Islam and published an engraving of the Masjid al-Haram in its 1717 edition.⁶⁷¹

John Lewis Burckhardt (d. 1817), the Swiss traveller known for his posthumously published *Travels in Arabia* (1829), was another European author who had a prayer book in his possession. On his bequest, Burckhardt’s collection of Arabic manuscripts was given to the Cambridge University Library in 1819.⁶⁷² Among them were an *Akhhār Mekka* (Qq. 44), a *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* (Qq. 87), a *Manāsik al-Ḥajj wa-l-‘Umra* (Qq. 73), and another manuscript including the rites of pilgrimage (Add. 279).⁶⁷³ Burckhardt’s *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* copy has a double-page representation of the minbar, the mihrab, and the three tombs. Unlike Reland’s copy of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, Burckhardt’s copy lacks signs of his personal use. In the Royal Geographical Society in London, there is another item that once belonged to the

⁶⁷⁰ al-Jazūlī, *Guide to Happiness*, 57.

⁶⁷¹ For more information about Reland, see Alastair Hamilton, “From a ‘Closet at Utrecht’: Adriaan Reland and Islam,” *Dutch Review of Church History* 78 (1998): 243–50; and Arnoud Vrolijk, “Arabic Studies in the Netherlands and the Prerequisite of Social Impact – a Survey,” in *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017); 27–29.

⁶⁷² Catherine Ansorge, “Cambridge University Library Islamic Manuscript Collection: Origins and Content,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 7 (2016): 133–34.

⁶⁷³ The prayer book is perhaps a provincial Ottoman copy completed by Mustafa b. Ahmed in 18 Cemaziyelahir 1112 / 30 November 1700. For the catalogue entries, see Edward G. Browne, *A Hand-List of the Muhammadan Manuscripts, Including All Those Written in the Arabic Character, Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 3, 72, 219, 344–45, cat. 17, 370, 1108, 1507.

renowned traveller.⁶⁷⁴ This is a pilgrimage certificate in the name of al-Hajj Ibrahim (the Muslim name of Burckhardt) that is dated to 9 Dhu al-Hijja 1229 / 22 November 1814 (Figure 168). Here, the textual proof of the pilgrimage follows a multiview of the Masjid al-Haram. The pilgrim's name must have been added to the paper later, as it was written in a different ink and hand. The labels denoting significant elements of the mosque also seem to be added in a different ink and hand. The seals and signatures of witnesses do not exist in this certificate. The attestation of pilgrimage is rather left to God with the words "God is the best witness" (*Allāh khayr al-shāhidīn*).

Representation of Power

Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem had been under Ottoman sovereignty since the early sixteenth century (1516–17). As the "Servants of the Two Holy Places" (*Khādim al-Ḥaramayn*), the Ottoman sultans distributed subsidies, provided security, and commissioned building, water-, and roadworks to/in the Haramayn. There, the Ottoman sultans displayed their regal and caliphal authority to their subjects and Muslims coming from all over the Islamic world. According to Suraiya Faroqhi, the Ottoman sultans "legitimized their domination" in the holy cities based on building activities, as they were "considered necessary to emphasize the ruler's wealth and his willingness to spend it on lavish gifts to the sanctuaries."⁶⁷⁵ Ottoman royal women such as Hürrem Sultan, Hatice Turhan Sultan, and Bezmialem Valide Sultan, and court eunuchs such as Hacı Mehmed Ağa, Gazanfer Ağa, and Abbas Ağa also

⁶⁷⁴ On the back of the certificate, a note by the translator of the *One Thousand and One Nights* reads as: "Burckhardt's Certificate of Pilgrimage. Given to me by his legatee 'Osmān. Edw. W. Lane."

⁶⁷⁵ Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, 126. See also Faroqhi, *A Cultural History of the Ottomans: The Imperial Elite and Its Artefacts* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 47–48.

displayed their charity in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.⁶⁷⁶ Moreover, eunuchs were prominently visible in Medina as guards of the Prophet's Tomb and regulated the distribution of funds and piety over the holy cities as the superintendents of the Haramayn endowments.⁶⁷⁷

Visual propaganda was not only achieved via building and infrastructure commissions, but via representations of the sacred trusts and the holy sites that were very widespread in the late Ottoman visual culture.⁶⁷⁸ With or without the aid of labels, such Ottoman architectural commissions could be detected in various images and attributed to specific sultans (e.g., the Madrasa of Sultan Süleyman attached to the Masjid al-Haram and the mihrab of Sultan Süleyman inside the Masjid al-Nabawi). Furthermore, there exist more explicit representations of power in Ottoman material culture. For instance, there are a number of imperial insignia (sing. *tuğrā*) compositions, which are accompanied by architectural imagery.⁶⁷⁹ These include two *levhas* by Ahmed III's (r. 1703–30) *tuğrā* shaped hadith with a Medina image and his

⁶⁷⁶ Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 71–83; Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders*, 65–77; *Çağlarboyu Anadolu'da Kadın*, 222–41; Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 276–78, 498–501; and Güler, *Haremeyn Vakıfları*, 99–101, 121, 125–26, 224–30.

⁶⁷⁷ Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs & Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 93–112; Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem* (Oxford: One World, 2005), xiv–xv, 13–14, 54–55; Hathaway, “Eunuch Households in Istanbul, Medina, and Cairo during the Ottoman Era,” *Turcica* 41 (2009): 294–97 and Güler, *Haremeyn Vakıfları*, 217–20. See also Ayşe Ezgi Dikici, “A Comparative Study on the Architectural Patronage of Ottoman Court Eunuchs” (Master's thesis, Koç University, 2009); and Ülkü Altındağ, “Dārüssaāde,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 1–3.

⁶⁷⁸ Images of the sacred trusts and blessed objects also served Ottoman religious and political power, besides Muslim piousness. Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One*, forthcoming.

⁶⁷⁹ Imperial insignia could be encountered in various spheres such as documents (e.g., *fermān* and *berāt*), coins, buildings, and *levhas*. For detailed information, see Suha Umur, *Osmanlı Padişah Tuğraları* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1980).

tuğrā shaped title of the Prophet with a Mecca image,⁶⁸⁰ a ceramic panel with Ahmed III's *tuğrā* shaped hadith and an image of the Masjid al-Nabawi,⁶⁸¹ a *levha* of Osman III's (r. 1754–57) *tuğrā* with twin images of Mecca and Medina,⁶⁸² and a silver panel of Mahmud II's (r. 1808–39) *tuğrā* with images of Mecca and Istanbul.⁶⁸³

According to their accession files, the ceramic panel and the wooden *levha* were brought from the Büyük Camii (Nar Köyü, Nevşehir) and the Kılıç Ali Paşa Library (Istanbul). The remaining three, however, were held in the Topkapı Palace. With the diversity provided via media and place change, the pairing of *tuğrās* with images of Mecca, Medina, and Istanbul served as visual reminders of the Ottoman caliphate and the empire's territorial reach. Furthermore, as Murat Kocaaslan points out, the seventeenth-century ceramic panels depicting the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and 'Arafat in the Topkapı Palace reflected the association of royal women and court eunuchs with the holy sites based on their locations.⁶⁸⁴ These tiles were incorporated into the decorative program of the harem spaces such as the Mosque of the Black Eunuchs, the School of the Crown Princes, the Prayer Chamber of the Valide Sultan, and the Courtyard of Mabeyn, as well as the Mosque of Eunuchs

⁶⁸⁰ These *levhas* are held in the Topkapı Palace Museum (GY 943 and GY 947). Zeynep Atbaş, "İslâmın Kutsal Şehirleri: Topkapı Sarayı Koleksiyonundan Örneklerle Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs Tasvirleri," in *Miraç ve Yolculuk Durakları: Osmanlı Kültür Ortamında Miraç*, eds. Ayşe Taşkent and Nicole Kançal-Ferrari (Ankara: Türkiye Kültür Bakanlığı Bağımsız Sanat Vakfı, forthcoming). See also Philippe Bora Keskiner, "Sultan Ahmed III's Hadith-Tughra: Uniting the Word of the Prophet and the Imperial Monogram," *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı 2* (2013): 111–25.

⁶⁸¹ This ceramic panel is held in the Nevşehir Museum. Naza-Dönmez, "Nevşehir Müzesi'nde Bulunan Medine Camii Tasvirli Bir Çini Levha," 109–14.

⁶⁸² This *levha* is held in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul (E 2737).

⁶⁸³ This silver panel is held in the Topkapı Palace Museum (no. 21/225). Kahraman, ed. *Surre-i Hümayün*, 202–3, 235.

⁶⁸⁴ Murat Kocaaslan, *İktidar, Sınırlar ve Mimari: IV. Mehmed Saltanatında Topkapı Sarayı Haremi* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2014), 119–22, 146–47, 159–61.

(*Ağalar* or *Enderun Camii*) in the third courtyard during the renovation project that followed the fire of 1076/1665.⁶⁸⁵ As I will discuss in the subsequent sections, images of the holy cities were conceived to have talismanic powers. Therefore, their insertion in the palace walls could also aim for protection against fires and earthquakes, just like the Prophet's *hilye*, footprint, and seal of prophecy.⁶⁸⁶

There are also other pictorial compositions reminiscent of the Ottoman caliphate. For instance, in the Fatih Mosque painting, Mimarzade located Mecca, Medina, and Istanbul within the earth and the earth among the planets (Figure 145). Here, Mecca and Medina prominently appeared as the religious centers of the Ottoman Empire and the larger Islamic world, whereas Istanbul was distinguished as the Ottoman capital. Furthermore, the Hijaz Railway and the Yıldız Hamidiye Mosque were marked as significant commissions of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). Similarly, in the front doublure of an album consisting in two engraved portraits of Selim III (r. 1789–1807), the views of the holy triad and the Ottoman capital were selectively combined in the same composition (Figure 109). In the back doublure, the views of the Bosphorus, Dardanelles, Bursa, and Edirne were brought together in a matching design (Figure 110). As Mary Roberts also points out, the land-, sea-, and cityscapes accompanying the portraits of the sultan marked “his dual political and religious roles as sultan and caliph.”⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸⁵ Atbaş, “İslâmın Kutsal Şehirleri,” forthcoming. Also see the detached tile from the Harem Collection (8/1058). Kahraman, ed. *Surre-i Hümayûn*, 200.

⁶⁸⁶ For a poem regarding the protective powers of the footprint of the Prophet, see Chapter 1, section “Prophetic Vestiges.” See also Muhittin Serin, “Hilye-i Şerif,” in *Hilye-i Şerîfe: Hz. Muhammed’in Özellikleri*, eds. Faruk Taşkale and Hüseyin Gündüz (İstanbul: Artam Antik A.Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 2011), 95; and Gruber, *The Praiseworthy One*, forthcoming.

⁶⁸⁷ Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 25.

Another visual attestation to Ottoman authority over the Haramayn can be traced via a Hereke prayer rug held in a private collection (Figure 159). Here, a perspectival view of the Masjid al-Haram is accompanied by the *tuğrā* of Mehmed Reşad (r. 1909–18) and the following poem:

Ka‘betü’l-‘ulyāyı mihrāb-i füyūzāt eylesun
Haşre dek seccāde-i rüy-i zemīne Zülcelāl
Haḳ Teālā zātını kılsın o mihrāba imām
Pādişāhımız ta ebed bulsun cihān-i ‘izz ü kemāl⁶⁸⁸

May God make the exalted Ka‘ba the mihrab of prosperity,
The prayer rug of the earth till the Day of Judgement.
May God make him the imam to that mihrab,
Our sultan shall find eternity, glory and perfection of the universe.

This stanza celebrated the enthronement of Mehmed Reşad and thus his caliphal authority with an analogy of him as the imam at the Ka‘ba. When combined with the photographic view of the Masjid al-Haram and the sultans’s *tuğrā*, the message of the stanza became crystallized in this prayer rug. Such text-and-image relationship served to communicate that the Ottomans not only possessed political power, but also religious authority over the Haramayn.

Guiding, Attesting, and Recalling Pilgrimage

Among their many other functions, images of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem could provide guidance, validation, and remembrance of pilgrimage and visitation in a variety of media. For instance, pilgrimage manuals provided textual and pictorial information about the stops and rites of the hajj, pilgrimage scrolls and certificates

⁶⁸⁸ Here, I have revised the transliteration provided by Aldoğan. Even though I have not been able to read it due to the low resolution of the image provided in the article, the author states that the phrase “Long live our sultan” (*Pādişāhımız çok yaşa*) was inscribed on the upper left corner of the prayer rug. Aldoğan, “Kābe Tasvirli Osmanlı Seccadeleri,” 164.

attested to its completion, and postcards and photographs bought from Mecca commemorated the event. Some of these objects could have mixed-use; for instance, a pilgrimage certificate could also recall hajj experiences, much like a souvenir, help describe hajj rites to future pilgrims, or be hung in mosques for decoration and prestige (Figure 194).

There exist numerous pilgrimage manuals including the illustrated copies of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* of Muhyi al-Din Lari (d. 1526–27), *Nehcetü'l-Menāzil* of Mehmed Edib (d. 1824), and *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil* of Murad Nakşibendi (d. 1847–48). Such books provided a better understanding of the holy sites for future pilgrims and served as visual aids in pilgrimage preparations. In several copies of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* (in Persian verse), images of the Maşjid al-Haram, the Maşjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif form part of a greater visual agenda that includes separate representations of other sites such as Mina, Muzdalifa, 'Arafat, and Uhud.⁶⁸⁹ In the *Nehcetü'l-Menāzil* and the *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil* (both in Turkish prose), however, the number of images is reduced to three to include only the holy triad (Figures 169–171).

Representations of Mecca, the Maşjid al-Nabawi, and Jerusalem in the *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil* were applied on large folios and then inserted into codices. For instance, in a manuscript copy in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H 116), a multiview of Mecca and two perspectival views of Medina and Jerusalem on paper were lined with green fabric on their verso and folded to adjust to the size of the codex (Figures

⁶⁸⁹ For more information about the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, see Jafarian, *Negār o negāre*; and Rachel Milstein, "Futuh-i Haramayn," 166–94.

169–171).⁶⁹⁰ Here, the multiview of Mecca stands out with its large size and extensive inscriptions, whereas the perspectival view of Jerusalem attracts attention for its painterly style. In the Mecca representation; the architectural elements, structures, and topographical features were labelled in red ink, whereas prayers to be recited at each spot were written in black. Therefore, the users of this book could easily follow the ritual choreography of the hajj at the Masjid al-Haram, Mina, Muzdalifa, and ‘Arafat. During the performance of pilgrimage, the recitation of certain prayers and the movement in and around the holy cities constitute an important part of pilgrims’ experience. Amikam Elad focuses on such performative aspects of medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem with a sequential map of the Haram al-Sharif that he bases on the ritual itinerary in Ibn al-Murajja’s eleventh-century *Faḍā’il Bayt al-Maqdis* (Virtues of Jerusalem).⁶⁹¹ In the TSMK copy of the *Nebzetü’l-Menāzil*, the visualization of Mecca as a multiview must have been a deliberate choice, as it has the capacity to guide pilgrims in a way that other pictorial modes cannot (Figure 169). Here, the sequence of rituals is not defined; however, the cityscape is still loaded with movement, as each prayer is expected to be recited at a specific spot in or around Mecca.

At least from the late twelfth century onwards, illustrated certificates and scrolls were in use in the Islamic world to attest to the completion of the major and minor pilgrimages, often performed in proxy. Such certificates and scrolls could be acquired in the Haramayn along with other keepsakes such as pieces of *kiswa*,

⁶⁹⁰ For the TSMK copy, see Atbaş, “Resimlerle Hac Yolları,” 144–48; and Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” 410. There is another copy of this pilgrimage manual in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 1217), which is missing its Mecca image.

⁶⁹¹ Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship*, 69–77, map 2. For a comparison of Elad and Grabar’s approaches to medieval Jerusalem, see Roxburgh, “Pilgrimage City,” 753–58.

zamzam flasks (sing. *kumkuma*) and compressed soil tablets or pouches sourced from Mecca and Medina.⁶⁹² Large zamzam containers (sing. *zawraq*) could be seen in different arrangements in several Masjid al-Haram depictions (Figure 29) and some Masjid al-Nabawi depictions as well (Figure 92). Pilgrims or pilgrims' families could also commission mementoes or homecoming announcements as in the case of hajj murals in twentieth-century Egypt.⁶⁹³ A selection of paintings depicting the pilgrimage journey; the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi; Abraham, Ishmael, and Gabriel animating the scene of the sacrifice; portraits of pilgrims; homecoming; motifs from Egyptian culture; fauna and flora; and talismanic elements can be found on exterior walls of pilgrims' houses in Egypt.⁶⁹⁴

Representations of the Islamic holy sites in pilgrimage manuals could help future pilgrims visualize the holy sites and learn about them, or guide pilgrims during their journey. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the Masjid al-Haram image in a pilgrimage manual in the Istanbul University Library (T 6528) cannot be solely explained with didactic purposes (Figure 172).⁶⁹⁵ There exists another copy of this book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (A 3547), as mentioned in Chapter 1 (Figure 29).

⁶⁹² Faroqhi, "Keepsakes and Trade Goods from Seventeenth-Century Mecca," 89–92; Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 192, 197; Mols and Vrolijk, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections*, 56–57, 70–71; and Chekhab-Abudaya, *Mémoires du Hajj*, 65–71. For objects of protection acquired at Byzantine pilgrimage sites, see Deniz Sever Georgousakis, "Against All Evil: Byzantine Portable Objects of Private Protection from Turkey" (PhD diss., Koç University, 2017).

⁶⁹³ Furthermore, some Ottoman ceramic panels and wall paintings could have been commissioned to commemorate the pilgrimages of their donors. Maury, "Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles," 146–48.

⁶⁹⁴ Juan E. Campo, "Shrines and Talismans: Domestic Islam in the Pilgrimage Paintings of Egypt," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 55 (1987): 285–305; Ann Parker and Avon Neal, *Hajj Paintings: Folk Art of the Great Pilgrimage* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); and Remke Kruk and Frans Oort, "Hajj Murals in Dakhla Oasis (Egypt)," in *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, eds. Luitgard Mols and Marjo Buitelaar (Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology, 2015), 163–84.

⁶⁹⁵ On fol. 4a–4b, it is mentioned that the text is derived from two Arabic works titled *Ihyā' al-Ḥajj* and *Qurra al-'Uyūn*.

Even though the TSMK copy has several representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites distributed among the text, the İÜK copy has only a sketch of the Masjid al-Haram added to a flyleaf.

In this manuscript, there are two ownership records by two different pilgrims, and two distinct personal seals, which demonstrate that this manual changed hands multiple times.⁶⁹⁶ The mosque sketch on fol. 2b and the lists of Egyptian and Syrian caravan stops (sing. *konāk*) on fol. 1a–2b seem to be later additions to this manuscript, judging their application by different hands. In this ink drawing, the southwest arcades are carefully drawn with their masonry layers and topped with domes, whereas the other three arcades are not shown. The Ka‘ba, the well of Zamzam, and the stations of Abraham and the four Sunni schools are labelled to aid their identification. This pictorial addition to the manuscript might be a freehand sketch drawn on site or an incomplete drawing made after an already existing example. In the latter alternative, the motivation behind the drawing could be to visualize a site for which every Muslim longs for and to learn about its components. In the former alternative, however, the purpose of the sketch could be to represent what was seen *in situ* and thus to perpetuate the ritual and spatial experience of pilgrimage.⁶⁹⁷ In both cases, the sketch must have been a later addition by one of the

⁶⁹⁶ On fol. 3a, there is an ownership record by el-Hacc Salih Efendi which is dated to 9 Receb 1258 / 16 August 1842 and another one by el-Hacc Abdullah Efendi which defines him as the lender of the book (*emānet şāhibi*). On fol. 3b, a seal which belonged to Seyyid Mustafa (1258/1842–43) appears right above the basmala. On fol. 67b, the same seal and another one which belonged to Abd Ahmed Hamid appear in the margins.

⁶⁹⁷ A similar approach was also the case in Süleyman Şefik Söylemezoğlu’s pilgrimage account *Hicāz Seyāhatnāmesi* (1315/1892), in which the author inserted his watercolor maps, plans, and sketches in the relevant sections of the text. For the author’s copy see T 4199 in the Istanbul University Library. See also Söylemezoğlu, *Hicaz Seyahatnamesi*.

subsequent users of the pilgrimage manual; thus it sets an intriguing example to discuss different motives for representing the holy sites.

Virtual Experience

It is well known that the popular mind leans towards the sensible world, and has an aversion to the world of abstract thought which is only understood by highly educated people, of whom in every time and every place there are only a few. And as common people will only acquiesce in pictorial representations, many of the leaders of religious communities have so far deviated from the right path as to give such imagery in their books and houses of worship, like the Jews and Christians, and, more than all, the Manichæans. These words of mine would at once receive a sufficient illustration if, for example, a picture of the Prophet were made, or of Mekka and the Ka'ba, and were shown to an uneducated man and woman. Their joy in looking at the thing would bring them to kiss the picture, to rub their cheeks against it, and to roll themselves in the dust before it, as if they were seeing not the picture, but the original, and were in this way, as is they were present in the holy places, performing the rites of pilgrimage, the great and the small ones.⁶⁹⁸

In *Tahqīq-i-mā li'l-Hind* (Inquiry into India), the Iranian polymath Abu Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni (d. 1048) has noted how most devotees would react to an image of the Prophet, the Ka'ba, or Mecca. According to al-Biruni, “common” responses to these images in India included emotional and physical sensations stimulated by life-like pilgrimage experience. Devotees kissed images and rubbed them on to their cheeks, as if they were facing the Prophet, the Ka'ba, or Mecca. I further elaborate on the devotional engagement with images in one of the following sections of this chapter, but here I would like to focus on the replacement of physically performing pilgrimage and experiencing space. As al-Biruni has

⁶⁹⁸ Edward C. Sachau, trans. *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910), 111. Also cited in Flood, “Bodies and Becoming,” 461.

described, a devotee could feel as if he/she was performing the rites of major and minor pilgrimages by contemplating an image of the Ka'ba or Mecca.

In her seminal book *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, Kathryn Rudy shows that Dutch nuns and religious women used textual and visual depictions in pilgrimage literature for their affective and imaginative pilgrimage in the late middle ages.⁶⁹⁹ These women, who had restrictions in their travels, relied on pilgrimage manuals and pilgrims' accounts written by men. Virtual pilgrimages were not only mentally and spiritually envisioned and sensed, but they could also require some physical activities such as walking and kneeling.⁷⁰⁰

An excerpt from al-Fasi's Arabic commentary *Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt* quoted in two illustrated copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* indicates that late Ottoman devotees could have virtual experiences of the holy sites as well. In a *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* copy in the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul (no. 625) and another in the İnebey Manuscript Library in Bursa (Or. 367), sections from *Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt* are inscribed in the margins. Here, a single-page multiview of the Masjid al-Haram is followed by a small image of the Burial Chamber and an excerpt from al-Fasi, a composition showing four different arrangements of the three tombs and al-Fasi's related commentary, and a single-page multiview of the Masjid al-Nabawi (Figures 173 and 174). In Figure 173, on the left-hand page, the first part of the text focuses on the image/likeness (*mithāl*) of the Rawda, while the second part describes its architectural qualities. As al-Jazuli has done in his book, al-Fasi has also referred to

⁶⁹⁹ Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 171–95.

Taj al-Din al-Fakihani's (d. 734/1334) *al-Fajr al-Munir* (Dawn of Light) in his commentary, specifically the chapter on the description of the holy tombs.⁷⁰¹ In his commentary and in Figure 173, al-Fasi has transmitted al-Fakihani's opinion that "a person, for whom making a visit to the Rawda is not possible, may visit the image/likeness [*mithāl*] and observe it with longing and kiss it and increase in love and desire for it."⁷⁰² Furthermore, al-Fasi has said that both al-Fakihani and al-Jazuli "have declared the image/likeness of the Noble Sandal to be a proxy/substitute for the Exalted Sandal and accorded it the honor and respect to which it stands for." He then has quoted the following stanza:

Idhā mā al-shawq aqlaqanī ilayhā
 Wa-lam aẓfur bi-maṭlūbī ladayhā
 Naqashtu mithālhā fī al-kaff naqshan
 Wa-qultu li-nāẓiray qaṣṣirā 'alayhā

Whenever longing disturbs me over it
 And I have not achieved my wish for it
 I would draw its image on my palm
 And say to my eyes 'confine yourself to that'⁷⁰³

Based on the context of the quoted poem, a devotee could draw the Rawda or the Prophet's sandal and behold the image, whenever he/she longed for it. Someone who could not physically undertake the visitation of the Rawda could instead kiss and visit a likeness of it. Similarly, a proxy image of the Prophet's sandal could stand for its noble owner and be treated with respect. If not as explicitly as al-Fasi's *Maṭāli*'

⁷⁰¹ For al-Fakihani, see Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, trans. Joep Lameer, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 26; and Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, trans. Joep Lameer, supplement vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 15.

⁷⁰² For the same text, see also p. 225–29 of a copy of the *Maṭāli*' *al-Masarrāt* (Isl. Ms. 49) in the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library) at "Maṭāli' al-masarrāt bi-jalā' Dalā'il al-khayrāt," Mirlyn Catalog, accessed April 15, 2017, <https://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/005989212/Description#tabs>.

⁷⁰³ I would like to thank Evyn Kropf and Mahmoud Obaid for helping me with the translation of this poem and the previous excerpts from al-Fasi.

al-Masarrāt, Karadavudzade's Turkish commentary *Tevfīku Muvaffīki 'l-Ḥayrāt* also implies that images could serve as surrogates of the original. In *Tevfīku Muvaffīki 'l-Ḥayrāt*, Karadavudzade noted that al-Jazuli provided firstly prayer blessings for the Prophet Muhammad, secondly the *Asmā' al-Nabī*, and thirdly the description of the Rawda:

Fuḡarā' [ve] zu'afā' olub vus'at-i māliyye ve kuvvet-i bedeniyyeleri olmayanlara ḡāliḡān Ravza-i Muṭāhhara ve Mirḡad-i Münevverenin şuretini ketb ve ahvālını taḡrīr eylediler ki ona nazar ile ḡalblerinde olan kemāl-i şevḡlerine nev'an teselli bulalar.⁷⁰⁴

Thirdly, I have composed the description/depiction and written the conditions of the Ravza-i Muṭāhhara and the Illuminated Tomb so that the poor and the weak who lack extensive budget and physical strength can look at it and in a way find consolation for the mature enthusiasm in their hearts.

Therefore, those, who could not economically and physically afford to travel and see the Rawda and the Tomb of the Prophet, could find solace in their representations. Such textual evidence from the *Taḡḡiq-i-mā li'l-Hind* and the Arabic and Turkish commentaries of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* demonstrate that images of the holy sites did not merely illustrate texts or guided future pilgrims, but they also provided virtual experiences for Muslims who longed for those sites.

Religious imagery's capacity to create virtual experiences must have triggered the inclusion of Mecca and Medina images on prayer rugs, their placement in the qibla direction, and their coupling with the *talbiya* and *taḡliya* inscriptions. When juxtaposed with the qibla direction, a Mecca or Medina image on a prayer rug, a wall, or elsewhere could possibly help envision the holy sites during prayer.

Religious architectural imagery could define a virtual space for worshippers who

⁷⁰⁴ Here, I have transliterated the text on p. 269 of the print copy of the *Tevfīku Muvaffīki 'l-Ḥayrāt* (1281/1864–65) held in the Atatürk Library (Belediye Osmanlı Basmaları 10/1). This print copy also has sections from the *Maṡāli' al-Masarrāt* on the margins. For a modern Turkish edition, see also Kara Davud, *Delāil-i Ḥayrāt Şerhi*, 380.

aspire to see the holy sites and pray there. Furthermore, the registry of the *talbiya* and the *taşliya* with the corresponding cities of Mecca and Medina could prompt viewers to recite them, as if they were at the site proper, performing pilgrimage or visitation (Figure 30).⁷⁰⁵ A similar text-and-image relationship is also evident in the TSMK copy of the *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil*. Here, the prayers to be recited at each location in the Masjid al-Haram and Mecca were meticulously inscribed next to the corresponding architectural elements, structures, and topographical features (Figure 169). Such a text-and-image composition had the capacity to stimulate a virtual pilgrimage beyond its more obvious function of guiding pilgrims.

Based on an album of photographs by Mirza of Delhi, Ali Asani and Carney Gavin also assert that images of the holy sites could “serve both as a visual guide to Islam’s holy places and to excite and inspire the religious imagination of the pious.”⁷⁰⁶ The photographs by Mirza of Delhi were accompanied by descriptions and poems in Urdu regarding each pilgrimage and visitation site. Some of these texts suggest that photographic views could mediate between the physical and the imaginary. For instance, a photograph of the Masjid al-Nabawi was inscribed with the following verses:

The sanctuary of the mosque of the messenger of God
Which the world yearns to see;
A garden of Paradise and the mausoleum of the Prophet
If you must see it, here is its image⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁵ I have discussed the inscriptions of *talbiya* and *taşliya* in Chapter 1 in the respective sections of “The House of God” and “The Tomb of the Prophet.”

⁷⁰⁶ Asani and Gavin, “Through the Lens of Mirza of Delhi,” 181.

⁷⁰⁷ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 180. See also Renard, “Picturing Holy Places,” 421.

This poem emphasizes one of the uses of photographic images of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. They were not solely representative, but they could also serve as replacements for viewers longing for the holy sites. Haptic, oral, and visual participation could mediate multisensory aspects of pilgrimage, as if one was physically at the original site. The multisensory nature of two-dimensional religious imagery could catalyze the imagination towards a virtual experience of space.

Printing Protection

According to Hiba Abid, Alexandra Bain, Frederike-Wiebke Daub, and Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the *En'ām-ı Şerif*, the *Kitāb al-Shifā'* and the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* were not only pious works, but also perceived as talismans.⁷⁰⁸ In this and the following sections, I demonstrate that the visual programs of the former two responded to the users' urge to seek out intercession (*shafā'at*), blessings (*baraka*), cure (*shifā'*), or protection (*hifz*), in addition to their textual contents. Furthermore, I show that images of the Islamic holy sites in other production spheres also served similar purposes.

An *En'ām-ı Şerif* in the Istanbul University Library (A 5573) provides the most appropriate example to start discussing “printing protection” (Figures 175 and 176).⁷⁰⁹

Here, an array of religious imagery applied in ink, gold, and opaque watercolor

⁷⁰⁸ Abid, “Un concurrent du Coran en Occident musulman du X^e/XVI^e à l'aube du XII^e/XVIII^e siècle,” 64–65; Bain, “The Late Ottoman En'ām-ı Şerif,” 164; Daub, *Formen und Funktionen*, 27, 136–38, 174–75; and Pinckney Stetkevych, “From Text to Talisman,” 145–89. See also Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*, 96, 183.

⁷⁰⁹ This prayer book has an Ottoman Turkish note on its first page, giving the year 1282/1865–66 as a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript's production. Bain, “The Late Ottoman En'ām-ı Şerif,” 301–9; and Ahmad Khamehyar, “Osmanlı Dönemi Resimli Dua Kitaplarında Kutsal Emanetlerin Tasvirleri,” 394–95.

precedes a selection of seal impressions. Some of the hand-executed images include the seal of Solomon (*mühr-i Süleymān*), the calligraphic renditions of the names of God (*İsm-i Celāl* or *Lafza-i Celāl*) and the Prophet (*İsm-i Nebī* or *Lafza-i Nebī*), the Prophet's physical description (*hilye-i şerīf*) and personal belongings (*muḥallefāt*), and the representations of Mecca and Medina. In addition, the printed impressions include the seal of Solomon, the Prophet Muhammad's seal of prophecy (*mühr-i nübüvvet*), the magic square (*vefk-i şerīf*) with the names of God (*Esmā'-i Şerīf*), the virtuous talisman (*tılsım-ı şerīf*), the names of the Seven Sleepers (*Esmā'-i Aşhābü'l-Kehf*), and representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.⁷¹⁰ The seal impressions of the holy triad and the paintings of the Haramayn coexisted in this prayer book along with other religious imagery and text. Some of these such as the *hilye*, the names of the Seven Sleepers, and the seal of Solomon were known for their devotional uses and could be kissed, gazed upon, recited, or simply carried around and hung to be deemed efficacious.⁷¹¹

The stamps printed in the İÜK manuscript were perhaps manufactured for a different medium and then adapted to illustrate this codex. A number of inscribed metal amulets (with positive inscriptions) and stamp seals (with negative inscriptions), which are similar to those used in this manuscript, are preserved in museums and

⁷¹⁰ Some of the seal impressions repeat themselves, but appear under different captions (e.g., *vefk-i şerīf* and *Esmā'-i Şerīf*). The seal of Solomon and the virtuous talisman appear under captions that are slightly modified. Furthermore, due to these two different techniques used in the same manuscript, there occurs repetition between printed and hand-executed images such as the depiction of the Haramayn and the seal of Solomon.

⁷¹¹ Taşkale and Gündüz, eds. *Hilye-i Şerīfe*, 19; Venetia Porter, "Amulets Inscribed with the Names of the 'Seven Sleepers' of Ephesus in the British Museum," in *Word of God, Art of Man: The Qur'an and Its Creative Expressions*, ed. Fahmida Suleman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 123–34; and Christiane Gruber, "'Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected,'" 27–31.

collections in Turkey.⁷¹² Such amulets could be worn or carried on the body, and hidden or hung in spaces.⁷¹³ Stamp seals could be printed on textiles and folios, which then could be folded or rolled, to create talismans used in similar ways. Therefore, several texts and visuals could be selectively combined on paper and textile surfaces.⁷¹⁴

Two folios in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 16340) and the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MSS 1179) exemplify such use and application.⁷¹⁵ These examples have a common selection of stamp impressions in colored inks applied on the same size of paper. They had been folded for compactness at some point of their lifespan. In the AEM talisman (Figure 177), stamp seals such as that of the Ka'ba, Sufi orders, the double-bladed sword (*zūlfikār*), the banner of praise (*livā'ü'l-ḥamd*), the station of Abraham (*maḳām-ı İbrāhīm*), and two different Fatima's hands are impressed on the folio once or twice. As in *Ma'rifetnāme* and *Muḥammediyye* copies, the banner of praise is shown with the scales of justice (*mīzān*), the minbars

⁷¹² For a metal amulet of the Most Beautiful Names of God, see Şinasi Acar, "Mühürçülük Sanatı ve Mühürçüler," *Antik Dekor* 37 (1996): 99. For a metal stamp of the seal of Solomon (*müühr-i Süleymān*), see Şerife Tali, "Kayseri Etnoğrafya Müzesinde Bulunan Osmanlı Dönemi Mühürleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırma Dergisi* 27 (2013): 544. For two metal stamps of *vefk-i şerīf* or *Esmā'-i Şerīf*, see Süleyman Berk, "Osmanlı Tılsım Mühürleri," *P Sanat Kültür Antika* 29 (2003): 28–29. See also Haluk Perk, *Osmanlı Tılsım Mühürleri: Haluk Perk Koleksiyonu* (İstanbul: Haluk Perk Müzesi Yayınları, 2010), 42–43, cat. 1.1.05–1.1.08.

⁷¹³ For a reprint of Tewfik Canaan's article on talismans, see Tewfik Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 126. In the same volume, see also Venetia Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 179.

⁷¹⁴ For block printed examples, see Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006); and Yasmine al-Saleh, "Licit Magic: The Touch and Sight of Islamic Scrolls" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014).

⁷¹⁵ The AEM folded talisman has not been previously published. For the Khalili talisman, see Francesca Leoni, ed., *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2016), 87, cat. 110. There is also a similar talisman in the Haluk Perk Museum; however, it lacks the seal impression of the Ka'ba. Perk, *Osmanlı Tılsım Mühürleri*, 112–13.

of the prophets (*menābirü'l-enbiyā*'), and the pedestals of the learned (*kerāsī'l-ulemā*'). However, the Ka'ba is shown in a rather different way with its imposing area of circumambulation (Figure 178). The hadith "I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali is its gate" (*anā madīnat al-'ilm wa-'Alīyyun bābuhā*) which emphasizes Imam 'Ali's position after the Prophet Muhammad, is inscribed between the two domed stations and the name of Fatima al-Zahra is inscribed under the stations. In this way, the image of the House of God was consolidated with the texts evoking the Prophet, 'Ali, and Fatima.

In the IÜK manuscript, an impression identified as the Prophet Muhammad's seal of prophecy was stamped across the representation of Jerusalem (Figure 176). The center of this seal bears the Great Name of God and six of the Ten Promised of Paradise (*'Asharat al-Mubasharūn bi-l-Janna*), whereas the outer rim lists the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog.⁷¹⁶ The inner rim of the impression is inscribed with a formula that is associated with the Prophet Muhammad's seal of prophecy. According to textual sources, the Prophet carried a mark between his shoulder blades, which was either from birth or acquired during his lifetime. Some writers note that the mark was left during the Prophet's heavenly ascension.⁷¹⁷ If the person who stamped these seals in the manuscript had the *mir'āj* and the seal of prophecy

⁷¹⁶ In many different media, the seal of Solomon was primarily inscribed with the Great Name of God composed of seven signs including a five- or six-pointed star. J. Dawkins, "The Seal of Solomon," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 76 (1944): 145–50.

⁷¹⁷ For an evaluation of sources about the seal of prophecy, see Erdinç Ahatlı, "Nübüvvet Mührü: Tarihi Süreçteki Algılanması ve Anlamlandırılması," *Sakarya Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3 (2001): 281–302. See also Ayşe Taşkent, "İslam Kaynaklarında Hz. Muhammed'in (sav) Yazılı ve Görsel Tasviri Hakkında Bir Değerlendirme," in *Tasvir: Teori ve Pratik Arasında İslam Görsel Kültürü*, eds. Nicole Kançal-Ferrari and Ayşe Taşkent (İstanbul: Klasik, 2016), 187–98; and Mustafa Sinanoğlu, "Nübüvvet Mührü," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 33 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007), 291–93.

connection in mind, he/she might have intentionally applied the *mühr-i nübüvvet* across the Jerusalem seal.

The Medina impression in Figure 175 (left folio) is similar to one in a *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (MSS 1150).⁷¹⁸ Here, a seal impression of the Masjid al-Nabawi was cut and pasted in the upper right corner of a painting of the same mosque (Figure 179). The İÜK impression is slightly bigger than the Khalili one, with a zigzag outer rim and a caption that identifies the image as “Medina the Illuminated” (*Medīne-i Münevvere*). In both seal impressions, important components of the holy spaces such as the Rawda, the mihrab, and the date palm receive labels. In the Khalili seal impression, there are other inscriptions surrounding the Masjid al-Nabawi. The line “O Prince of the first and the last ones” (*Yā seyyide ’l-evvelīn ve ’l-āhirīn*) and an aforementioned couplet by the renowned Ottoman poet Zati (d. 1546) are inscribed on four sides in *rayḥānī* script.⁷¹⁹

The impressions of Mecca and Medina in Figures 175 and 179 were likely achieved by metal stamps that are similar to those held in the Haluk Perk Collection in Istanbul (Figures 180 and 181).⁷²⁰ The Medina seal has a metal handle for a firm grip, while the Mecca stamp has two holes which were perhaps punched for a handle or a later use as an amulet. The size of the Mecca impression and that of the stamp

⁷¹⁸ According to the colophon of the manuscript, this *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* was copied by Uways al-Harawi in Mecca in 980/1572–73. However, the water- and countermarks suggest that the manuscript was copied in the second half of the seventeenth century or later. Hence, the copyist of the Khalili manuscript must have used a sixteenth-century *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* by Uways al-Harawi. There are other copies of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, in which the calligrapher is noted as Uways al-Harawi. Two of these are in the Süleymaniye Library (Laleli 1183 and Ayasofya 3323), one at the Tehran University Library (no. 2445), and one at the L. A. Mayer Museum in Jerusalem (MS 34-69). For the latter two copies, see Jafarian, *Negār o negāre*, 27; and Milstein, “Futuh-i Haramayn,” 167, 189.

⁷¹⁹ For more information regarding Zati’s poem, see Chapter 1, section “The Tomb of the Prophet.”

⁷²⁰ The Medina stamp has not been previously published. For the Mecca stamp, see Perk, *Osmanlı Tılsım Mühürleri*, 54, cat. 1.1.21.

are a very close match; however, their designs show some variations. For instance, the courtyard of the Masjid al-Haram has a rhomboid form in the impression (Figure 175), but a trapezoid form in the stamp (Figure 180). Furthermore, in the southwest section of the mosque, three large domes appear in the impression, whereas the stamp has multiple small ones. Both the impression and the stamp bear the aforementioned Persian verses that focus on the significance of winning people's hearts over the physical performance hajj.⁷²¹ The Medina impressions in the İÜK and Khalili manuscripts and the Perk stamp also display some variations. The Medina impressions in Figures 175 and 179 were perhaps applied by a stamp slightly larger than the stamp in Figure 181. Furthermore, the Perk stamp and the impression in the Khalili manuscript depict the Masjid al-Nabawi as multiviews and with a couplet by Zati on three sides, whereas the one in the İÜK manuscript depicts it in a mix of multi- and paraline views and without the circumferential inscriptions.

Besides these pictorial stamps, there are also text-heavy plates used for printing, which have a common visual vocabulary for images of the Haramayn (Figures 180, 181, and 183). I have come across two of these plates in the Haluk Perk Collection in Istanbul (Figure 182) and one in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (no. 54.510).⁷²² A print *levha* (Figure 184) which must have been made after such a plate can be found in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (no. 15317).⁷²³ This print was

⁷²¹ For more information regarding this poem, see Chapter 1, section “The House of God.”

⁷²² For a detailed transcription of the texts cited in one of these plates, see Perk, *Osmanlı Tilsim Mühürleri*, cat. 1.1.01. For the misidentified plate in the Walters Art Museum, see “Plaque for Printing a Pilgrimage Certificate,” The Walters Art Museum, accessed January 31, 2018, <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/11417/plaque-for-printing-a-pilgrimage-certificate/>.

⁷²³ A print from a slightly different plate can also be found in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (CAL 482). “Hilyah of the Prophet Muhammad,” The Khalili Collections, accessed January 31, 2018, <https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage/hilyah-of-the-prophet-muhammad-cal-482/>.

pasted on wood with additional floral borders and colored by hand. As a hole drilled in its crown suggests, it was meant to be hung on a wall.

These three plates were engraved with *thuluth* script covering almost the entire metal surface except for the representations of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi (Figure 183). As in the Masjid al-Haram images of the İÜK prayer book (Figure 175) and the Perk seal stamp (Figure 180), these plates and the print also cite the poem about the hajj and the importance of winning one's heart. Furthermore, the plates and the print incorporate the *hilye*, the names of the Seven Sleepers (inscribed with the seal of Solomon), the seal of prophecy, the Throne Verse, the Most Beautiful Names of God, and the Names of the Prophet all of which are known for their talismanic uses in addition to their pious significance. A striking detail between Figures 182 and 184 is that, the inscriptions of “Seyyīd ‘Abdūlganī b. Seyyīd Muṣṭafā,” “Rufā‘ī,” and “el-Ḳādirī” in the Haluk Perk plate were censored with red paint on the AEM *levha*. These texts surround two large medallions of the names of the Seven Sleepers (also around a six-pointed star) and the seal of prophecy in Figure 182. The name might belong to a shaykh or an artist who was associated with both the Rufaiyye and Kadiriyye orders. Such masking of inscriptions was perhaps implemented to adapt this *ṭarīkat* print to a larger audience.

In the İÜK and Khalili manuscripts (Figures 175, 176, and 179), the seal impressions of the Islamic holy sites were utilized along with their paintings, despite the duplication of stamped and hand-executed images. Such coexistence makes one question the function of religious architectural imagery and the uses of the seal stamps in the Haluk Perk Collection. Such seal stamps tended to be engraved for use in talismans made of a single folio or in the scroll format, in which surfaces were

congested with the repetitive stamping of many textual and visual materials. Via the addition of seal impressions, the İÜK and Khalili manuscripts could be perceived to be loaded with protective and curative powers in a way that could not be achieved through additional paintings.

Engagement with Images

Image dissemination in diverse media enabled different ways of devotional engagement with representations of the Islamic holy sites from touching to ingestion. Prayer books and talismans on paper could function like talismanic shirts and other textiles. Talismanic shirts were usually laden with texts, including excerpts from the Qur'an, the *Asmā' al-Husnā*, and the *Asmā' al-Nabī*; however, some Ottoman examples also depicted seals and the holy sites. For instance, on a talismanic shirt in the Topkapı Palace Museum (no. 13/1401), a multiview of the Masjid al-Haram was rendered with several magic squares (Figure 186).⁷²⁴ This shirt belonged to a sultan or a prince and was deemed efficacious through the sense of touch, simply by being worn on the body. As Christiane Gruber demonstrates on the basis of the prevalence of the *mühr-i nübüvvet*, *mühr-i Süleymān*, *'ayn 'alā Allāh*, and *mühr-i kebīr*, talismanic seals were a hallmark of Ottoman material culture in various media including textiles and book arts.⁷²⁵ Similarly, representations of the holy sites also

⁷²⁴ Hülya Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Koleksiyonundan Tılsımlı Gömlekler* (İstanbul: Timaş, 2011), cat. 24. Furthermore, an unpublished talismanic shirt in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (TXT 545) depicts Mecca and Medina. See also Özgen Felek, "Fears, Hopes, and Dreams: The Talismanic Shirts of Murad III," *Arabica* 64 (2017): 647–72; and Rose E. Muravchick, "Objectifying the Occult: Studying a Talismanic Shirt as an Embodied Object," *Arabica* 64 (2017): 673–93.

⁷²⁵ Christiane Gruber, "'Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You are Well-Protected'," 25, 31.

proliferated across production spheres due to their perceived curative and protective qualities.

Besides talismans on paper and textiles, another shared sphere for images of the holy sites was magic/medicinal bowls. For instance, a bronze bowl held in the Collection of the Grand Ducal Armory at the National Museum of Bargello (Bronzi 316) depicts the Ka‘ba in the center with texts surrounding it in arched partitions (Figure 187).⁷²⁶ Like some other talismans, the efficacy of these bowls was conducted via the ingestion of a solvent.⁷²⁷ Magic/medicinal bowls’ textual and visual contents were believed to become fused into water or another liquid, which was then ingested for various curative purposes. Like images of the House of God, the Mantle of the Prophet could serve similar purposes. During a palatial ceremony on the fifteenth day of the Ramadan, the sultan and appointed state officials kissed and touched the Holy Mantle on their faces and eyes, before it was washed with zamzam water. The enhanced zamzam water was bottled and gifted to notable officials who used them for healing purposes or to break their fasts.⁷²⁸ Another ceremonial practice regarding the Holy Mantle replaced this tradition to better conserve the Holy Mantle. Block printed handkerchiefs (sing. *destimāl*), which were touched to the Holy Mantle, were

⁷²⁶ Giovanni Curatola and Marco Spallanzani, *Metalli islamici dalle collezioni granducali = Islamic Metalwork from the Grand Ducal Collection* (Firenze: Museo nazionale del Bargello, 1981), 22–26, cat. 6. Emilie Savage-Smith mentions a number of Ayyubid and later bowls depicting the Ka‘ba. Emilie Savage-Smith, “Magic-Medicinal Bowls,” in *Science, Tools & Magic, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art*, eds. Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith, vol. 1 (London: The Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1997), 73.

⁷²⁷ Finbarr Barry Flood, “Bodies and Becoming: Mimesis, Mediation, and the Ingestion of the Sacred in Christianity and Islam,” in *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, ed. Sally M. Promey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 477–78. For more information about magic/medicinal bowls, see H. Henry Spoer, “Arabic Magic Medicinal Bowls,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 55 (1935): 237–56; and Savage-Smith, “Magic-Medicinal Bowls,” 72–105.

⁷²⁸ Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 35–36.

presented to royal women, religious scholars, and notable officials as mementoes and conduits of intercession.⁷²⁹ One of the poems inscribed on these handkerchiefs reads:

Hırka-i Hâzret-i Fahr-i Rusûl'e
Atlas-i çarh olamaz pây endâz
Yüz sürüb zeyline takbîl iderek
Kıl şeft'-i ümeme 'arz-i niyâz⁷³⁰

For the Mantle of the Prophets' Pride,
The silky sky cannot be a carpet.
Touch its edges to the face while kissing it,
Petition to the Intercessor of all.⁷³¹

As in the footprint *levha* (Figure 46), this poem also called for the intercession of the Prophet via touching of the face. Such handkerchiefs, talismanic shirts and bowls had only limited access, whereas there is visual evidence for a more common practice of devotion. There exist several prayer books in which images of the Ka'ba and the Burial Chamber were smudged (Figures 34 and 188), most likely by a viewer seeking intercession, blessings, cure, or protection. For instance, two luxury copies of the *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* have traces of devotional use in their paired representations of Mecca and Medina. The one in the Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection of Kubbealtı Academy (no. VIII/4) has regional smudges on and around the images of the Ka'ba and the Burial Chamber, which could be a result of kissing, touching, or rubbing.⁷³²

The copy in the Süleymaniye Library (Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3986), however, displays large vertical smudges stemming from the Ka'ba and the Burial Chamber,

⁷²⁹ Ibid., 200–1.

⁷³⁰ Aydın, *Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler*, 208; and Ağca, *Hırka-i Saadet*, 351.

⁷³¹ Here, I made changes to the translation provided in Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts*, 200–1.

⁷³² This manuscript was completed by Mahmud Raci on 30 Cemaziyelevvel 1207 / 13 January 1793. Mahmud Raci also copied a *Dalâ'il al-Khayrât* held in the British Library (Figures 162 and 163). The missing eighteen folios at the beginning of the book were replaced by a copyist Mevlana Mehmed Emin Avni.

which appear to have been caused by the upward movement of the finger (Figure 188).⁷³³ Such erasure could be followed by licking pigments from the finger for efficacy. Drinking the Qur'an and the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, after writing these texts on a surface and dissolving them in water, was a devotional practice sustained in different parts of the Islamic world.⁷³⁴ Another way of ingesting sacred texts was achieved via late Ottoman *hilye* bottles, some of which were designed to derive gold dust for potions infused with prophetic blessings.⁷³⁵ Similar to the consumption of religious texts and the use of magic/medicinal bowls, pigments drawn from images of the Islamic sacred sites may have been ingested for their perceived talismanic powers.

Abrasive devotional practices were not limited to prayer books, but could also be observed elsewhere. For instance, in a reconstructed copy of the *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* held in the Leiden University Library (Or. 11.079), the image of the Ka'ba in a Masjid al-Haram composition almost disappeared due to pious engagement (Figure 189).⁷³⁶ This pilgrimage manual is special in that it depicts the holy sites with pilgrims and visitors performing rituals. Here, it is not the figures, but the Ka'ba that is the object of physical and emotional interaction with images. Such abrasive

⁷³³ This manuscript was copied by Salih Rüşdi probably in the nineteenth century.

⁷³⁴ For information about drinking the Qur'an, see Raymond A. Silverman, "Drinking the Word of God," in *Inscribing Meaning: Writing and Graphic Systems in African Art*, eds. C. M. Kreamer, M. N. Roberts, E. Harney, and A. Purpura (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 117–23; and Abdullahi Osman el-Tom, "Drinking the Koran: The Meaning of Koranic Verses in Berti Erasure," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 55 (1985): 414–31. For information about drinking the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, see Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman," 150. See also Yahya, *Magic and Divination in Malay Illustrated Manuscripts*, 90, 195–97; and Flood, "Bodies and Becoming," 474–75, 478.

⁷³⁵ Gruber, "Hilye Şişeleri," forthcoming.

⁷³⁶ This manuscript's text and images are dated to 1012/1603; however, it was reconstructed at a later date. The original folios were cut and inserted into different paper and the new quires were rebounded to form an album structure. Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 12 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007), 39–41. See also Witkam, *Vroomheid en activisme in een islamitisch gebedenboek*, 224–26.

manipulations of religious imagery were driven by pious intentions rather than iconoclastic drives.⁷³⁷

A reader/viewer's devotional engagement with manuscript paintings could occur in a number of ways such as kissing, touching of the face, and rubbing with fingers.⁷³⁸ In a unique example, however, a devotee undertook a more intrusive act and cut out the square image of the Ka'ba from an *En'ām-ı Şerīf* in the Süleymaniye Library (Yazma Bağışlar 7627) (Figure 191).⁷³⁹ When the square part was taken out, the magic circle (*dā'ire-i şerīf*) on the folio's verso was damaged and perhaps its curative power was transmitted to the removed piece like that of the Ka'ba (Figure 190). This *dā'ire-i şerīf* consisted of two circles containing the attributes of God and invocations for cure (*şifā'*). In this way, an easy-to-carry image of the Ka'ba reinforced by the magic circle was evidently harvested from an already portable prayer book to be used separately. This extracted image of the Ka'ba could serve a devotee in multiple ways. For instance, it might have been carried close to the heart for a haptic experience and/or as a kind of spiritual pilgrimage, pasted elsewhere for protection (like the Medina seal in the Khalili manuscript), or turned into a philter that was ingested for cure.

Textual evidence also confirms pious engagement with images of the Islamic holy sites. In Figure 4, the recordings of the hadiths “Whoever visits my tomb, my

⁷³⁷ For a discussion about two distinct reactions to manuscript paintings, see Christiane Gruber, “In Defense and Devotion: Affective Practices in Early Modern Turco-Persian Manuscript Paintings,” in *Emotion and Subjectivity in the Art and Architecture of Early Modern Muslim Empires*, ed. Kishwar Rizvi (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 95–123.

⁷³⁸ Pious interaction with sacred texts, images, and objects could be performed in several ways. For a discussion, see Flood, “Bodies and Becoming,” 459–93.

⁷³⁹ This *En'ām-ı Şerīf* is an incomplete one with only eight folios. It starts with the sixth (Sūrat Fāṭir, 35:2) of the seven gracious Qur'anic verses (*Yedi Ayetler*) and ends with a roundel inscribed with the names of the Seven Sleepers and their dog, both of which are known for their talismanic uses.

intercession will be guaranteed for him” on the right-hand page and “The dust of our land [mixed with the spittle of one of us] will heal our sick” on the left-hand page suggest that the Tomb of the Prophet and Medina and thus their images had the capacity to provide intercession and cure.⁷⁴⁰ Similarly, other objects such as soil tablets of Medina, handkerchiefs touched to the Holy Mantle, images of the Prophet’s sandal, and clothing out of Ka’ba covers also served devotional purposes.⁷⁴¹ Moreover, the meticulous assembly of Ka’ba or Rawda images with the protection verse from Sūrat Yūsuf (12:64) (Figure 25) and two Turkish poems about forgiveness and rubbing the face to the Ka’ba and the Tomb of the Prophet (Figures 2, 17, and 26) demonstrate that images of the holy sites were believed to provide blessings and protection.⁷⁴²

Decorum in Visual Arrangement and Architectural Placement

In pilgrimage manuals, representations of the Islamic holy sites were often inserted into relevant sections of narratives based on the sequence of pilgrimage and visitation. Thus, images were dispersed within prose or verse compositions describing stops on the pilgrimage routes and the rites of pilgrimage. In prayer

⁷⁴⁰ Here, I have used Juynboll’s translation of the latter hadith (al-Mizzi, XII, no. 1709). Juynboll, *Encyclopedia of Canonical Ḥadīth*, 618.

⁷⁴¹ According to Avinoam Shalem, the urge to bodily engage with the Ka’ba (e.g. kissing and touching) was materialized with the tailoring of a waistcoat out of an interior covering of it. Avinoam Shalem, “The Body of Architecture: The Early History of the Clothing of the Sacred House of the Ka’ba in Mecca,” in *Clothing the Sacred: Medieval Textiles as Fabric, Form, and Metaphor*, eds. Mateusz Kapustka and Warren T. Woodfin (Emsdetten; Berlin: Edition Imorde, 2015), 183–84. See also Shalem, “The Four Faces of the Ka’ba in Mecca,” in *Synergies in Visual Culture – Bildkulturen im Dialog. Festschrift für Gerhard Wolf*, eds. Manuela De Giorgi, Annette Hoffmann, and Nicola Suthor (Paderborn; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 153.

⁷⁴² For these texts, see Chapter 1, sections “The House of God” and “The Tomb of the Prophet.”

books, however, religious imagery was usually kept congregated within or at the end of texts. The visual positioning of Mecca and Medina was not randomly executed; rather, it followed a certain logic. For instance, when Mecca and Medina were paired in prayer books and other media and contexts such as wall paintings (Figure 118), *hilyes* (Figure 184), and *levhas* (Figure 46), they followed a specific order: Mecca on the right and Medina on the left. Such decorum is also evident in the calligraphic renditions of “Allah” and “Muhammad:” the former goes on the right and the latter on the left.⁷⁴³ Such an arrangement is logical, because Mecca houses the House of God and Medina the Tomb of the Prophet. This depictive strategy is also sustained in other arrangements, where the Ka‘ba is located on the right-hand page and the Prophet’s belongings on the left (Figure 26).

Only a small number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscript paintings violate this visual *modus operandi*; however, the numbers increase in lithographic prints due to the production of mirror images. To illustrate, in the Süleymaniye Library, I have come across only three out of sixty-two double-page compositions of the Ka‘ba and the Burial Chamber, the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi, or Mecca and Medina that go against this depictive logic in Ottoman manuscripts of the *En‘ām-ı Şerīf*, the *Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*, and its commentaries and miscellanies.⁷⁴⁴ The alterations to the Rawda compositions with the addition of the Ka‘ba images also twists this decorum (Figures 34–38). Even though I have come across more double-page compositions of the Burial Chamber (right) and the Minbar (left) than

⁷⁴³ For codes of decorum in sixteenth-century Ottoman mosque architecture see, Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 115–24.

⁷⁴⁴ These manuscripts are Muğla Hoca Mustafa Efendi 6, Elhac Mustafa Efendi 3, and Yazma Bağışlar 1496.

those of the Minbar (right) and the Burial Chamber (left), it is not possible to mention an established visual arrangement for Rawda images.

In case of the holy triad, this visual decorum was challenged due to the ranking and interconnected sanctity of the three holy cities. The İÜK and BL manuscripts are no exceptions in the way the representations of Mecca and Medina are arranged (Figures 3, 4, 162, and 163). The Jerusalem representation in each prayer book precedes or succeeds the Haramayn representations, allowing Mecca and Medina to be depicted on opposite pages. In the CBL and AEM corpus of *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf* copies (Figures 3 and 4), however, Mecca and Jerusalem are painted on opposite pages, thereby visualizing the interlinked sanctity of both sites and emphasizing their joint cosmological and eschatological significance.⁷⁴⁵

In addition to their visual arrangements, Mecca and Medina images also adhered to an order in architectural placement. Representations of the Haramayn were usually applied, inserted, or hung on mihrab walls, surfaces parallel to them, or the most appropriate walls considering the qibla direction. Today, several ceramic tiles and wall paintings can be found *in situ* confirming this spatial practice.⁷⁴⁶ Furthermore, I have encountered a painting and two photographs, which attest to the decorum of Haramayn images in the early twentieth century. The painting depicts the *mevlid* ceremony at the Sünbülî Tekke in Fındıkzade, Istanbul (Figure 192). It was executed

⁷⁴⁵ I discuss the ranking and interconnected sanctity of the three holy cities in Chapter 1, section “The Holy Triad.”

⁷⁴⁶ Based on the writings of the French archaeologist and egyptologist Émile Prisse D’Avennes, Maury points out that ceramic panels with images of Mecca could be faced during the performance of the daily prayer. Maury, “Depictions of the Haramayn on Ottoman Tiles,” 152–53. See also Şener, “XVIII ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Duvar Resimleri,” 410.

by Nurullah Efendi, the last shaykh of the Merkez Efendi Tekkesi, in 1334/1915.⁷⁴⁷ Here, Sünbülü followers, a branch of the Halvetiyye order, are seated around circles in the olfactory presence of two incense burners. The qibla wall is divided by three windows as well as a minbar, a mihrab, and an enclosed area of two coffins (from right to left). Among *levhas* hanging on the wall is a representation of Mecca, similar to prints made after those in the *Tableau Général*.⁷⁴⁸

Furthermore, a photograph showing the interior of the Masjid Hamza, at the outskirts of Jabal Uhud near Medina, records the sequential and spatial decorum of Haramayn images (Figure 193).⁷⁴⁹ This photograph captures the qibla wall of the masjid, which is in the name of the martyr of the Battle of Uhud. There hang numerous *levhas* around the mihrab of the Masjid Hamza, four of which are especially important for this study. On the right-hand side of the mihrab, a perspectival view of Mecca within a rectangular frame is hung with the calligraphy of “Allah” in a medallion. On the left-hand side of the mihrab, a perspectival view of Medina in a rectangular frame is hung with the calligraphy of “Muhammad” in a medallion. These four *levhas* are prominently placed in high registers and in the immediate surrounding of the mihrab. On the left-hand side, a *hilye* also stands out with its discernible layout.

Another interior shot depicts the shrine of Qutham ibn ‘Abbas, a cousin of the Prophet Muhammad, in the complex of Shah-i Zinda in Samarkand (Figure 194).⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ Nurhan Atasoy, *Derviş Çeyizi* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000), 82.

⁷⁴⁸ A similar print still hangs on the right-hand side of the mihrab section of the Gül Mosque in Istanbul.

⁷⁴⁹ See Fahrettin Paşa 21114 held in the Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) in Istanbul. *Osmanlı Dönemi Fotoğraflarıyla Haremeyn*, 282–83. For another reproduction of the same photograph, see *Haremeyn: Hac – Mukaddese Yolculuk*, 275.

⁷⁵⁰ See F 37/49 held in the Royal Geographical Society in London.

This photograph was taken by the British journalist Morgan Philips Price in 1910–11, during his journey in Russian Central Asia. It shows the mihrab of the shrine, in front of which two Qur'an stands and a blurry seated figure can be seen. Here, images of the holy sites appear in at least three different spots above the tile revetments.⁷⁵¹ First, two perspectival views of Mecca and Medina catch one's eye under the muqarnas on the right-hand side. Even though these images face the qibla direction as they should, they were placed in the incorrect order: Mecca on the left and Medina on the right. Second, a two-partite composition of the Islamic holy sites appears on the right-hand side of the mihrab. A multiview of the Masjid al-Haram covers the left part, whereas the right part is divided into smaller sections for surrounding sites. And finally, a four-partite composition of the pilgrimage and visitation sites stands out above the tile decoration of the mihrab. The longitudinal composition was affixed between two pieces of wood and then divided into half by a third one. This large piece was perhaps a pilgrimage scroll on paper that was pasted on the wall.

Aksoy and Milstein note that some of the pilgrimage certificates/scrolls in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul, which were found in the Great Mosque of Damascus in 1893, have “remnants of either a solid support or a frame” and suggest that they might have been hung in mosque spaces.⁷⁵² This photograph then illustrates how pilgrimage certificates/scrolls could be used in public spaces

⁷⁵¹ There exist other representations of the holy sites in religious buildings. For the wall paintings of the Masjid al-Haram and the Masjid al-Nabawi in the Shrine of Khawaja 'Abdullah Ansari near Herat, see Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969), 68, 146, fig. 16.

⁷⁵² For a literary mention of the hanging of pilgrimage certificates in mosques, the authors refer to Jean Chardin's (d. 1713) travelogue based on Joseph Toussaint Reinaud's work (d. 1867). Aksoy and Milstein, “A Collection of Thirteenth-Century Illustrated Hajj Certificates,” 103–4, fn. 6.

(Figure 194). Besides attesting pilgrimage and enabling material remembrance, such displays perhaps provided social prestige and religious competence to the owners of these certificates and empowered the orientation towards the qibla.

Moreover, there is a reverse glass painting which demonstrates that some images of the House of God were specifically made to be placed towards the qibla direction (Figure 195).⁷⁵³ As Malik Aksel notes, such *levhas* were used in domestic spaces to mark the qibla direction and invoke the daily prayer.⁷⁵⁴ As in Figure 195, the following poem could be inscribed in qibla *levhas*, despite some different words and phrases: “Oh visitor! Perform your prayer, qibla is this direction / Here is the basin, here is the ewer, here is the towel [hanging] on the rope” (*Ey müsâfir! Kıl namâziñ kıble bu cânibdedir / İşte leğen, işte ibrik, işte peşkır iptedir*).

This *levha* calls the worshipper for ritual ablution and prayer via text and image. It illustrates two towels hanging between two flag posts along with the Ka'ba, a bird calligram, a pair of sandals, an ewer, and a basin.⁷⁵⁵ The latter three also recall the belongings of the Prophet that are frequently depicted in the *En 'ām-ı Şerif* and rarely integrated to the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (Figure 26). With their carefully chosen textual and visual contents, such *levhas* would mark the qibla direction in the rooms they were hung.

⁷⁵³ This painting seems to be dated to 1352/1936 (?); however, I have not been able to read the signature. *Nişantaşı Müzayede, 31 Mayıs 2015* (Istanbul: Nişantaşı Müzayede, 2015), lot 705.

⁷⁵⁴ The author also provides an image of a *levha* similar to Figure 195. Malik Aksel, *Türklerde Dinî Resimler* (İstanbul: Elif Yayınları, 1967), 150–1. For another *levha* similar to Figure 195, see also *Haremeyn: Hac – Mukaddese Yolculuk*, 164.

⁷⁵⁵ I have not been able to decipher this calligram, but Aksel has noted that a similar bird calligram reads as “Oh Hazret-i Bektaş-i Veli, may God reveal his mystery” (*Ya Hazret-i Bektaş-i Velî kaddesallāhu sirrehu*). Aksel, *Türklerde Dinî Resimler*, 74.

A number of objects associated with the Ka'ba can also be found in the qibla direction. For instance, in the Bursa Great Mosque, a curtain of the Ka'ba door (*sitāra*) is located on the left-hand side of the mihrab and a canvas painting of Mecca on the right. In the Islamic House of Wisdom in Dearborn (Michigan), a modern-day reproduction of the *sitāra* covers the mihrab niche and “invites the viewer to cast a furtive glance upon the holy site, which is both absent and present as well as passing and permanent.”⁷⁵⁶ Furthermore, in the Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque, three pieces of the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) are oriented towards the qibla, whereas the fourth one is placed in the opposite direction. One of these pieces is fixed above the mihrab, two of them are attached to the minbar, and the last one is placed at the entrance to the prayer hall.⁷⁵⁷

There are several present-day applications that go against the right-and-left arrangement of Mecca and Medina images. For instance, in the Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Mosque in Manisa, the late-eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century wall paintings of Mecca and Medina in the late-comers' porch adhere to the decorum (Figure 118). However, the wall paintings added to the interior during the restoration of 2003 go against the visual modus operandi (Figure 117).⁷⁵⁸ To illustrate, the image of the Ka'ba was painted on the left of the mihrab, whereas that of the Masjid al-Nabawi was painted on the right. Even though there existed an earlier example of the correct visual arrangement in the late-comers' porch, the new wall paintings in the

⁷⁵⁶ Gruber, “Islamic Architecture on the Move,” 247–48, fig. 4.

⁷⁵⁷ There is also a piece of the black stone on the exterior facade of the Tomb of Sultan Süleyman I in Istanbul and one in the Eski Camii in Edirne.

⁷⁵⁸ For the restoration of the mosque, see Şener, “Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Camii Duvar Resimleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” 729; and Şener, “XVIII ve XIX. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu Duvar Resimleri,” 157–58, 598–600.

mosque interior were applied in the incorrect order. One might also observe such faulty implementations in the hanging of framed Mecca and Medina pictures in mosque interiors or contemporary prints of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, as the transmission of knowledge regarding this prescribed positioning was interrupted over time.

As there were images of the Haramayn situated towards the qibla direction, there were also *kıblenümā* and prayer rugs with images of the Ka'ba, the Masjid al-Haram, and Mecca that were used with an orientation towards the qibla. When the direction of the qibla was found via a *kıblenümā* (Figures 19 and 20) and a prayer rug was laid on the floor pointing in that direction (Figures 157, 158, and 159), images of the Ka'ba, the Masjid al-Haram, or Mecca were superimposed with the qibla. Similarly, in the Hacı Bayram Mosque, a digital image of the Ka'ba projected on the mihrab wall of the women's section objectifies the abstract notion of the qibla creating a substitutive picture act.⁷⁵⁹ Representations of the Ka'ba placed in the qibla direction as well as portable objects such as prayer rugs and qibla compasses oriented towards the qibla could then provide a virtual experience, as if one was praying in the Masjid al-Haram proper.

Evaluation

Studies on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and the *En'ām-ı Şerīf* can benefit from the accumulation of research on the *Book of Hours*, a commonly illustrated book in

⁷⁵⁹ Gruber, "Islamic Architecture on the Move," 248–49, fig. 5; and Bredekamp, "The Picture Act," 18–20.

medieval Europe. The *Book of Hours* had “standard series of prayers and psalms intended for recitation at the eight canonical ‘hours’ of the day, from Matins to Compline.”⁷⁶⁰ It was lavishly illustrated like the *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf*, and regularly recited like the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*. The *Book of Hours* was composed of a selection of texts “glorifying and invoking the aid of Virgin Mary” and revealing “the religious preferences of their owners.”⁷⁶¹ Royal and noble women were important commissioners of this book.⁷⁶² Its copies were not only pious works, but also status symbols, as hinted in medieval accounts.⁷⁶³ As John Harthan points out, the *Book of Hours* was also used for their perceived curative and protective features.⁷⁶⁴

In late Ottoman visual culture, there exist a number of monochrome drawings of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites that were made after prints and a number of prints that followed the grisaille aesthetic of drawings. Both drawings and prints of the holy sites circulated widely and inspired artists to produce representations one after the other. For instance, in the BL manuscript (Figures 162 and 163), the black ink drawings of the holy triad were only touched with some gold on domes and minarets as well as the Ka’ba and the Burial Chamber. In their grisaille look, these drawings allude to the print aesthetics of engravings and seal impressions. There exist other monochrome drawings of the holy sites in late Ottoman prayer books,

⁷⁶⁰ The eight canonical hours of the day are: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 10.

⁷⁶¹ Margaret C. Schaus, *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 89.

⁷⁶² Virginia Reinburg, “For the Use of Women: Women and Books of Hours,” *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 4 (2009): 235–36.

⁷⁶³ Sandra Penketh, “Women and Books of Hours,” in *Women and the Book: Accessing the Visual Evidence*, eds. Jane H.M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London; Toronto: British Library; University of Toronto Press, 1997), 269.

⁷⁶⁴ John Harthan, *Book of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 33–34.

some of which predate or postdate lithographic prints (Figures 115 and 116). There existed to-and-fro interactions between painting, drawing, and printing techniques. Just as there existed prints of the Islamic holy sites that were colored and illuminated by hand (Figures 57 and 106), there were also monochrome images illustrating books and adorning walls (Figure 113). Some of these ink drawings may have been perceived to carry apotropaic powers based on the prevalence of seal impressions in talismans. The proliferation of monochrome images in different spheres could have been influenced by printed representations of the holy sites. Such influences may not have necessarily stemmed from encounters with European sources.⁷⁶⁵ The grisaille aesthetic also existed in printed talismans, and some monochrome drawings could have been produced in anticipation of similar protection, if not under the influence of other ink drawings.

In the late Ottoman Empire, the formation of a prayer book's visual program could be due to many reasons, including their perceived healing and protective powers. Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem were constituents of a pious repository, which was accompanied by textual and visual expressions such as the *hilye*, the seal of prophecy, the names of the Seven Sleepers, and the seal of Solomon. Even though scholars have explored the devotional use of the latter, the utilization of architectural representations by devotees has largely remained unnoticed so far.

⁷⁶⁵ There are discussions revolving around the influence of European prints on Islamic art. For instance, Yael Rice focuses on the early seventeenth-century response to European prints based on the textual and visual contents of a Mughal album. Yael Rice, "The Brush and the Burin: Mogul Encounters with European Engravings," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence; The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2009), 305–10.

In addition to codices, prayer manuals could take other shapes such as circular, *levha*, and accordion formats with their textual and visual contents (Figures 2, 39, 52, 53, 54, and 184).⁷⁶⁶ For instance, in the Sadberk Hanım Museum *levha* (Figure 39) and the Kubbealtı prayer cards (Figure 52), the images of the holy triad were combined with the Most Beautiful Names of God, the Names of the Prophet, the Names of the Ten Promised of Paradise, and the *hilye*. The latter also incorporated other texts and images such as the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, the seal of prophecy, magic squares (*vefk*) and circles (*dā'ire*), and representations of heaven and hell, the scales of justice, and 'Arafat. Moreover, in the AEM *levha* (Figure 184) and the Khalili circular prayer book (Figure 2), the images of the Haramayn are accompanied by the calligraphic renditions of “Allah” and Muhammad,” the Throne Verse, the Most Beautiful Names of God, and the *hilye*. Here, it is important to note that both *levhas* were designed to be prominently seen and hung on walls, whereas the cards and the circular book were made to be compact and portable. In other words, common contents were blended in different formats to meet the users’ specific demands at any given time.

Representations of the Islamic holy sites were also prevalent in other production spheres such as magic/medicinal bowls as well as talismans on paper and textiles. Stamp seals of the three holy cities and other religious imagery could be applied on folded folios, slips of paper, scrolls, and even manuscripts, and thus reach those who sought out different forms of devotion. As textual evidence and physical

⁷⁶⁶ Both the Kubbealtı and Christie’s prayer cards are contained within square boxes that have two openings on each side. The former has small and large square cards in its respective openings, while the latter has small square and large hexagonal cards. The Sotheby’s cards, however, are preserved in an accordion format inside a circular case. The Kubbealtı prayer manual must have been initially designed like the Christie’s model and then separated into cards at a later date, as the number of cards and the remnants of textile hinges confirm.

interventions such as smudging and excision indicate, some paintings of the holy sites in prayer books were also used much like other talismanic objects. Among hand-executed images of the holy sites, monochrome drawings might have been deemed as carrying greater talismanic powers due to their print aesthetic. Besides visualizing the lands that Muslims longed for, printed and hand-executed images of the holy sites and objects that contained them (i.e., the circular prayer book and the prayer cards) could thus provide intercession, blessings, cure, and protection via gazing, kissing, touching, rubbing, and even ingestion.

CONCLUSION

I realized also that I had been walking in search of two different Meccas. One of them could not be approached by physical means, or rather it did not matter what means of transport or route one took to get there. This was the Mecca I had known all my life: the Mecca that since childhood I had realized as the fixed spiritual centre, home to God's House, the moral compass by which I set my approach to life, the Universe, everything. The only Mecca I ever acknowledged was a metaphysical destination, not so much a place as a state of being that was beyond time and place, beyond direction because it had to exist everywhere as an orientation of the soul and conscience. This was the Mecca beloved of all Muslims.⁷⁶⁷

Ziauddin Sardar's appreciation of Mecca in two distinct ways upon his pilgrimage is not a contemporary phenomenon, as Sufi poetry distinguished between the Ka'ba of clay (*gel*) and the Ka'ba of the heart (*del*). A Persian stanza about this twin state of the Ka'ba was cited with a number of its visual depictions, as if the image could stimulate a spiritual journey (Figures 2, 16, 175, 182, and 184). Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem are not only the sites of pilgrimage and visitation and thus their images are not only experienced by turning pages of prayer books, folding and unfolding of pilgrimage scrolls, or approaching a wall painting from the front and the sides. Beyond time and place, these sites and their representations can mediate between the physical-and-spiritual and the visible-and-invisible. Whether in the form of a manuscript painting, a prayer rug, a print, or a photograph, each representation is a different case with its own particular written and pictorial cues to experience religious architecture and/or a spiritual journey.

⁷⁶⁷ Ziauddin Sardar, *Mecca: The Sacred City* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), xxxiv–xxxv.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Ottoman artistic and architectural cultures were on the move at a greater speed and motion than they had ever been. Images of architecture also responded to this mobility and fluidity. Even though Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem have their roots in a particular place, their images effectively travelled and reached the community of the faithful and the curious in different media, settings, and pictorial modes. This study focuses on such a dynamic repository of late Ottoman representations of the Islamic holy sites, but by no means exhausts its immense accumulation. It is hoped that the chapters of this dissertation will be helpful in examining a series of representations, but they also refrain from scrutinizing others. My approach to content, form, and function of Ottoman representations can only be valid for studying representations of a limited number of periods and regions of the Islamic world. The visual material and discussions presented so far suggest that there exist similarities among depictions of the Islamic holy sites despite diverging media, periods, and regions; there are also differences despite shared medium, period, and region. My point of departure was to bring together a broad array of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem images from various media and contexts that have never been systematically and comparatively examined before, except in catalogues and articles.

There existed unlimited possibilities of image-and-image and text-and-image formulae for depictions of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. However, some pictorial contents were encountered in late Ottoman visual culture more frequently than others. Among them were the House of God, the Tomb of the Prophet, the Haramayn, and the Holy Triad, as well as their combinations with other religious imagery. Several texts such as Qur'anic verses, poems, *talbiya*, *taşliya*, captions, and

labels complemented pictorial contents, often hinting at the logic behind certain combinations or different uses of images. For instance, the *isrā'* verse (17:1) could bring Mecca and Jerusalem images together, labels denoting certain architectural elements or topographical features could guide pilgrims, and *talbiya* and *taṣliya* could stimulate a virtual experience of being in Mecca and Medina.

Images of the Islamic holy sites could be produced to fulfill specific functions and then utilized for different purposes in their afterlives. For instance, in different periods of their use, they could serve as illustrations of books; representations of power; guides, *mementoes*, certificates of major and minor pilgrimages; tools for life-like pilgrimage and prayer experiences; and intermediaries for intercession, blessings, cure, and protection. Their production and dissemination could be driven by political and individual endeavors. Religious imagery, as I have argued, could be encountered in public and private spheres with media change and functional diversity, often adhering to a certain decorum in visual arrangement and architectural placement.

In this study, my objective was not to write a history of images of the Islamic holy sites, but to present a larger picture of religious architectural imagery in late Ottoman visual culture from a firmly historicized viewpoint. Even though they are outside the scope of the present discussion, analyzing how representations from Europe and the Islamic world might have interacted with each other and how pilgrimage accounts and pictorial images might have corresponded to each other constitute very deserving topics in their own rights. A parallel examination of relevant textual passages with visual renderings would yield interesting results about shared or discrete vocabularies. Comparing and contrasting depictions from Europe and the Islamic

world in terms of their media, intended audience, and circulation would reveal more about different uses of holy imagery.

Late Ottoman visual knowledge and understanding of space was shaped by multi-, paraline, perspectival, and photographic views, as well as their composite uses, which were translated into different production spheres such as painting and printing. Today's spatial sensibilities, however, are shaped by visual inputs (e.g., videos, holograms, and virtual reality systems) different from contemporary eighteenth- and nineteenth-century observers. It is very easy to misjudge Ottoman representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites as "primitive" or "repetitive" based on European contemporaries or today's standards, whose spatial concepts have been altered multiple times. Visual modes of multi-, paraline, perspectival, and photographic views can convey varying information about configuration, depth, placement, proportion, scale, shape, and spatial order in their unique ways. There existed a plurality of pictorial modes in the late Ottoman Empire without any hierarchy or evolutionary process, contrary to dominant narratives of art history that overemphasize the role of perspective, print culture, and photography. These did not suddenly emerge and change former visual practices of depicting the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. Instead, various media and pictorial modes coexisted, circulated, and reinforced one another in transregional contexts, to which Ottoman artistic and architectural cultures made their own innovative contributions.

Among other modes of representation, multiviews have attracted a number of artists and architects for their expressive and conspicuous visual qualities. For instance, Süheyl Ünver's drawing of the Fatih Complex and Erdal İnci's video piece *Topkapı Palace* are two interpretations of multiviews depicting Islamic monuments. In the

drawing, Ünver presents an alternative to the representation of the Fatih Complex in the Köprülü water supply map.⁷⁶⁸ He draws the west facade of the mosque in the center of a rectangular composition whose sides are made up of the facades of the surrounding buildings of the larger complex. In the video piece, İnci brings together various photographs of the Topkapı Palace by means of photogrammetry. The artist adopts a representation technique similar to the multiviews of the Topkapı Palace in the *Hünernāme* and those of the Islamic holy sites in various media. He incorporates another dimension, time, in his work by means of casting daylight and shadows over the arcades and other architectural elements.⁷⁶⁹

Furthermore, Nusret Çolpan, Erol Akyavaş, and X-Architects elaborate on the multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif. Çolpan uses elevations and plan obliques of the Ka'ba, the Green Dome of the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Dome of the Rock as markers of the three holy cities in his compositions showing the Ottoman and Islamic worlds. In his works depicting each city separately, he utilizes multiviews to depict the current or past states of the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif.⁷⁷⁰ Akyavaş frequently uses Islamic calligraphy and visual motifs such as elevation obliques of the Ka'ba, *mir'āj* scenes, and magic squares in his works (Figure 196). He also

⁷⁶⁸ In this short article published in the journal of the Chamber of Architects of Turkey, Orhan Erdenen presents a drawing of the Fatih Complex from the Köprülü water supply map and a twentieth-century interpretation of the same drawing by Süheyl Ünver. Erdenen, "Eski Yapılarımızda Plan Meselesi," 19.

⁷⁶⁹ I have seen the video piece at the *Contemporary Istanbul* (2016) as a part of the gallery exhibition of "Art On Istanbul." In *Hünernāme* held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H 1523), the multiviews of the palace and its second courtyard also consist of some oblique elements. See Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 142–43, fig. 104.

⁷⁷⁰ *The Ultimate Journey* (Riyadh: King Abdulaziz Public Library; Layan Cultural Foundation, 2006), 35; and "World Cities," Nusret Çolpan, accessed April 5, 2018, <http://nusretcolpan.com.tr/en/world-cities/>.

incorporates multiviews of the Masjid al-Haram, the Masjid al-Nabawi, and the Haram al-Sharif into his works, whose sources can be traced to a pilgrimage scroll in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (Figure 86),⁷⁷¹ Kashmiri copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and copies of the *Futūh al-Haramayn*. As in some lithographic prints of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the way Akyavaş transferred multiviews on canvas and paper resulted in mirror images of the holy mosques and the Temple Mount.⁷⁷²

In their collage entitled *Makkahatten*, X-Architects reflect on the current urban development of Mecca by using a multiview of the Masjid al-Haram (Figure 197).⁷⁷³ This multiview is copied from a *Futūh al-Haramayn* held in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection (MSS 1038).⁷⁷⁴ Here, they sadly but amusingly compare Mecca to Manhattan. Cranes and skyscrapers, including the Abraj Al Bait complex, emerge from all directions and densely surround the original multiview, whereas a satellite and an airplane are loosely placed on two corners.⁷⁷⁵ These works display a deeper understanding and a more sensitive appropriation of the visual past than the 2014-reenactment of the *şurre alayı*, with which I began the dissertation's Introduction. In

⁷⁷¹ Tanındı, "Resimli Bir Hac Vekaletnamesi," 2–6.

⁷⁷² Beral Madra and Haldun Dostoğlu, *Erol Akyavaş: Yaşamı ve Yapıtları*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), 204–6, 212, 220–21, cat. 464, 466, 475–76, 483, 485–87, 565, 674, 695; and Madra and Dostoğlu, eds. *Erol Akyavaş: Seçme Yapıtlar*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), 122, 125, 132, 135–37, 169–70.

⁷⁷³ This architecture office won the competition for the Darb Al Mashaer Masterplan, a node between the Masjid al-Haram and the Jamarat. "Makkahatten," X-Architects, accessed April 5, 2018, <http://www.x-architects.com/x-architects/louisiana-museum-exhibition/93>.

⁷⁷⁴ See J. Michael Rogers, *The Arts of Islam: Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 250–51, cat. 285; or "Futuh al-Haramayn of Muhyi Lari," The Khalili Collections, accessed April 5, 2018, <https://www.khalilicollections.org/collections/hajj-and-the-arts-of-pilgrimage/khalili-collection-islamic-art-futuh-al-haramayn-of-muhyi-lari-mss1038/>.

⁷⁷⁵ In 2014, X Architects' collage was exhibited among their other works of Mecca at the exhibition of *Arab Contemporary: Architecture, Culture and Identity* at the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art in Humlebæk, Denmark.

the late Ottoman Empire, much like today, there existed different attitudes to images whether they were shaped by political and/or individual concerns.

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F 37/49, LMS. B. 62

Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi)

625, 11891-Y.31, 15501-Y.94

Sakıp Sabancı Museum, Istanbul (Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi)

101-0183

Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi)

Ayasofya 3323, Elhac Mustafa Efendi 3, Fatih 4447, Galata Mevlevihanesi
76, Hacı Ahmed Paşa 344, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3963, Hacı Mahmud Efendi
3986, Lala İsmail 220, Laleli 1183, Laleli 1535, Laleli 1541, Mihrişah Sultan
67, Muğla Hoca Mustafa Efendi 6, Nuruosmaniye 1870, Pertevniyal 33,
Pertevniyal 35, Pertevniyal 43, Yazma Bağışlar 1496, Yazma Bağışlar 3359,
Yazma Bağışlar 7627

Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi)

13/1401, 21/467, GY 943, GY 947

Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi)

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Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

A 3547, A 3689, EH 1014, EH 1018, EH 1033, EH 1034, EH 1035, EH 1036,
EH 1037, EH 1070, EH 1121, EH 1424, H 116, H 1812, HS 74, R 1488, YB
3441, YY 155, YY 827

University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Ann Arbor

Isl. Ms. 49, Isl. Ms. 200, Isl. Ms. 397, Isl. Ms. 525, Isl. Ms. 526, Isl. Ms. 672

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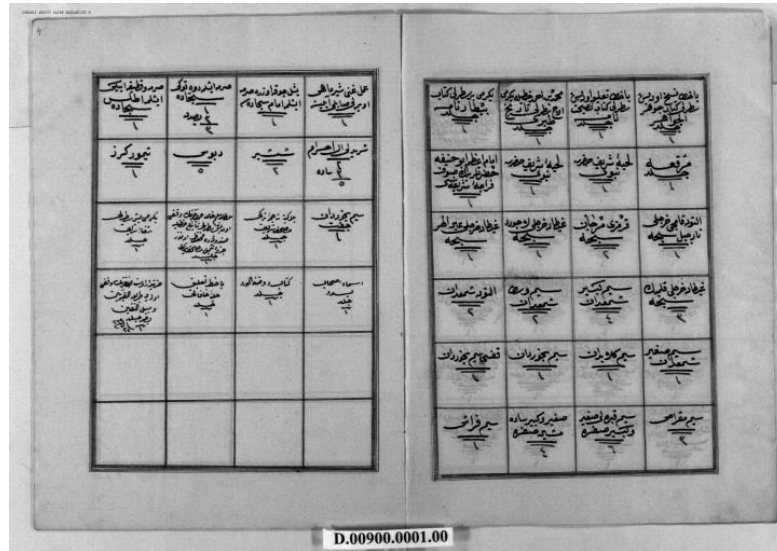
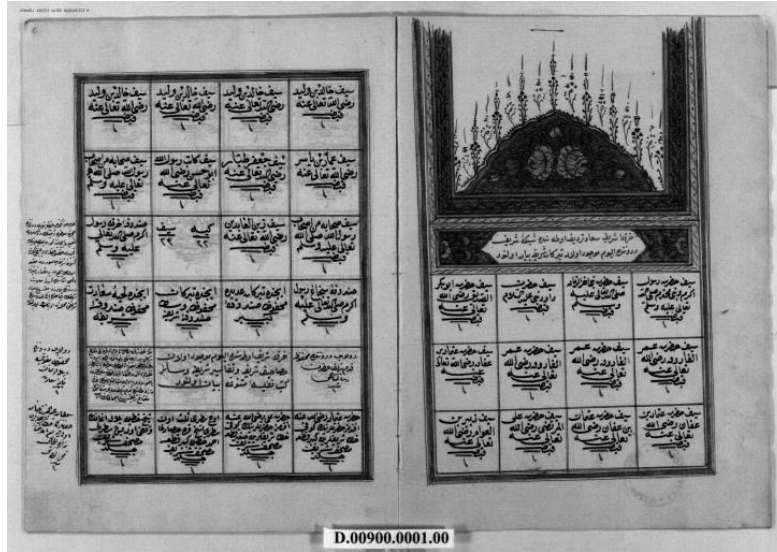
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1



Inventory of the Apartment of the Holy Mantle, 23 Şaban 1269 / 1 June 1853.
Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, d 900, 1b–2a

Inventory of the Apartment of the Holy Mantle, 23 Şaban 1269 / 1 June 1853.
Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, d 900, 3b–4a

Appendix 2

ردیف مطهره کتبخانه سده موعود بولمان کتب مقدسه کتب اسلامی

ردیف	عنوان	تعداد	ملاحظات
۱۸۶	مجموع نورو	۴۵	
۱۸۷	تفسیر طبری	۱	
۱۸۸	تفسیر طبری	۱	
۱۸۹	تفسیر طبری	۱	
۱۹۰	تفسیر طبری، تفسیر طبری	۲	
۱۹۱	تفسیر طبری	۵	
۱۹۲	تفسیر طبری	۸	
۱۹۳	تفسیر طبری	۱۲	
۱۹۴	تفسیر طبری	۱۴	
۱۹۵	تفسیر طبری	۱۵	
۱۹۶	تفسیر طبری	۱۶	
۱۹۷	تفسیر طبری	۱۷	
۱۹۸	تفسیر طبری	۱۸	
۱۹۹	تفسیر طبری	۲۱	
۲۰۰	تفسیر طبری	۲۱	
۲۰۱	تفسیر طبری	۲۵	
۲۰۲	تفسیر طبری	۲۵	
۲۰۳	تفسیر طبری	۲۵	

Inventory of the Library of Ravza-i Mutahhara. Fahreddin Paşa Notebook, 1325/1919. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YY 827, 21a

ردیف	موضوع	تعداد	نوع	تاریخ	ملاحظات
۸۶	ایزاده کارد و کیمیا	۱	کتاب	۱۴۴۵	
۸۸	سازماندها، جلد ایران کاری تعیین در	۱	کتاب	۱۴۴۶	
۸۷	ایزاده کارد لوق	۹۲۱	کتاب	۱۴۴۸	
۹۰	کوبیک قطعه ده		کتاب	۱۴۴۸	
۸۰		۱۴۶۴	کتاب	۱۴۷۰	
۸۳	سحاب	۱۴۷۴	کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۱	انص	۱۴۱۹	کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۷۴		۱۴۹۴	کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۶			کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۹			کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۹		۱۱۷۷	کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۵		۱۱۷۴	کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۶			کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۶			کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۶			کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
۸۷		۱۱۷۴	کتاب	۱۴۷۴	
مجموعه مدرسی کتبخانی موجودی					
۹۱		۱۴۳۸	کتاب	۱۴۳۸	

Inventory of the Library of Ravza-i Mutahhara. Fahreddin Paşa Notebook, 1325/1919. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YY 827, 22b

Appendix 3

﴿ ١٠٩ ﴾

عدد قديم	اسمى كتب	تاريخ	اسم المؤلفين وتاريخ وفات	ملاحظات
١٥١٦	الوصايا	عربي مختلف	محي الدين العربي	بونوسو تحتنده اوج رساله واردر
»	جوامع آداب الصوفية	عربي	عبدالرحمن السامح	سلطان سليم حضر تيرينك وقتي
»	رسالة في بيان احوال الصوفية	عربي	»	»
»	طريقته	عربي	نجيم الدين الكبرى	»
كتب ادعيه وخواص				
١٥١٧	كتاب ادعية الايام السبعة	له	محمد بن الواسطي	سلطان مصطفي حضر تيرينك وقتي قانسو غوري كتبا بليردن جلد وظهره و سرلوحة و جدول مذهب بونوسو تحتنده درت رساله واردر
١٥١٨	ارادات الاخيار واختيارات الابرار	له	مصطفي صديقي	سلطان سليم حضر تيرينك وقتي
»	المسدد الكبرى	له	»	»
»	النفحات الربية على صلوات الكبرى	له	»	»
»	الهيات الانورية شرح صلوات الاكبرية	له	»	»
»	مرهم كل قلب شجي	له	»	»
١٥١٩	اوراد الاسوع وادعية الايام السبعة	له	محمد اسامه	سلطان مصطفي حضر تيرينك وقتي ظهره و تقطه و سرلوحة لري مذهب بونوسو نك برساله سي واردر
»	قصيدة بانة سعاد	له	كعب بن زهير	ظهره و سرلوحة و تقطه و خاتم سي و بعض الواسي مذهب عبدالعزيز ايليك بن عبدالله خطيله در جلد و سرلوحة و جدول مذهب
١٥٢٠	اوراد الايام السبعة	له	محي الدين العربي	سلطان سليم حضر تيرينك وقتي
١٥٢١	بهجة الآفاق و ايضاح اللبس و الاغلاقي في علم الأوقاف	له	محمد الكسناوي	»

Prayer books listed in *Defter-i Kütüphâne-i Lâleli*, p. 109

ملاحظات	تاریخ تحریر	۴۰	۳۰	۲۰	عدد نوی
حافظ مصطفی خطیبه در وصاحبه ووقف تربہ سندہ در	۱۱۲۶	نسخ و-ط	۱		۲۸
احمد بن اسماعیل خطیبه در سرلوحہ وجدول مذهبدر	۱۱۴۹	نسخ کذا	۱		۲۹
کذا باخط محمد علی نیازی	۱۲۸۸	نسخ صغیر	۱		۳۰
کذا باخط سید عثمان حملی	۰۰	نسخ کبیر	۱		۳۱
اسامی کتب ﴿ دلائل الحیرات ﴾ اسامی مؤلفین					
حافظ مصطفی خطیبه در جلد یشیل و سرلوحہ وجدول مذهبدر	۱۲۰۵	نسخ و ط	۱		۳۲
سرلوحہ وجدول مذهبدر	۱۲۶۵	نسخ کذا	۱	• •	۳۳
کذا باخط حسن راشد	۱۱۶۷	نسخ کذا	۱	• •	۳۴
کذا محمد راسم خطیبه	۱۲۷۰	نسخ کذا	۱	• •	۳۵
عشی وحاشیہ تک ناپتندہ عبدالغنی مجرد در سرلوحہ وجدول مذهبدر		نسخ کذا	۱	• •	۳۶
حروفات بسمہ-سی		کذا کذا	۱		۳۷
طاش بسمہ-سی اطراف		کذا کذا	۱	• •	۳۸
قاسی ایلہ محشادز		کذا کذا	۱	• •	۳۹

Prayer books listed in *Aksarây Vâlide Câmî 'i Şerîfî Kütüphânesi Defteri*, p. 4

ملاحظات	تاریخ	اسامی مؤلفین	ع	ف	ک	اسامی کتب	عدد عمومی
جلد و محفوظه مذهب و جدول سرخ شیخ مدین خطیله در		محمد المهدی بن احمد القاسی	کذا	وسط	۱	شرح الدلائل المستفی بمطالع المیزان	۴۰
طاش بصره سی اطرافی قاسی		داود زاده محمد اقدی مع قاسی	کذا	کذا	۱	" "	۴۱
" "		له	کذا	ربع	۱	" "	۴۲
﴿ انعام شریف ﴾							
سرلوحه و جدول مذهبدر	۱۲۶۶		کذا	تفیس نسخ	۱	انعام شریف	۴۳
" "	۱۲۶۷		کذا	کذا	۱	" "	۴۴
" "	"		کذا	وسط	۱	" "	۴۵
" "	"		کذا	کذا	۱	" "	۴۶
" "	"		کذا	کذا	۱	" "	۴۷
﴿ مرقمات ﴾							
باخط ابراهیم طاهر رب پیردن بد' ایله قسیده لری شامل مرقمات اوتوز درت ورقلی و مذهبدر	۱۰۸۱ تاریخ تذمی		کذا	عدد ۳۴	۱	مرقمات	۴۸
اون بئش ورقلی سید عیداه خطیله مذهب مع محفوظه بر سطر ثلث و بئش سطر نسخ			کذا	عدد ۱۵	۱	دیگر	۴۹
اسماعیل زهدی خطیله در بر سطر ثلث و اوچ سطر نسخ واون عدد ورقلی مرقمات مذهبدر			کذا	عدد ۱۰	۱	دیگر	۵۰

Prayer books listed in *Aksarāy Vālide Cāmi 'i Şerfî Küttüphānesi Defteri*, p. 5

FIGURES



Figure 1 Reenactment of a pilgrimage procession. Istanbul, Üsküdar, September 5, 2014.



Figure 2 Mecca and Medina. Prayer book, cut-out (*kāṭʿī*) and embossed technique in paper and leather, d: 6.9 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 312

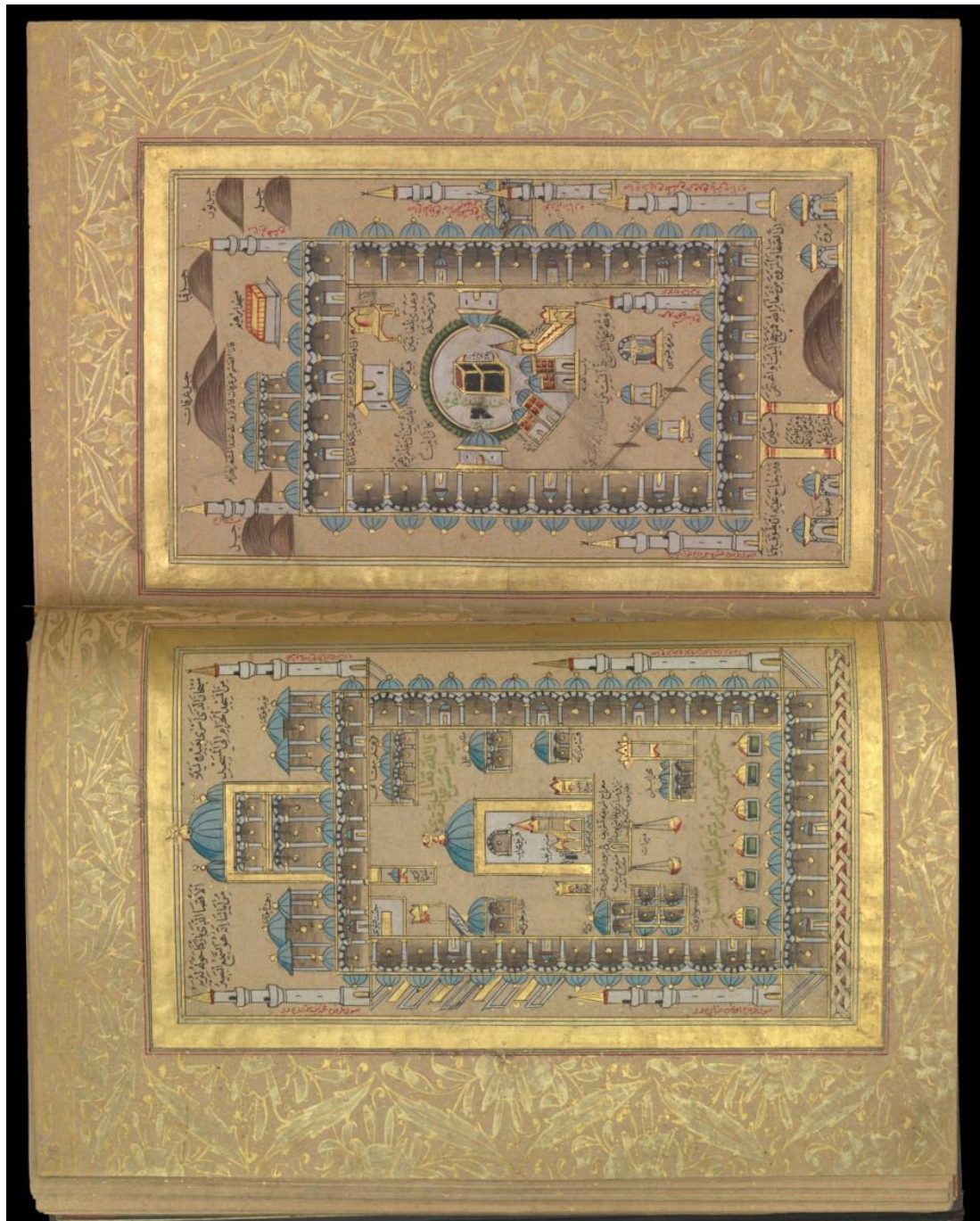


Figure 3 Masjid al-Haram and Haram al-Sharif. *En'ām-ı Şerif*, 1213/1798–99, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, disciple of el-Hacc Mehmed Kütahi, 17.7 x 11.2 cm. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 464, fol. 98b–99a

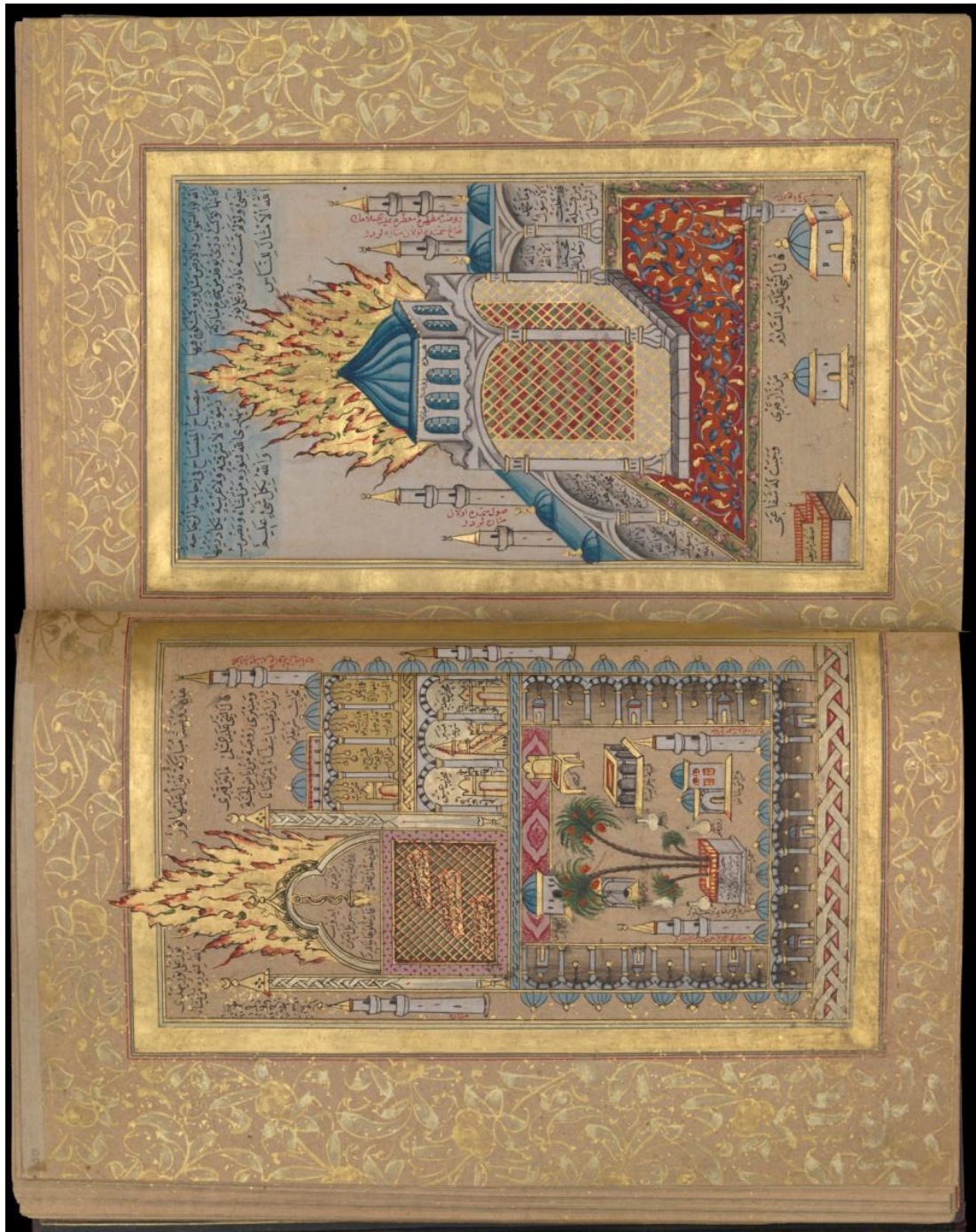


Figure 4 Burial Chamber and Masjid al-Nabawi. *En 'ām-ı Şerīf*, 1213/1798–99, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi, disciple of el-Hacc Mehmed Kütahi, 17.7 x 11.2 cm. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 464, fol. 99b–100a



Figure 5 “Mühr-i nübüvvet” and “mühr-i Süleymân.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerîf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 93b–94a

Figure 6 “Livā’ü'l-ḥamd” and “maḳām-ı Maḥmūd.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerîf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 95b–96a



Figure 7 “Sidretü'l-müntehâ” and “beytü'l-ma'mûr.” *En'âm-ı Şerîf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 96b–97a

Figure 8 “Qademü'n-Nebî” and “na'leyn-i şerîf.” *En'âm-ı Şerîf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 97b–98a



Figure 9 “Zülfikār” and “pençe-i Hazret-i ‘Alī.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm.
Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 98b–99a



Figure 10 “Tübā ağacı” and standards of the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs Abu Bakr and ‘Omar. *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 99b–100a



Figure 11 “Kürsî ve minber maḳāmı.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerîf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm.
Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 103b–104a

Figure 12 “Ḥavzū'n-Nebî” and the basins of the prophets and the Ten Promised of Paradise.
En ‘ām-ı Şerîf, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 108b–109a



Figure 13 “Cehennem.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerif*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 109b–110a



Figure 14 “Mesācid” and “maḳāmāt.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerif*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 114b–115a



Figure 15 Prayer for forgiveness and Jerusalem. *En'ām-ı Şerif*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 110b–111a

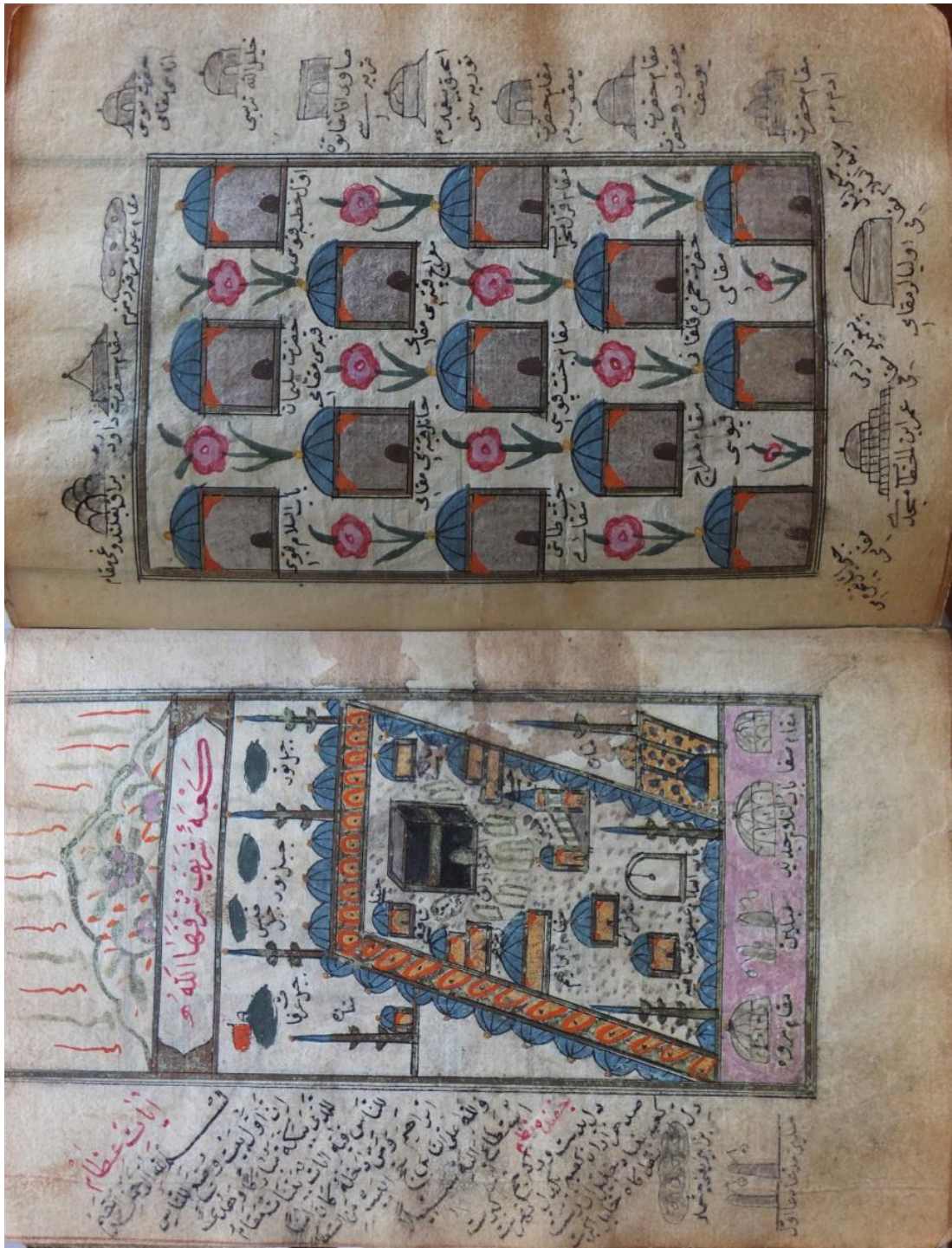


Figure 16 Stations of the prophets and Mecca. *En'ām-ı Şerîf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 111b–112a.

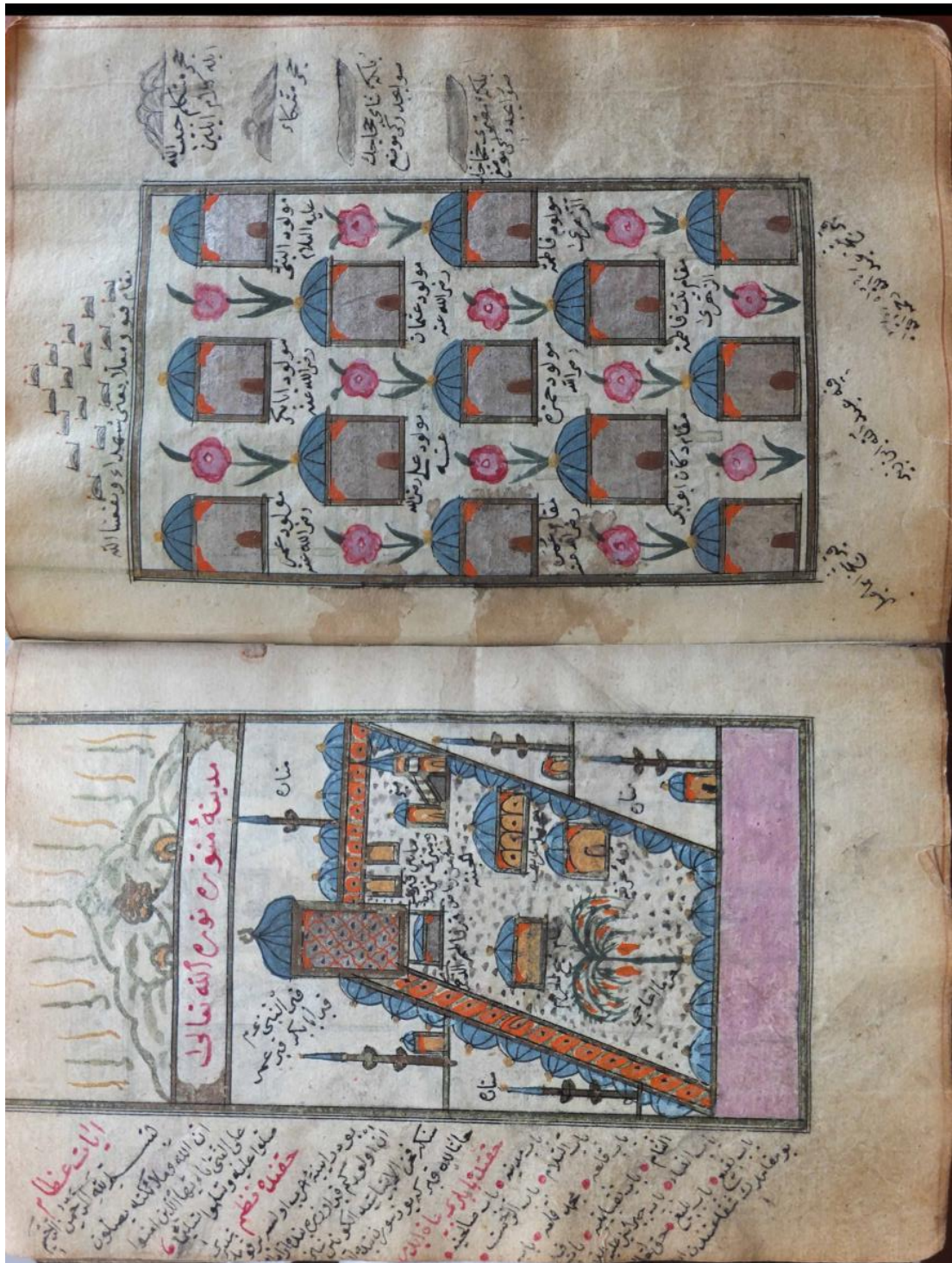


Figure 17 Birth places of the Prophet, Fatima, Hamza, and the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, Jannat al-Mu'alla, and Medina. *En 'ām-ı Şerīf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 112b-113a

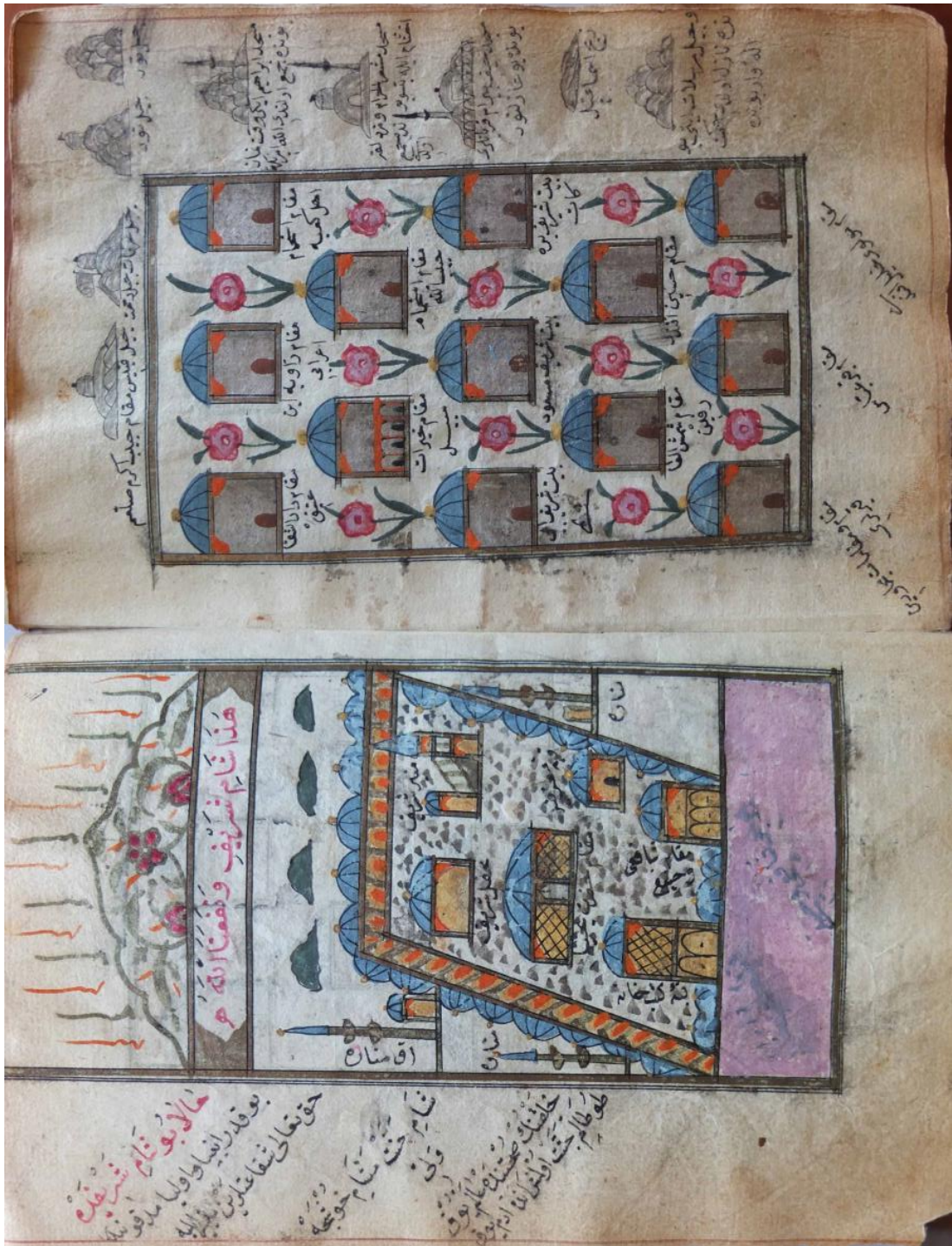


Figure 18 Mountains and visitation sites near Mecca, and Damascus. *En'ām-ı Şerīf*, 16.2 x 11.7 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17069, fol. 116b–117a



Figure 19 *Ḳiblenümā*, engraved brass plate on wood, 20.2 x 18 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, SCI 457

Figure 20 *Ḳiblenümā*, paint on wood, d.: 13.2 cm. Athens, Benaki Museum, ΓΕ 14715



Figure 22 World map. *Tercüme-i ħarīdetü'l-'acā'ib ve ferīdetü'l-garā'ib*, 8 Zilkade 1134 / 20 August 1722, copyists: Ahmed Ebubekir of Ruscuk and Mehmed b. Yunus Ağa, 25.4 x 15.7 cm. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Turk. D.5, fol. 3b–4a



Figure 23 Qibla chart. *Tercüme-i ħarīdetü'l-'acā'ib ve ferīdetü'l-garā'ib*, 8 Zilkade 1134 / 20 August 1722, copyist: Ahmed Ebubekir of Ruscuk and Mehmed b. Yunus Ağa, 25.4 x 15.7 cm. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Turk. D.5, fol. 58b–59a



Figure 24 “Ka‘be-i Mu‘azzama” and “Ravza-i Muṭahhara.” *Meṭāli‘ü’s-Sa‘ādet*, 990/1582, author: Sayyid Muhammad ibn Amir Hasan. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 788, fol. 73b–74a



Figure 25 Ka'ba and 'ayn-i 'Alī. *En 'ām-ı Şerif*, 1261/1845, copyist: Hafız Hasan Raşid, teacher at the Dārü'l-Hilāfeti'l-'Aliyye, disciple of Seyyid Mehmed Tahir Efendi, illuminator: Hüseyin, 25 x 16.5 cm. Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Turc 553, fol. 213b–214a



Figure 26 Ka'ba and the belongings of the Prophet Muhammad. *En 'ām-ı Şerif*, 1208/1793–94, copyist: Dürbinizade Mustafa Nazif, illuminator: Hafız Mehmed Nuri, 16.9 x 11.5 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Pertevniyal 43, fol. 56b–57a



Figure 27 Mecca. 1315/1897–98, reverse glass painting, 44 x 59 cm. Ömer Bortaçına Collection



Figure 28 Masjid al-Haram. Stonepaste, underglaze painted, 73 x 49.5 cm.
Athens, Benaki Museum, GE 124

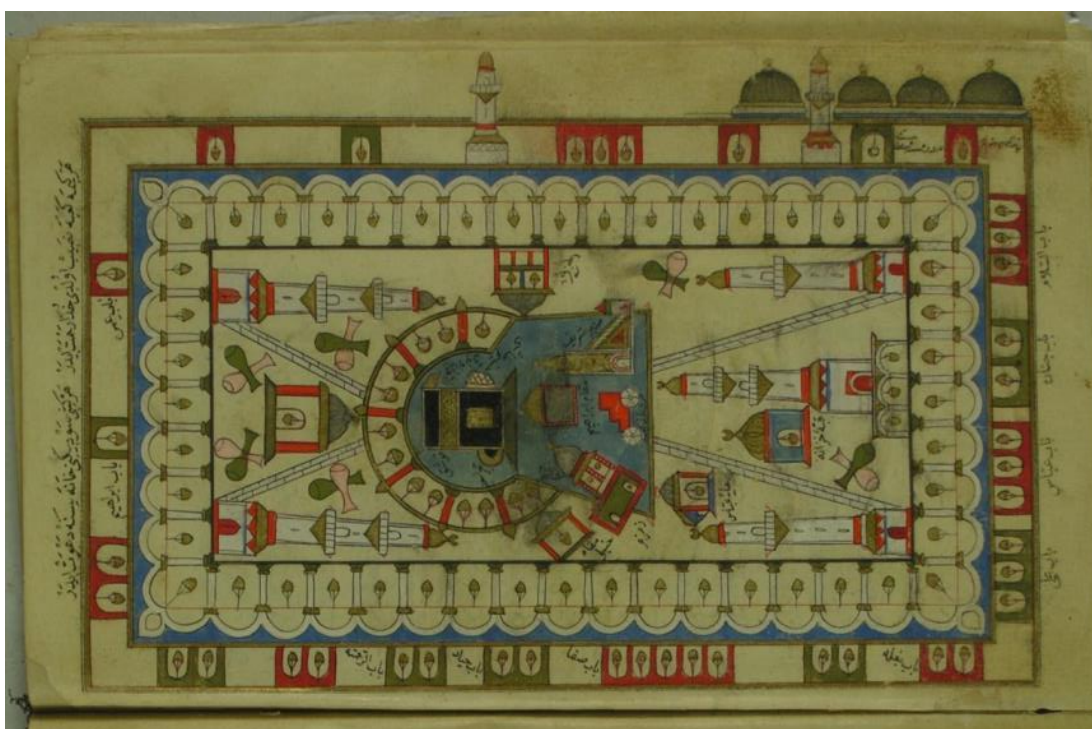


Figure 29 Masjid al-Haram. [*Menāsikü'l-Hacc*], 19.3 x 12 cm. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A 3547, fol. 38b

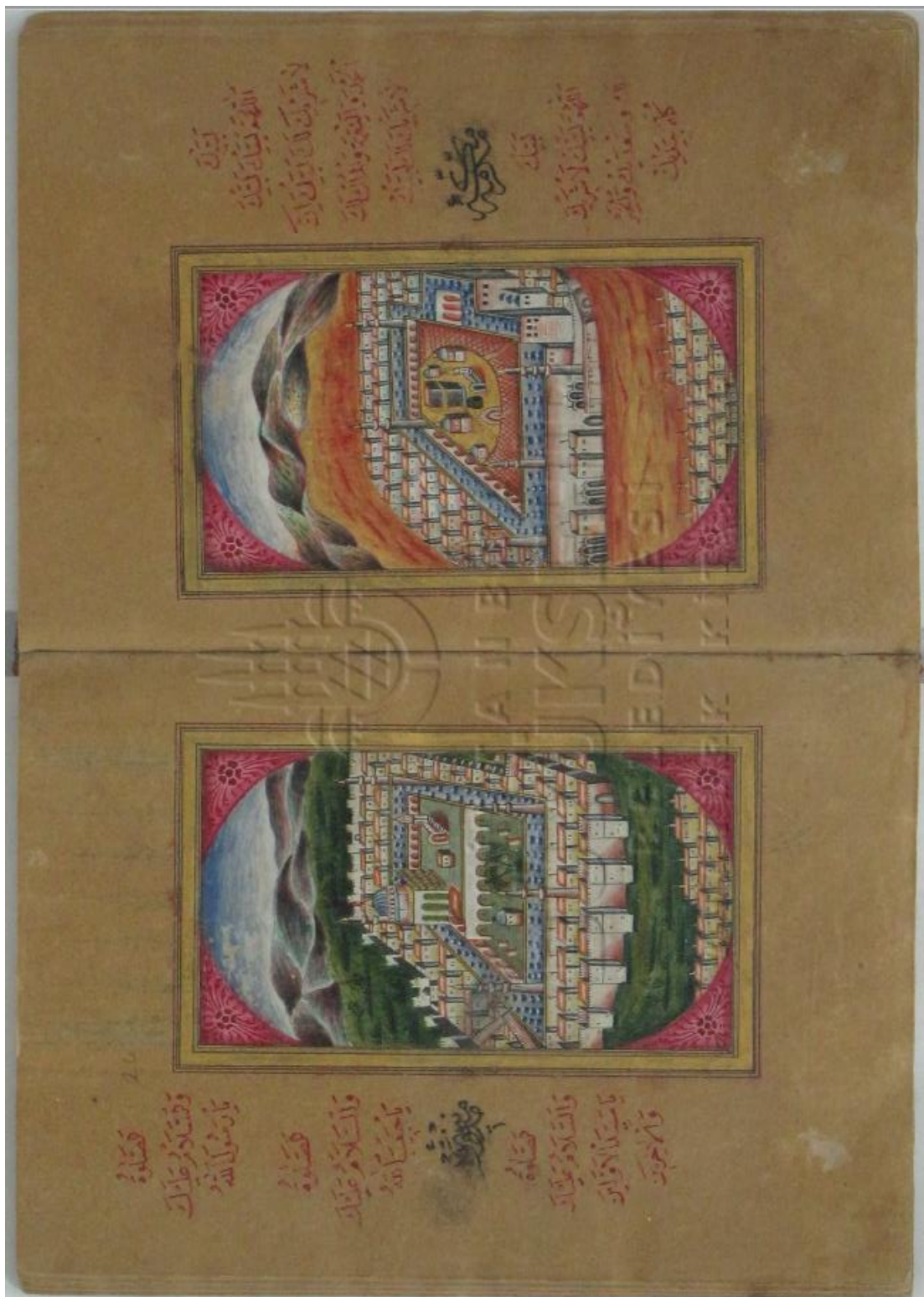


Figure 30 “Makka al-Mukarrama” and “Madīna al-Munawwara.” *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1286/1869–70, copyist: Seyyid Ahmed Fuad, 15.5 x 11 cm. Istanbul, Atatürk Library, Belediye Yazmaları 1558, fol. 23b–24a



Figure 31 Masjid al-Nabawi. Composite manuscript including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 15.8 x 9.5 cm. New York, Columbia University Library, Smith 217, fol. 29b–30a

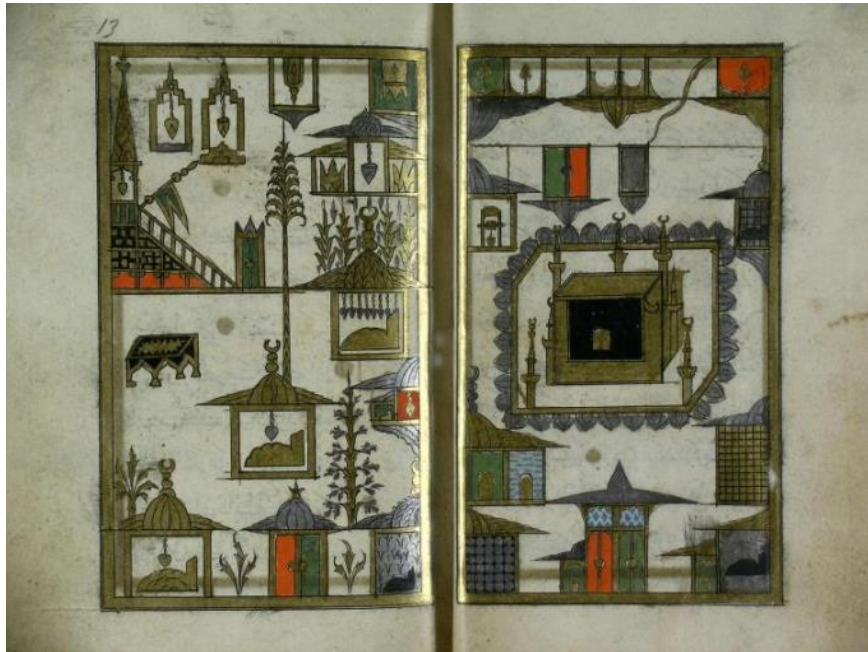


Figure 32 Burial Chamber and Minbar. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, Shawwal 1187 / December 1773, copyist: 'Ammar ibn Abi al-Diyya' al-Hannaʿi, 15.4 x 10.3 cm. Paris, National Library of France, Arabe 1194, fol. 17b–18a

Figure 33 Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1145/1732–33, copyist: Hafiz İbrahim, 17.4 x 11.2 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1541, fol. 12b–13a



Figure 34 Burial Chamber, Minbar, and Ka'ba. *Dalā' il al-Khayrāt*, 1134/1721–22, copyist: Derviş Mehmed el-Mevlevi, 21 x 11.5 cm. Manisa Public Library, MAK 1533, fol. 11b–12a



Figure 35 Burial Chamber, Minbar, and Ka'ba. *Dalā' il al-Khayrāt*, before 1165/1751–52, 18 x 11.8 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17228, fol. 33b–34a

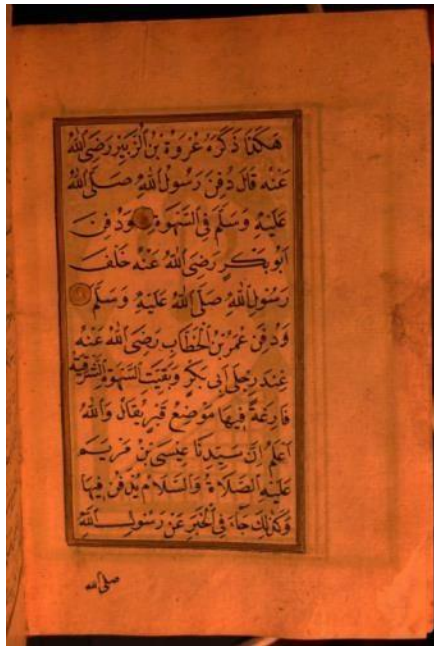
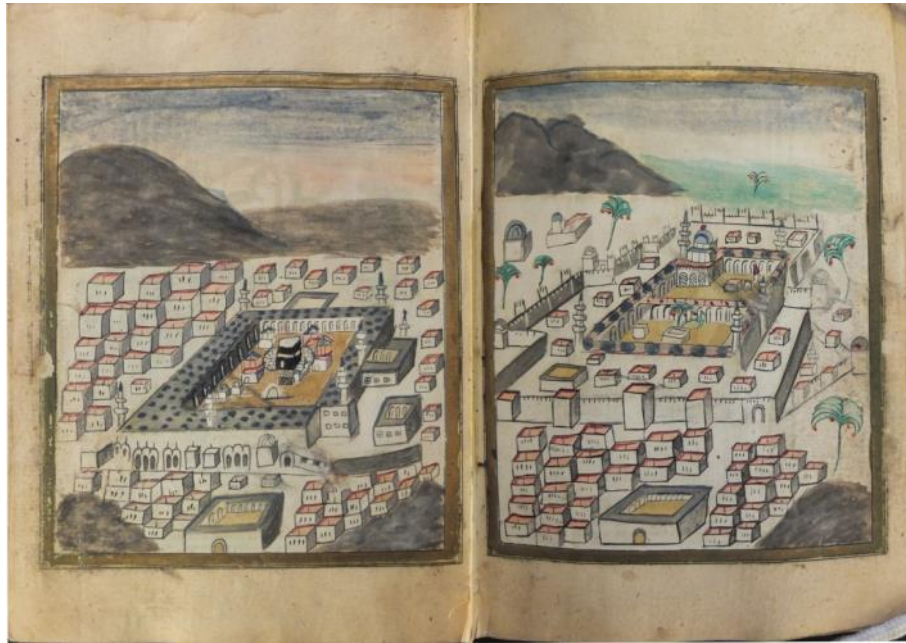


Figure 36 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā' il al-Khayrāt*, copyist: Eyyüb, disciple of Eġrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, 15.4 x 10.9 cm. Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Arab 224, fol. 15b–16a

Figure 37 Minbar. *Dalā' il al-Khayrāt*, copyist: Eyyüb, disciple of Eġrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, 15.4 x 10.9 cm. Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Arab 224, fol. 16b

Figure 38 Burial Chamber. *Dalā' il al-Khayrāt*, copyist: Eyyüb, disciple of Eġrikapılı Mehmed Rasim, 15.4 x 10.9 cm. Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Arab 224, fol. 15a

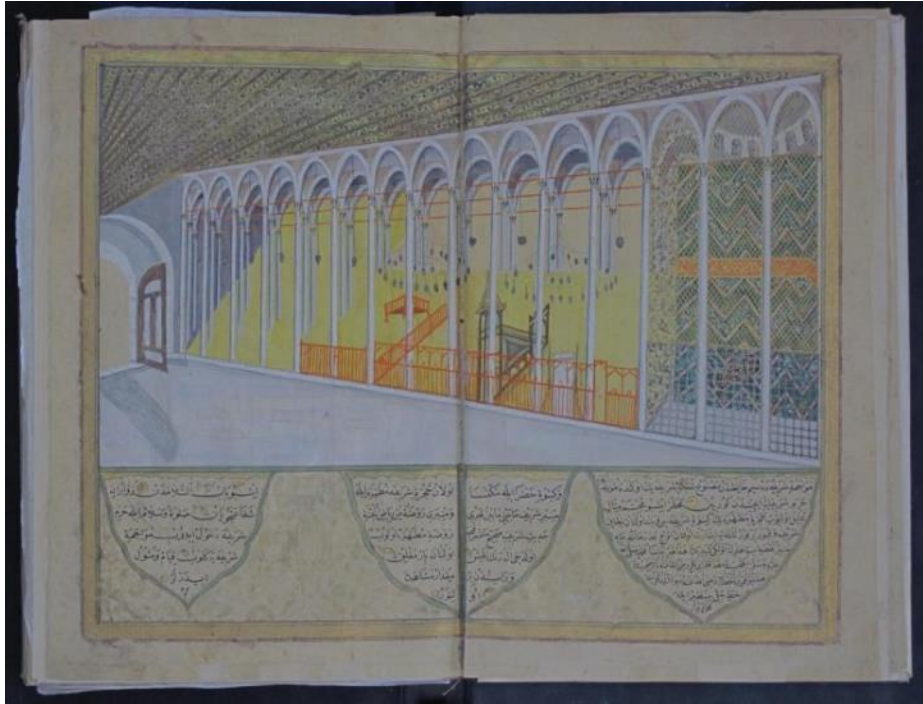


Figure 41 Rawda. Miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1191/1777–78, copyists: Mahmud Raci, disciple of Mustafa Kütahi; and Ali Şakir, disciple of Veliyüddin, illuminator: Mehmed Şevki, disciple of Müzezzib Kalyuni, 31 x 20 cm. Istanbul, Beyazıt Library, B 1270, fol. 5b–6a

Figure 42 Tombs of the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs Abu Bakr and 'Omar, and Mühr-i Nübüvvet. Miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1191/1777–78, copyists: Mahmud Raci, disciple of Mustafa Kütahi; and Ali Şakir, disciple of Veliyüddin, illuminator: Mehmed Şevki, disciple of Müzezzib Kalyuni, 31 x 20 cm. Istanbul, Beyazıt Library, B 1270, fol. 6b–7a



Figure 43 Mecca and Medina. Miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1191/1777–78, copyists: Mahmud Raci, disciple of Mustafa Kütahi; and Ali Şakir, disciple of Veliyüddin, illuminator: Mehmed Şevki, disciple of Müzehhib Kalyuni, 31 x 20 cm. Istanbul, Beyazıt Library, B 1270, fol. 7b–8a



Figure 44 Hilye. Miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1191/1777–78, copyists: Mahmud Raci, disciple of Mustafa Kütahi; and Ali Şakir, disciple of Veliyüddin, illuminator: Mehmed Şevki, disciple of Müzehhib Kalyuni, 31 x 20 cm. Istanbul, Beyazıt Library, B 1270, fol. 8b–9a



Figure 45 Hilye levha, colored lithograph, 44.5 x 30 cm.
Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 1006



Figure 46 Footprint levha, 1264/1847–48, call.: Karaburunizade Mustafa Emin İzmiri, disciple of Mehmed Nuri, 68 x 44 cm. Auctioned at Alif Art

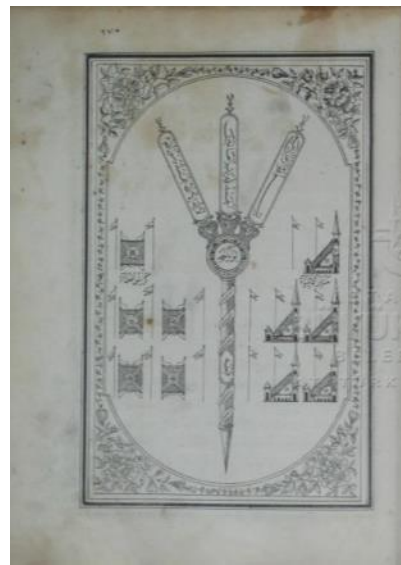
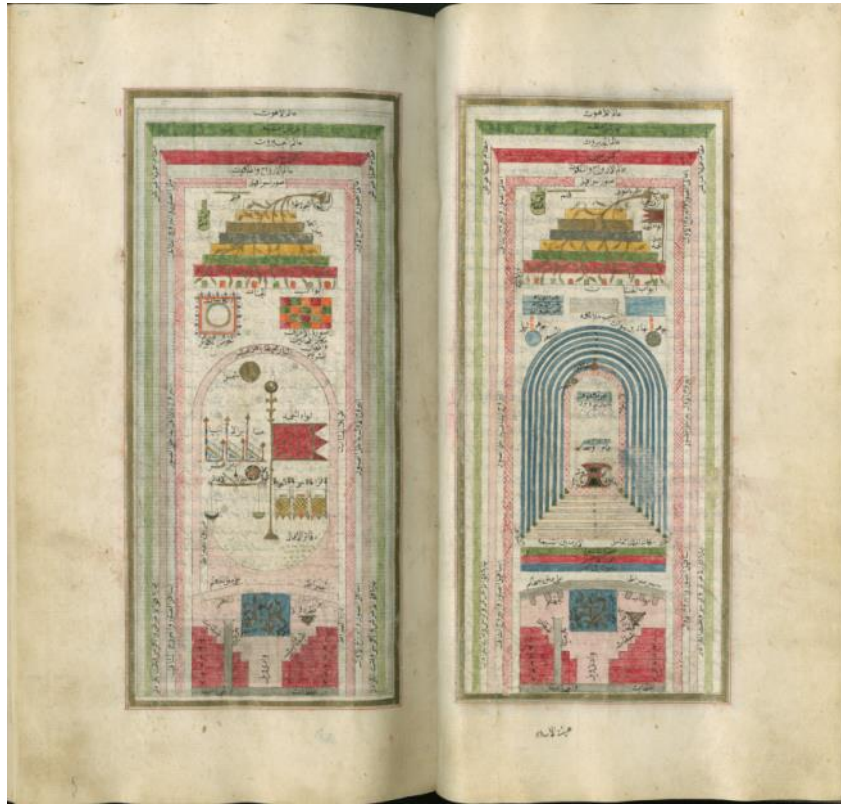


Figure 49 Cosmos. İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi, *Ma'rifetnâme*, 27 Ramazan 1237 / 17 June 1822, 27.9 x 15.5 cm. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library), Isl. Ms. 397, p. 46–67

Figure 50 Banner of praise. *Kitāb-ı Muhammediyye*. İstanbul, Beyazıt Library, B 8611, fol. 149b

Figure 51 Banner of praise. *Kitāb-ı Muhammediyye*, 1286/1869–70, İstanbul: el-Hacc Osman Efendi Taş Destegahı, 27 x 19 cm. İstanbul, Atatürk Library, Belediye Osmanlıca Kitaplar Koleksiyonu 6254, p. 275



Figure 52 Prayer cards. Şevval 1166 / August 1753, copyist: Mehmed b. Hasan of Misis, 28 loose double-sided sheets and 8 one-sided sheets pasted in a papier-maché box, 11 x 11 cm. Istanbul, Kubbealtı Academy, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Collection, no. XXI/2

Figure 53 Prayer cards. 1151/1738–39, copyist: Mehmed b. Hasan of Misis, 57 folding panels in a papier-maché box, d.: 14.3 cm. Auctioned at Sotheby's

Figure 54 Prayer cards. Square and hexagonal folding panels in a papier-maché box, 11.5 x 11.5 cm. Auctioned at Christie's



Figure 55 Masjid al-Haram. Wall painting in the Belenardıç Village Mosque, Akköy, Denizli, late 19th or early 20th c.



Figure 56 The Day of Judgement, Heaven, and Hell. Wall painting in the Belenardıç Village Mosque, Akköy, Denizli, late 19th or early 20th c.

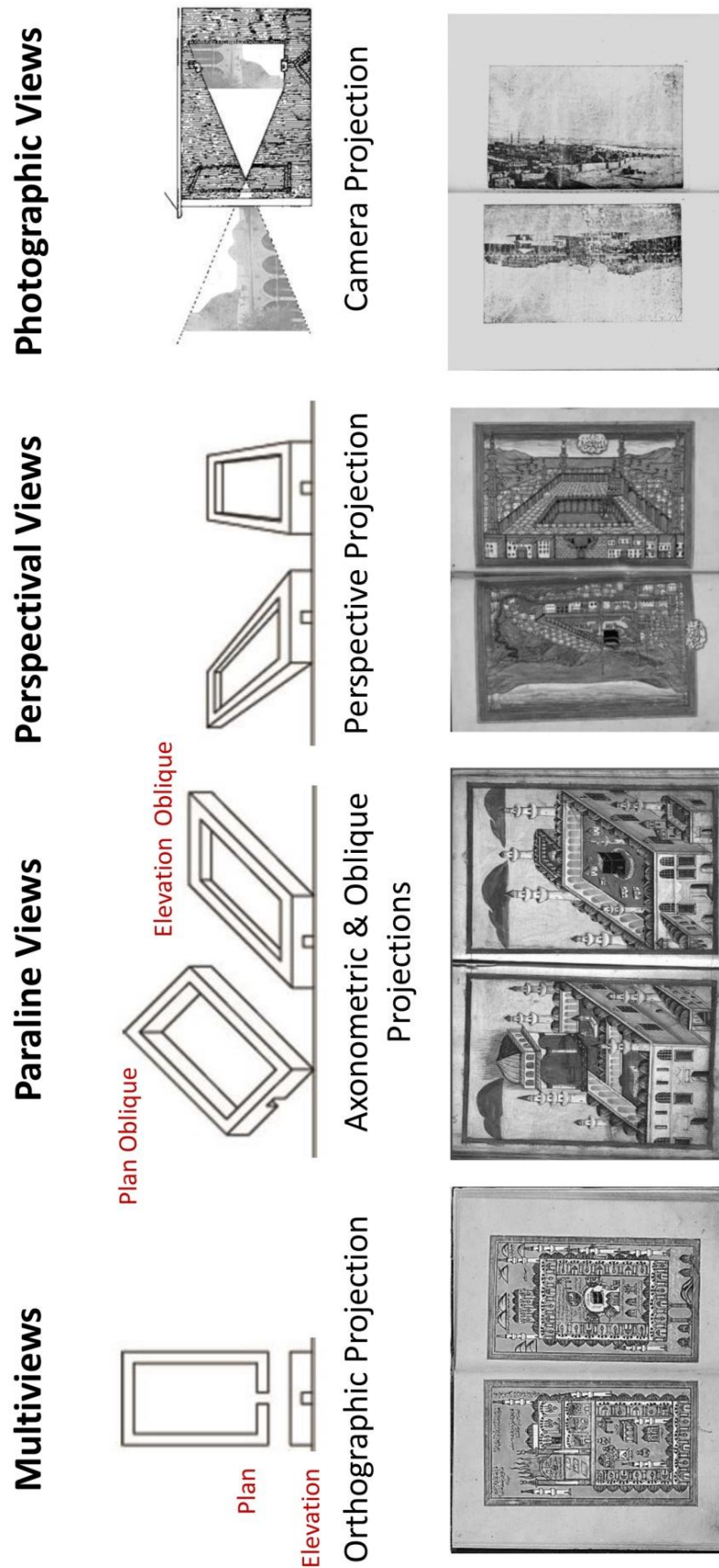


Figure 57 Visual modes. Multi-, paraline, perspectival, and photographic views with corresponding paintings and prints in prayer books.

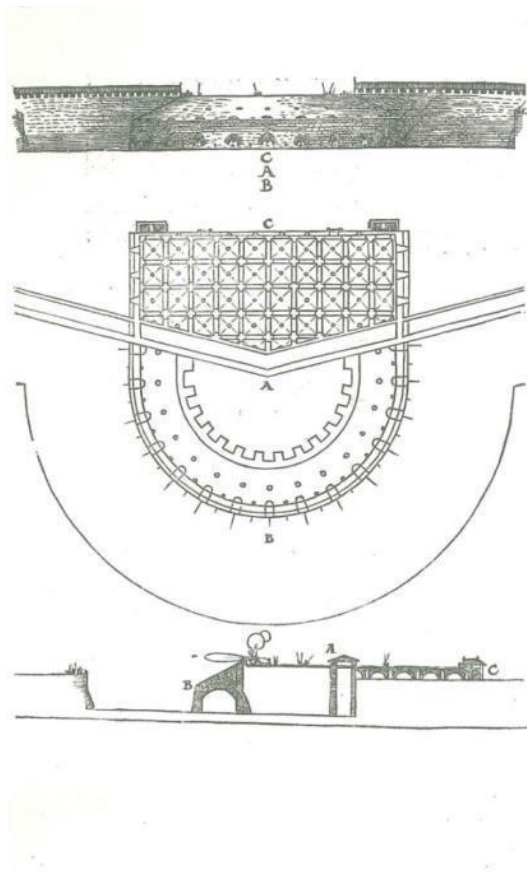


Figure 58 Design for a bastion at the angle of a town-wall. Woodcut in Albrecht Dürer, *Etliche untrricht zu befestigung / der Stett, der Schlosz / und flecken* (Nuremberg, 1527).

Figure 59 Detail from the three sacred shrines at Kumano: Kumano Mandala. ca. 1300, ink and color on silk, 134 x 62 cm, 217.2 x 80 cm (overall). The Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 1953.16

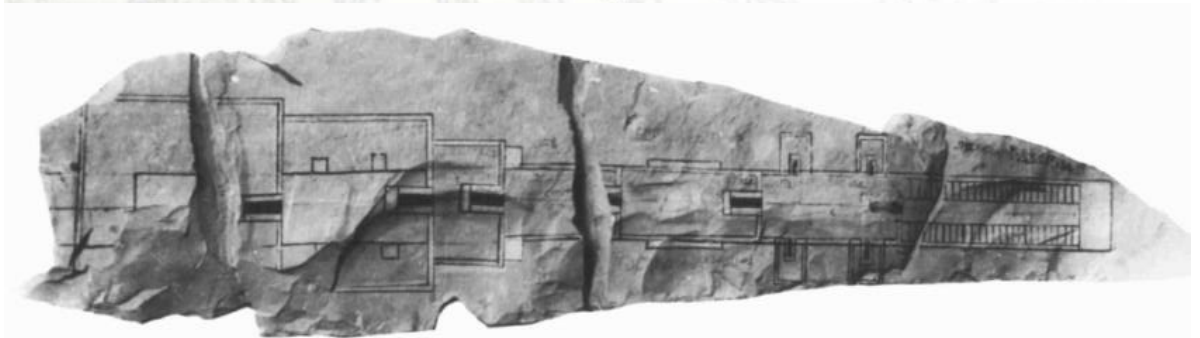
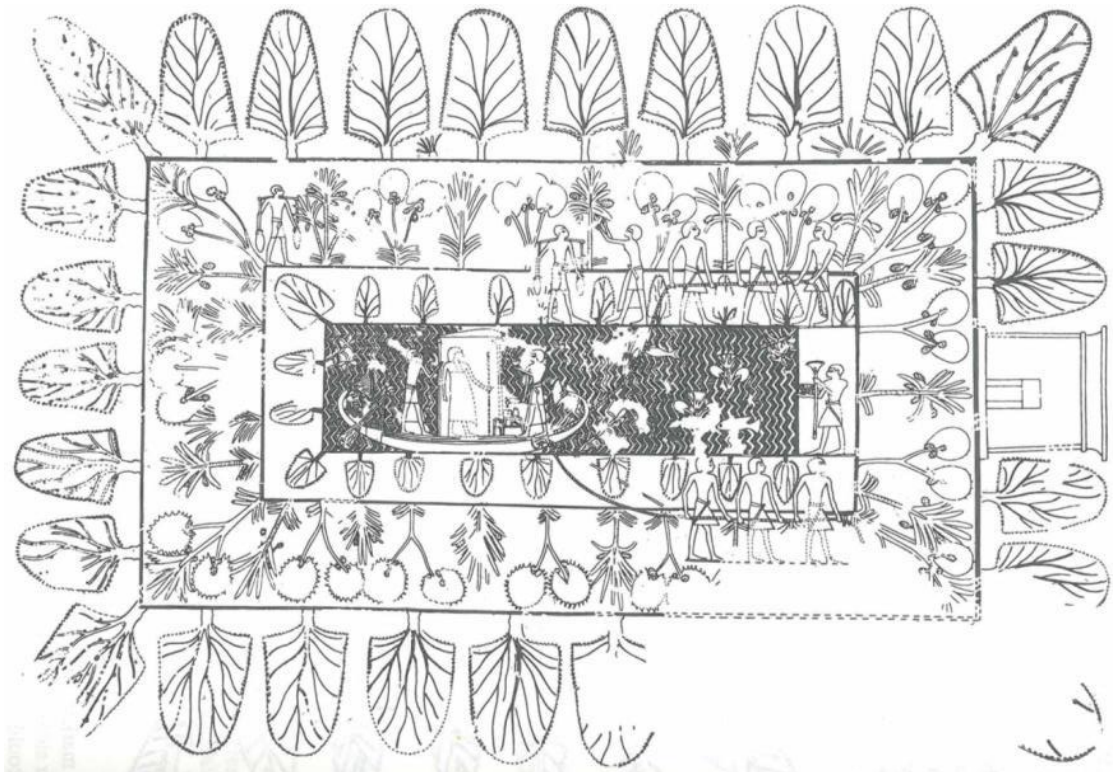


Figure 60 Drawing after a wall painting. Tomb of Rekmire, Hierakonpolis, 1504–1425 BC (18th dynasty)

Figure 61 An Egyptian tomb. Possibly the plan of Ramses IX's tomb, ca. 12th BC, 83.5 x 14 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum

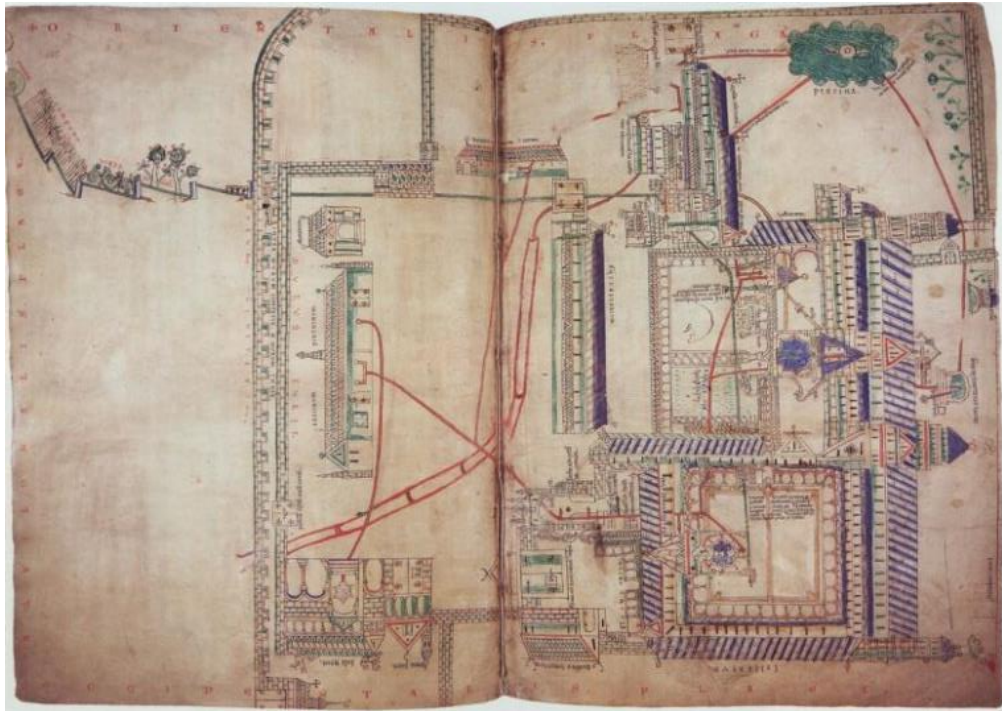
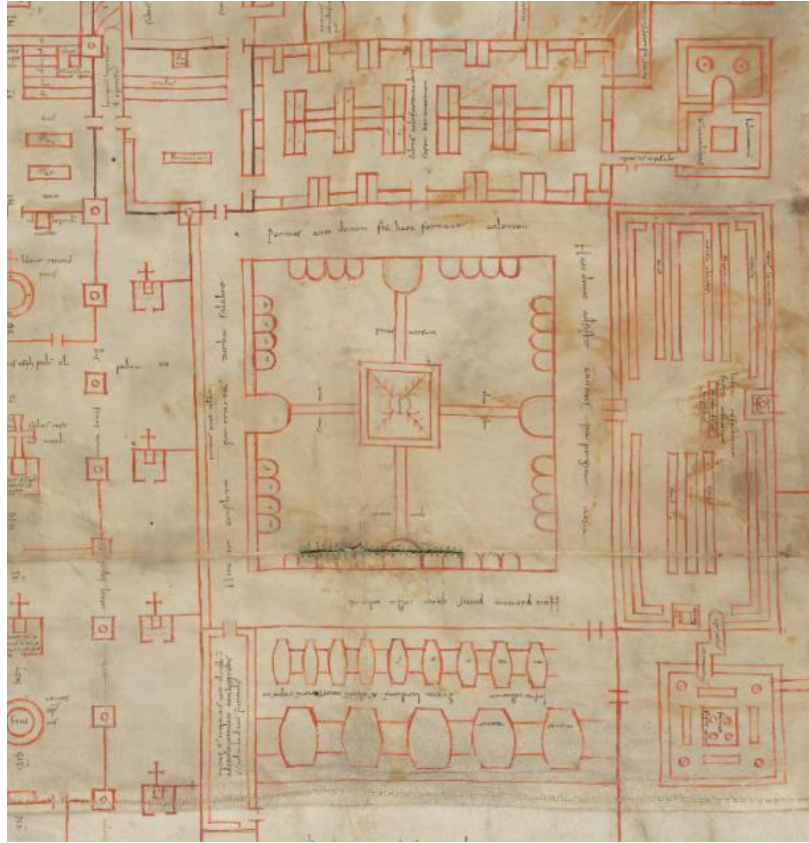


Figure 62 Detail of the plan of Saint Gall. 9th century, 113 x 78 cm.
Gallen, Abbey Library of Saint Gall, Ms 1092

Figure 63 Canterbury Cathedral and its priory showing its water supply system. *Eadwine Psalter*, 12th c., 45.7 x 66 cm. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.17.1, fol. 284b–285a

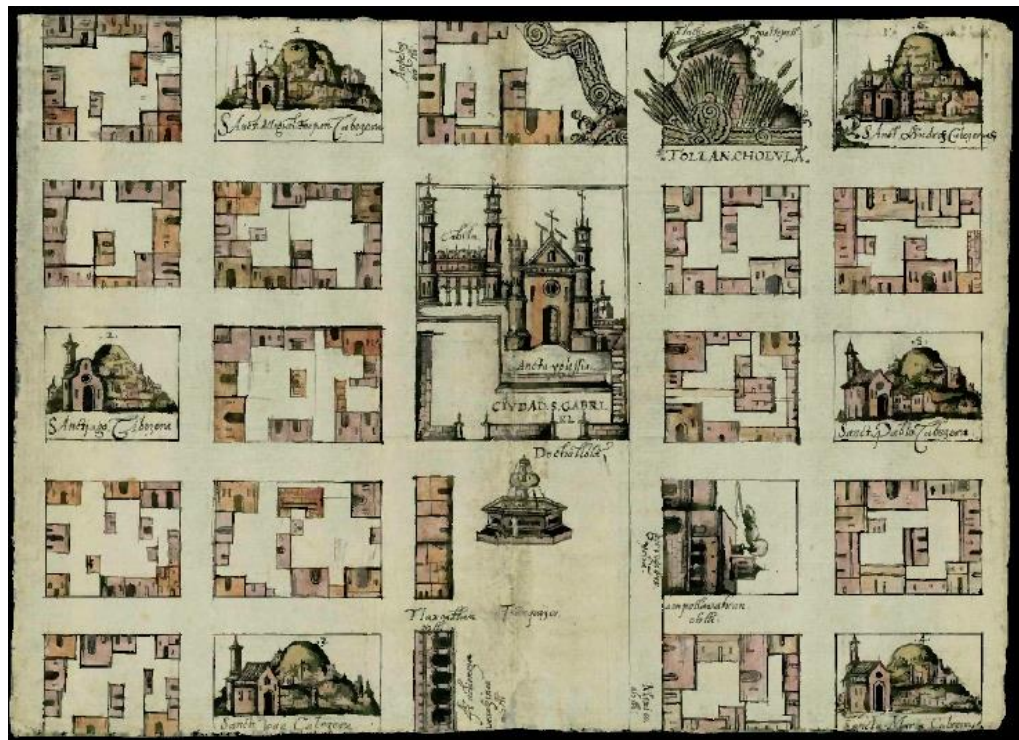
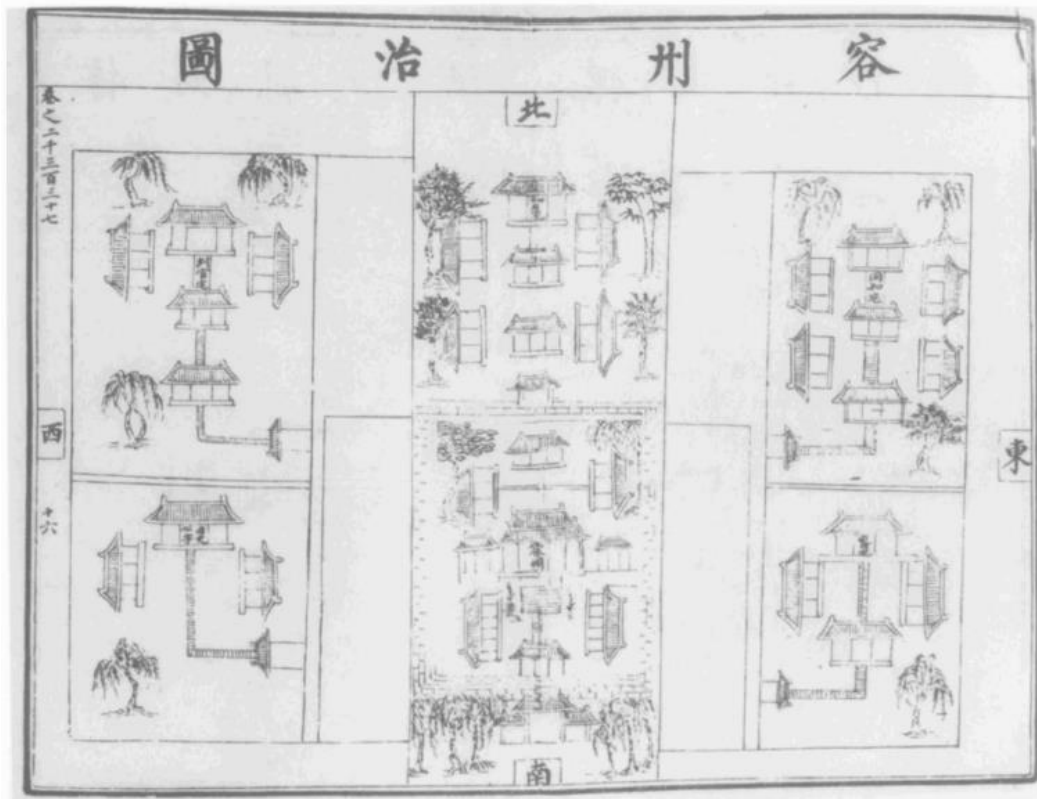


Figure 64 The seat of local government at Rongzhou (Guangxi). Woodblock in *Yongle Dadian* (Encyclopedia of the Yongle Reign), 1408, 15 x 19.5 cm. Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University

Figure 65 Cholula (Puebla). 1581, 31 x 44 cm. Austin, University of Texas Libraries

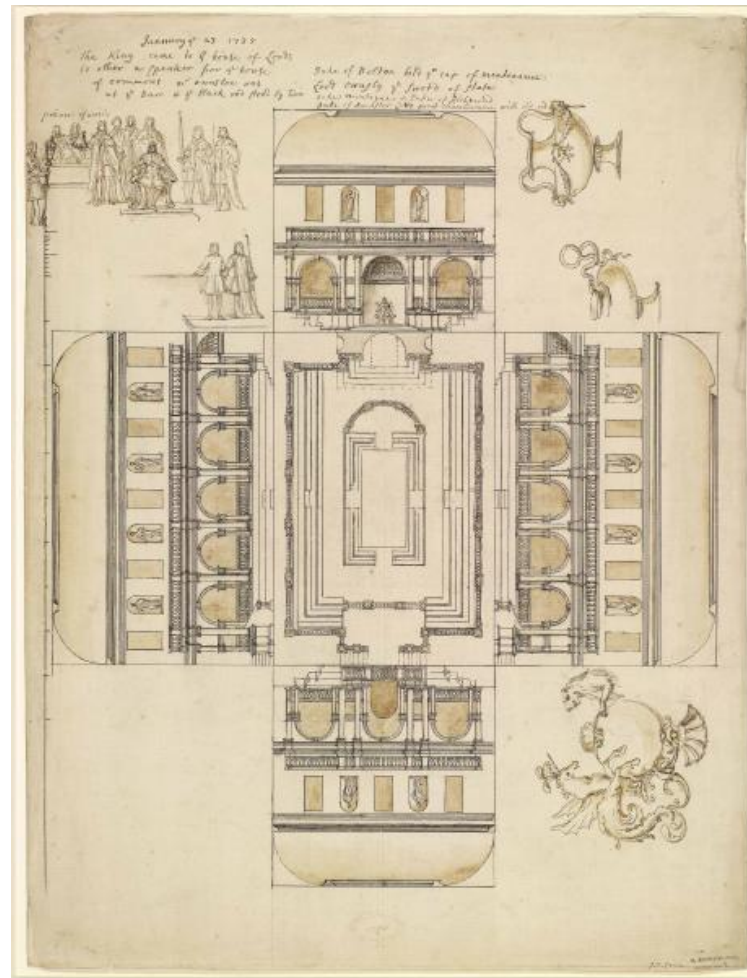
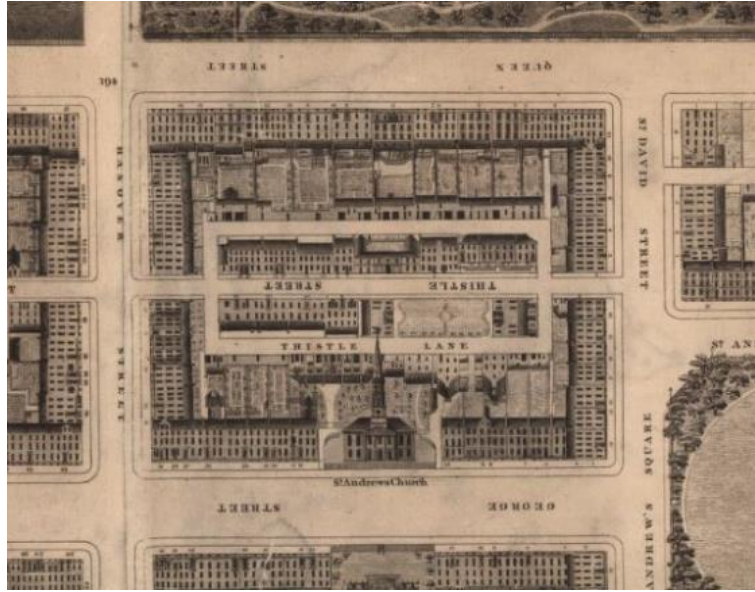


Figure 66 Detail of Robert Kirkwood's project of the New Town of Edinburgh. 1819, 67.3 x 109.2 cm, 69.2 x 110.5 cm (on sheet). National Library of Scotland

Figure 67 William Kent's plan and laid-out wall elevations for the House of Lords. 1735, pen and watercolor. London, Royal Institute of British Architects, British Architectural Library, SC 58/67

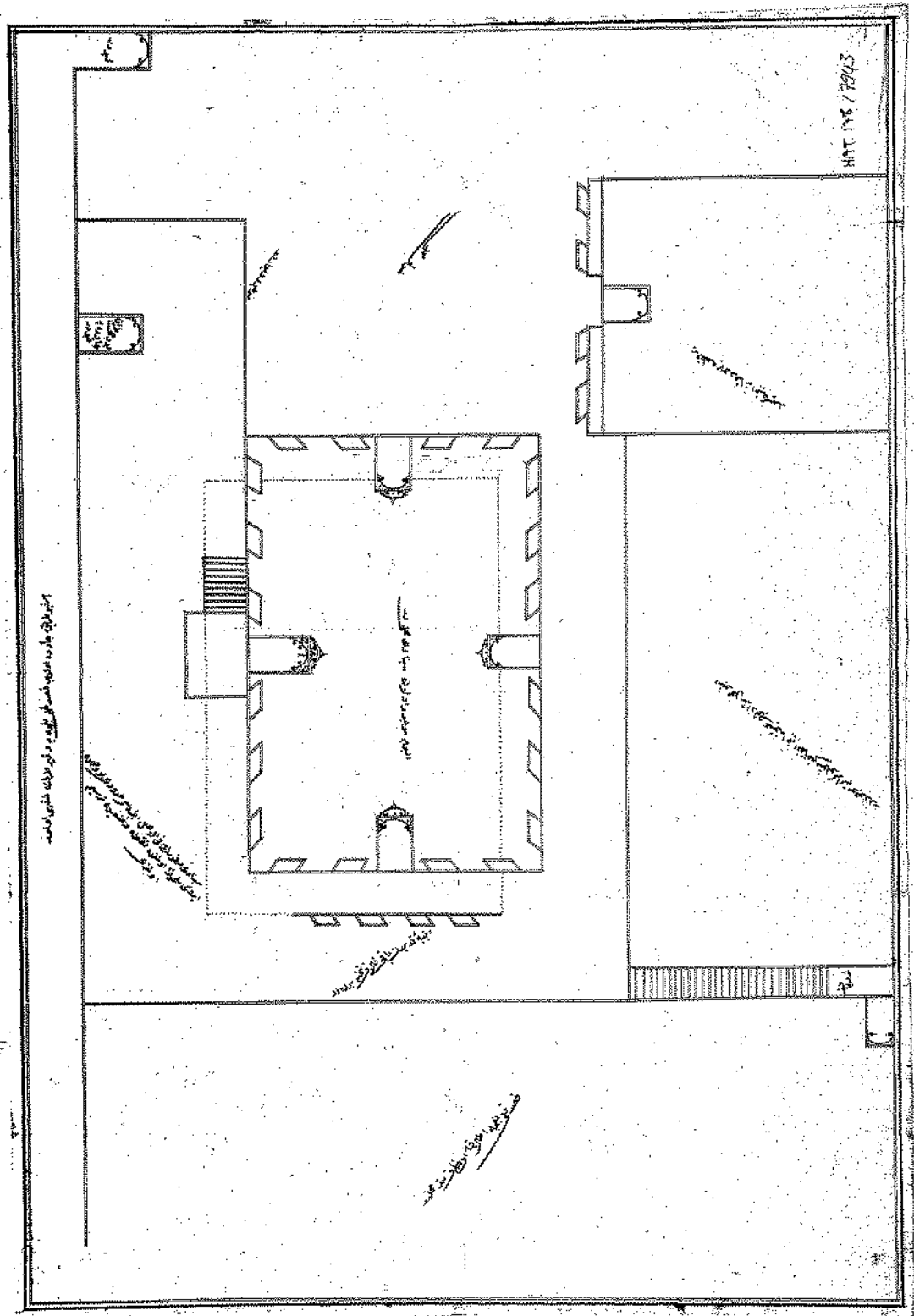


Figure 68 A synagogue. 29 Zilhicce 1210 / 5 July 1796. Istanbul, Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, HAT. Dosya no. 178, Gömlek no. 7943

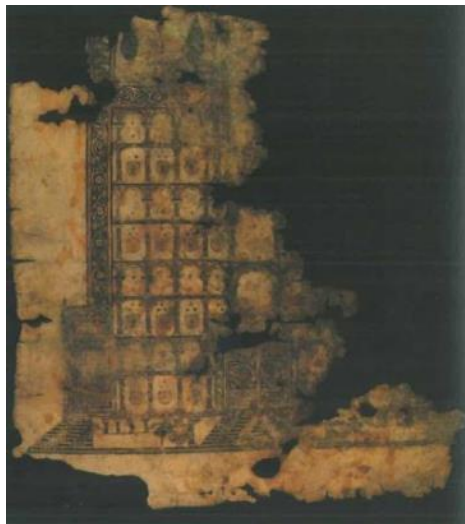


Figure 70 Frontispiece for a Qur'an on parchment. Sanaa, Dar al-Makhtutat, 20-33.1

Figure 71 Frontispiece for a Qur'an on parchment. Sanaa, Dar al-Makhtutat, 20-33.1

Figure 72 Detail from a Qur'an on parchment. Sanaa, Dar al-Makhtutat, 01-28.1



Figure 73 Süleymaniye Mosque. *Süleymännâme*, 1579, author: Seyyid Lokman. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 413, fol. 119a

Figure 74 Hagia Sophia. *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hân*, 1581, author: Seyyid Lokman. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 156a

Figure 75 Shrine of Imam Husayn and Karbala. *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i 'Irâķeyn*, 1537, author and painter: Mitrakçı Nasuh. Istanbul University Library, T. 5964, fol. 62b–63a

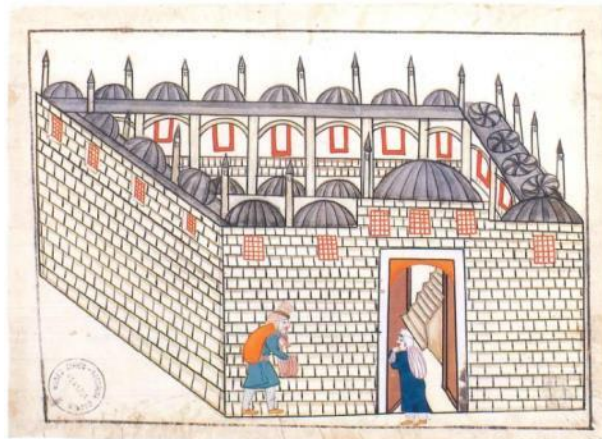
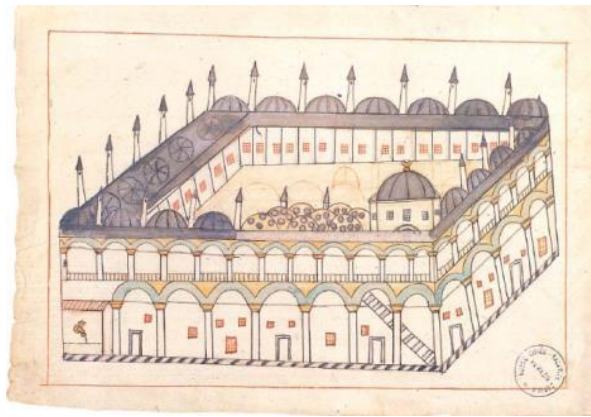
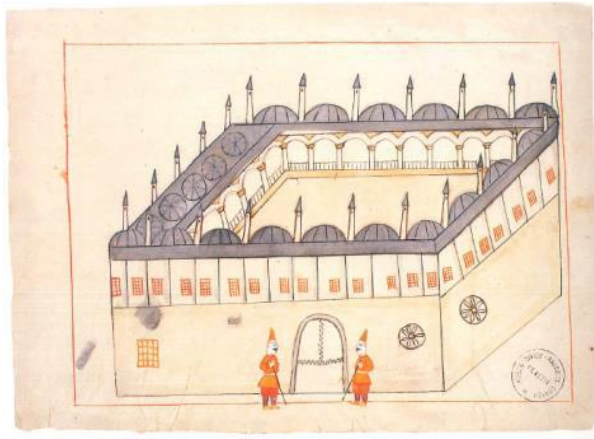


Figure 76 Hân in Edirne. *Memorie Turchesche*, ca. 1660, 16 x 22 cm.
Venice, Museo Correr, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 44a

Figure 77 Hân in Edirne. *Memorie Turchesche*, ca. 1660, 15.5 x 22 cm.
Venice, Museo Correr, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 49a

Figure 78 Büyük Valide Han in Istanbul. *Memorie Turchesche*, ca. 1660, 15 x 20.5 cm.
Venice, Museo Correr, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 22a

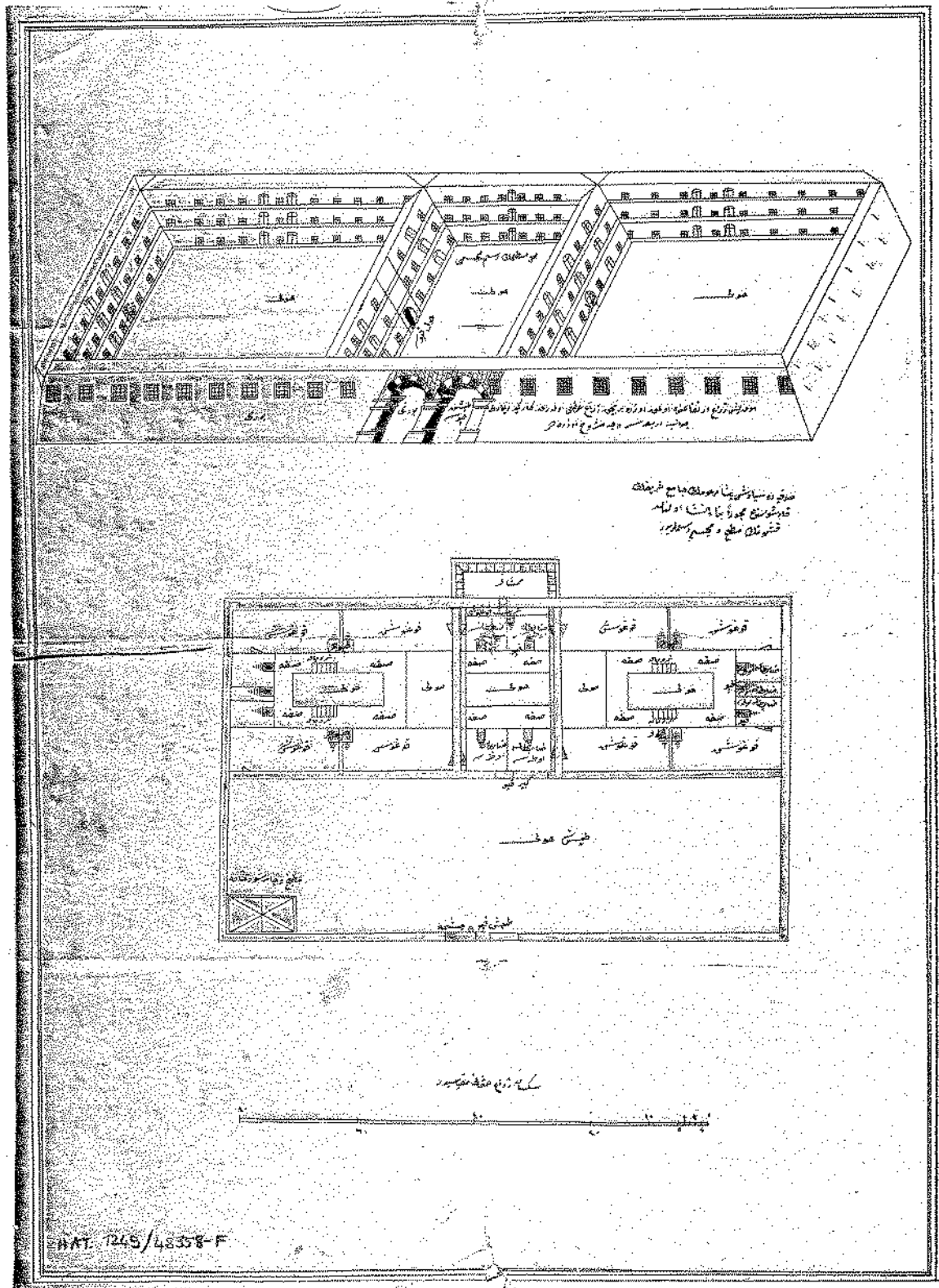


Figure 79 Military barracks. Early 19th c. Istanbul, Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, HAT., Dosya no: 1249, Gömlek no: 48358 F

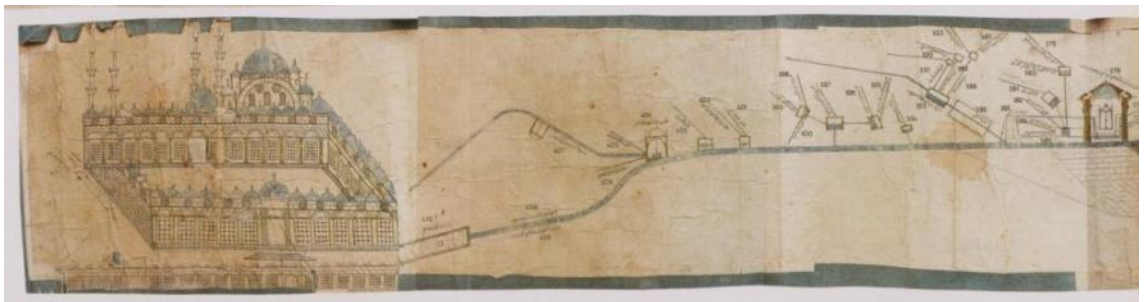
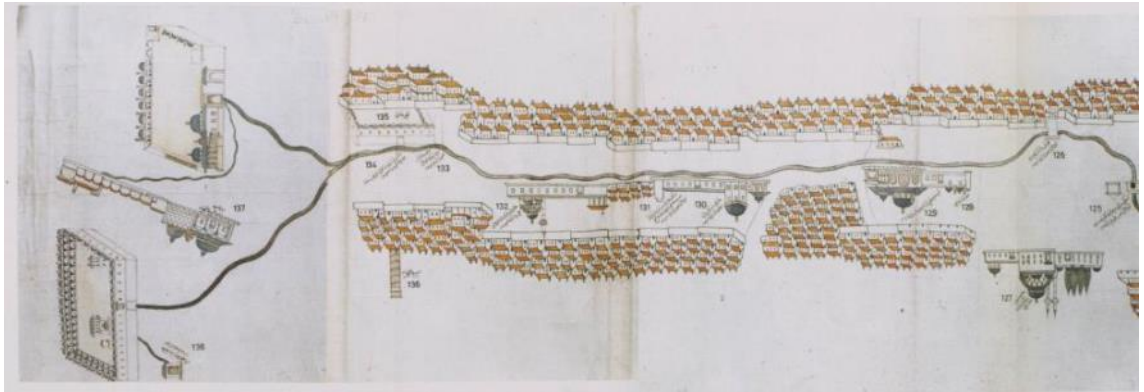


Figure 80 Detail from Köprülü water supply map. ca. 1672. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Köprülü İlave no. 197 (formerly Köprülü Library, no. 2441)

Figure 81 Detail from Süleymaniye water supply map. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 3337

Figure 82 Detail from Bayezid water supply map. 1812–13. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 3339



Figure 83 Mecca water supply map. 19th c., scale: 1/2500 and 1/150, 56 x 79 cm.
Istanbul, Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, HRT. 920

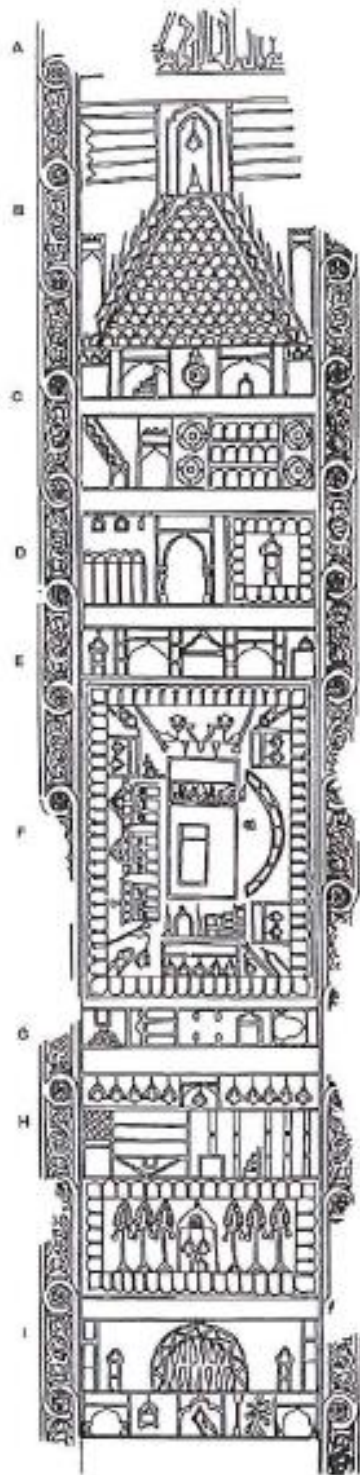


Figure 84 Drawing after a pilgrimage scroll of 608/1212. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 4091

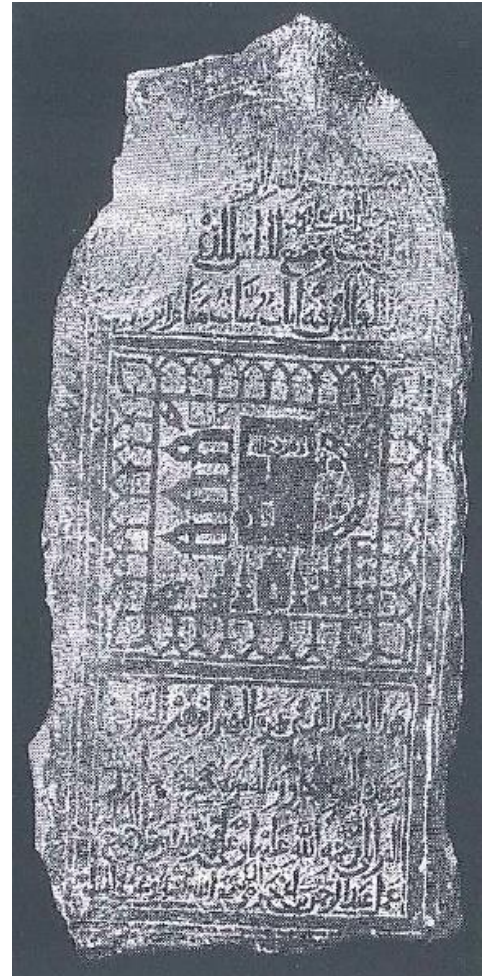


Figure 85 Stone slab. Early 13th c., 15 x 33 cm. Baghdad, Iraq Museum, no. 1149

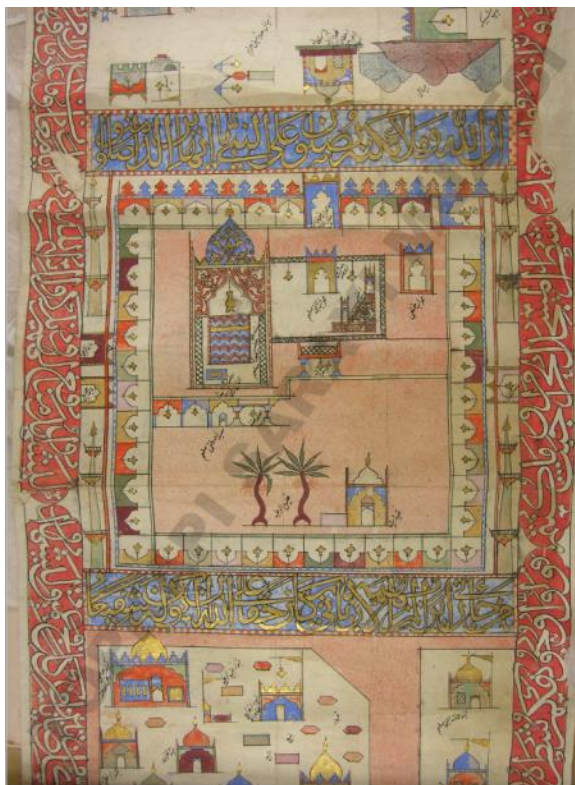


Figure 86 Masjid al-Nabawi. 951/1544–45, watercolor and ink on paper, 524 x 46 cm.
Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1812

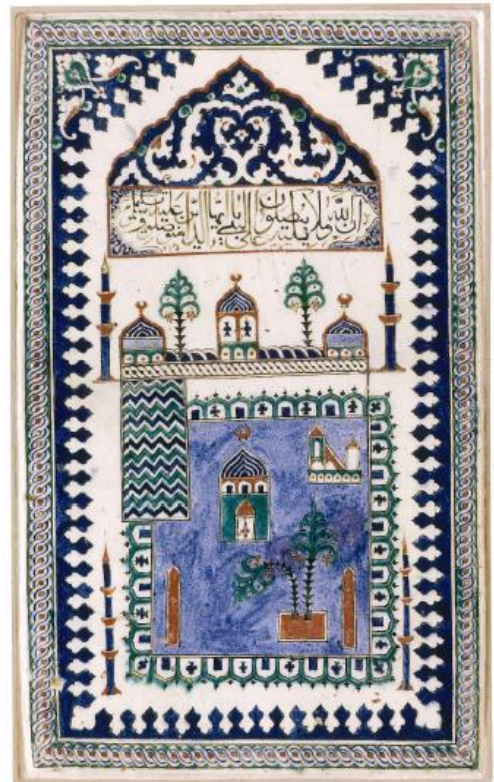


Figure 87 Masjid al-Nabawi. 17th c., stonepaste, underglaze painted, 36 x 59.8 cm.
Paris, Louvre Museum, OA 3919/557



Figure 88 “Mevlūdū’n-Nebī” and “Mevlūd-i ‘Alī.” Mevlid miscellany, 1208/1793–94 and 1257/1841–42, copyists: Mustafa Kütahi and Hakkakzade Mustafa Hilmi. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Galata Mevlevihanesi 76, fol. 161b–162a

Figure 89 The site of Abraham’s sacrifice of Ishmael and Masjid al-Khayf. Mevlid miscellany, 1208/1793–94 and 1257/1841–42, copyists: Mustafa Kütahi and Hakkakzade Mustafa Hilmi. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Galata Mevlevihanesi 76, fol. 168b–169a



Figure 90 Masjid al-Haram. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* with interlinear translation and marginal commentary, 1290/1873–74, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Kadızade, 24 x 15 cm. İstanbul, Atatürk Library, Osman Ergin Kitapları 200, p. 44–1a

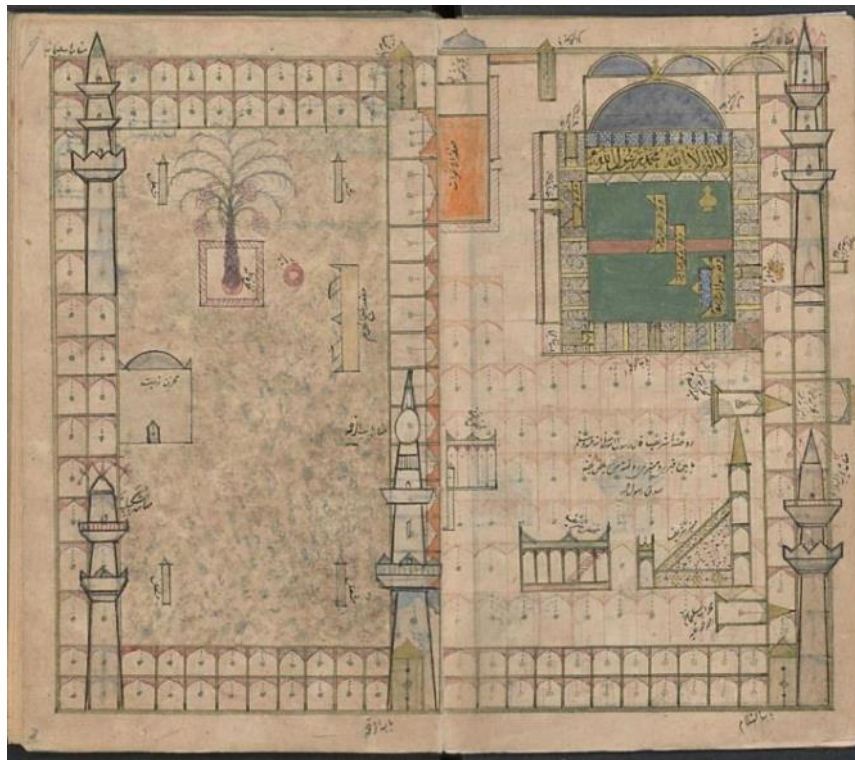


Figure 91 Masjid al-Nabawi. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1120/1708–9, copyist: Ahmed b. Abdullah Kuşası, 19.5 x 11 cm. İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, EH 1018, fol. 8b–9a

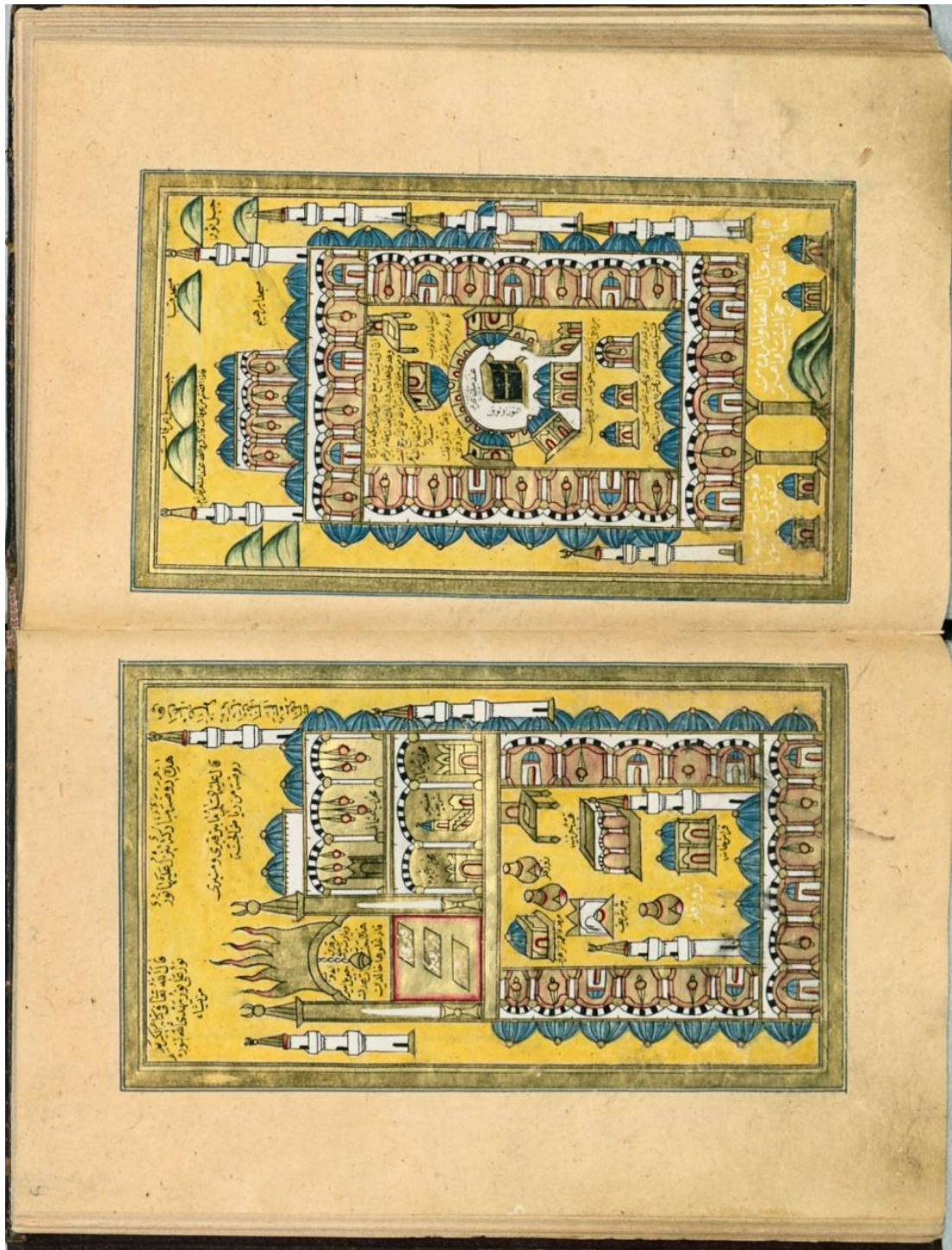


Figure 92 Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi. *En'ām-ı Şerif*, c. 1800, copyist: Mehmed Şakir, illuminator: Seyyid Ahmed, 17.4 x 11 cm. Istanbul, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 101-0183, fol. 84b–85a

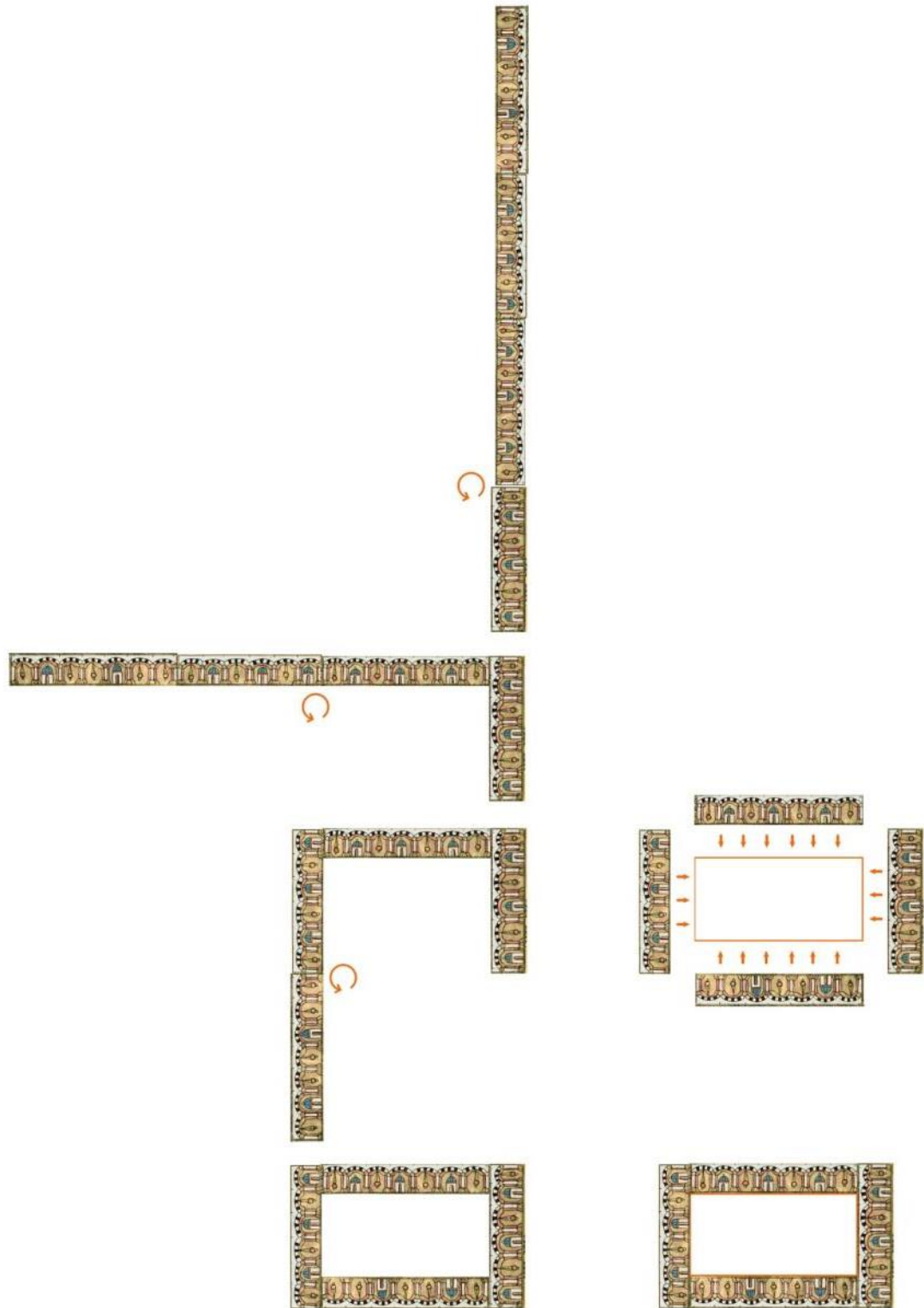


Figure 93 Folding and juxtaposition of four courtyard elevations.

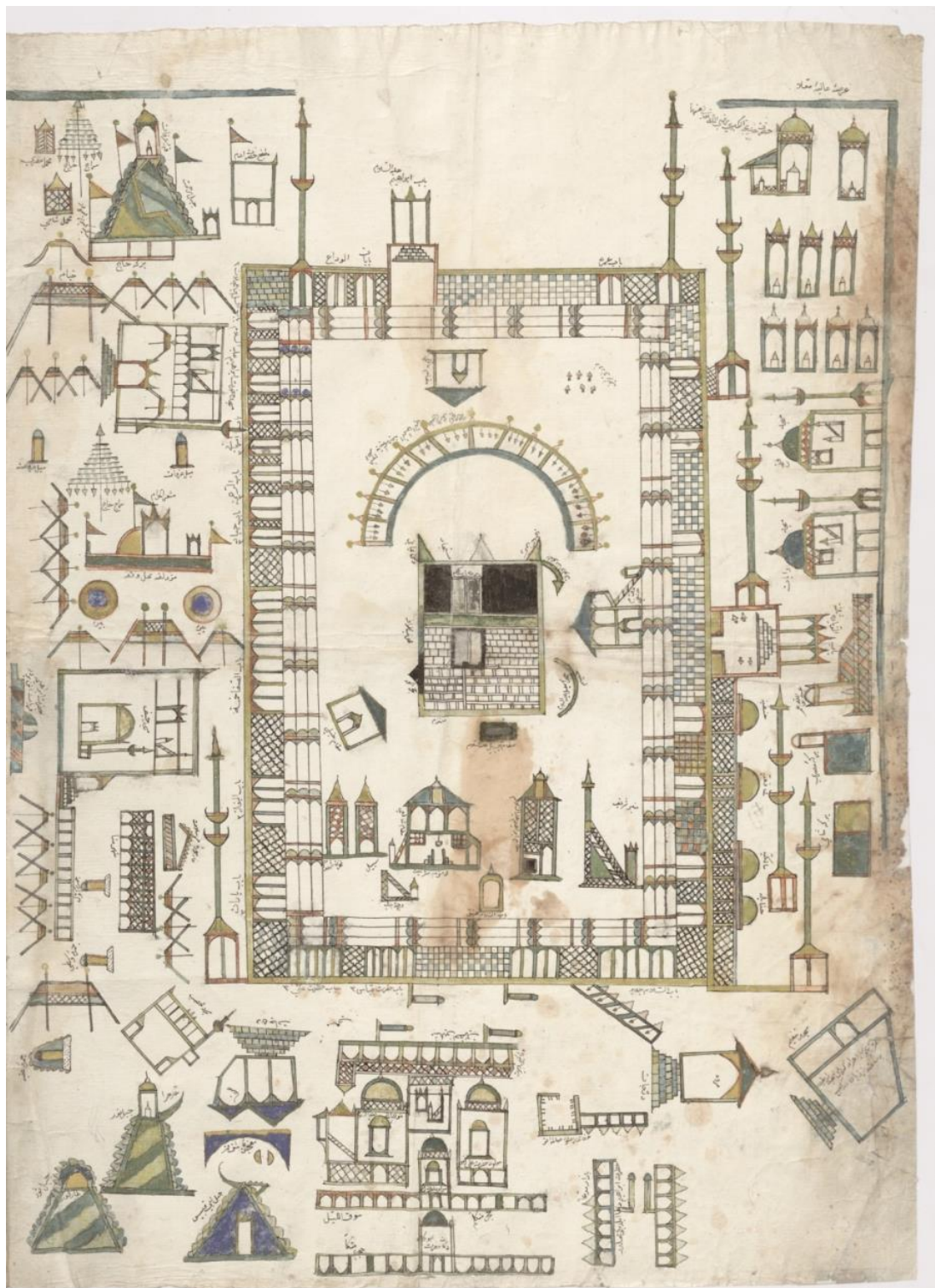


Figure 94 Mecca. 55 x 40 cm, Istanbul, Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, PLK. p. Gömlek no: 1348



Figure 95 Tawaf. *Miscellany of Iskandar Sultan*, 813/1410–11, copyist: Muhammad al-Halva‘i and Nasir al-Katib, 18.1 x 12.5 cm, opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper. British Library, Add. Ms. 27261, fol. 363a

Figure 96 Mir‘āj. *Makhzan al-Asrār*, author: Nizami, 1494–95. London, British Library, Or. 6810, fol. 5b

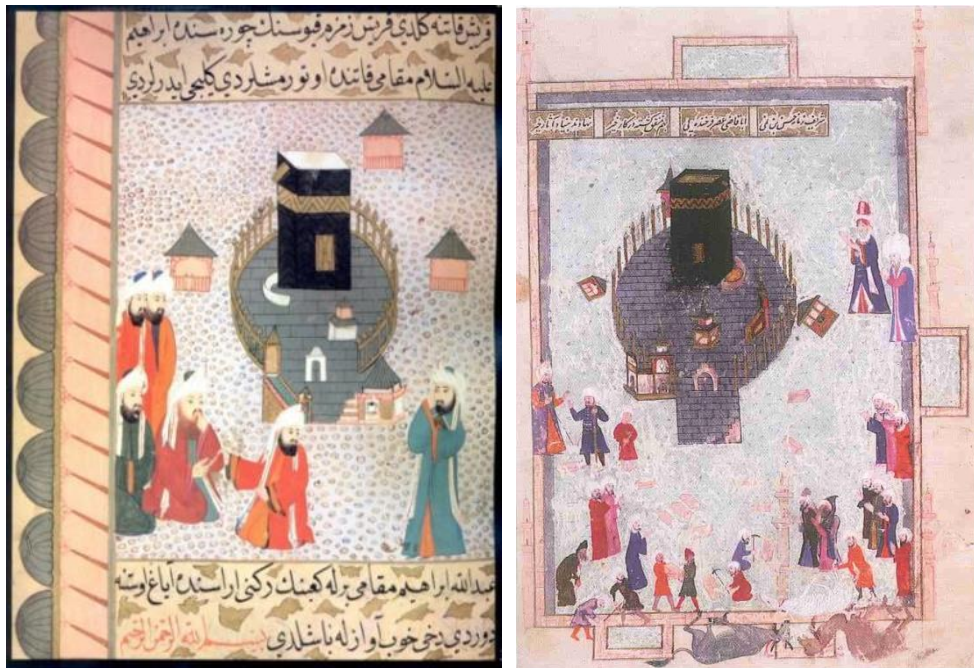


Figure 97 ‘Abdullah ibn Mas‘ud reciting the Qur’an. *Siyer-i Nebī*, 1595, author: Darir, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1222, fol. 189a

Figure 98 Repair works at the Masjid al-Haram. *Şehnāme-i Selīm Hān*, 1581, author: Seyyid Lokman, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 95b



Figure 99 Mecca. Late 17th or early 18th c., 24.5 x 23.5 cm, stonepaste, underglaze painted. Bursa, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 2735

Figure 100 Back of a ceramic panel. Late 17th or early 18th c., 24.5 x 23.5 cm, stonepaste, underglaze painted. Bursa, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 2735

Figure 101 Detail from the back of a ceramic panel. Late 17th or early 18th c., 24.5 x 23.5 cm, stonepaste, underglaze painted. Bursa, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 2735



Figure 102 Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi. *En 'ām-ı Şerif*, 1153/1740–41, copyist: İmamzade Seyyid Muhammed, 15.5 x 10 cm. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YY 155, fol. 74b–75a

Figure 103 Ka'ba and Burial Chamber. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1158/1745–46, copyist: Hafız Ahmed, 15.8 x 10.5 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1535, fol. 20b–21a

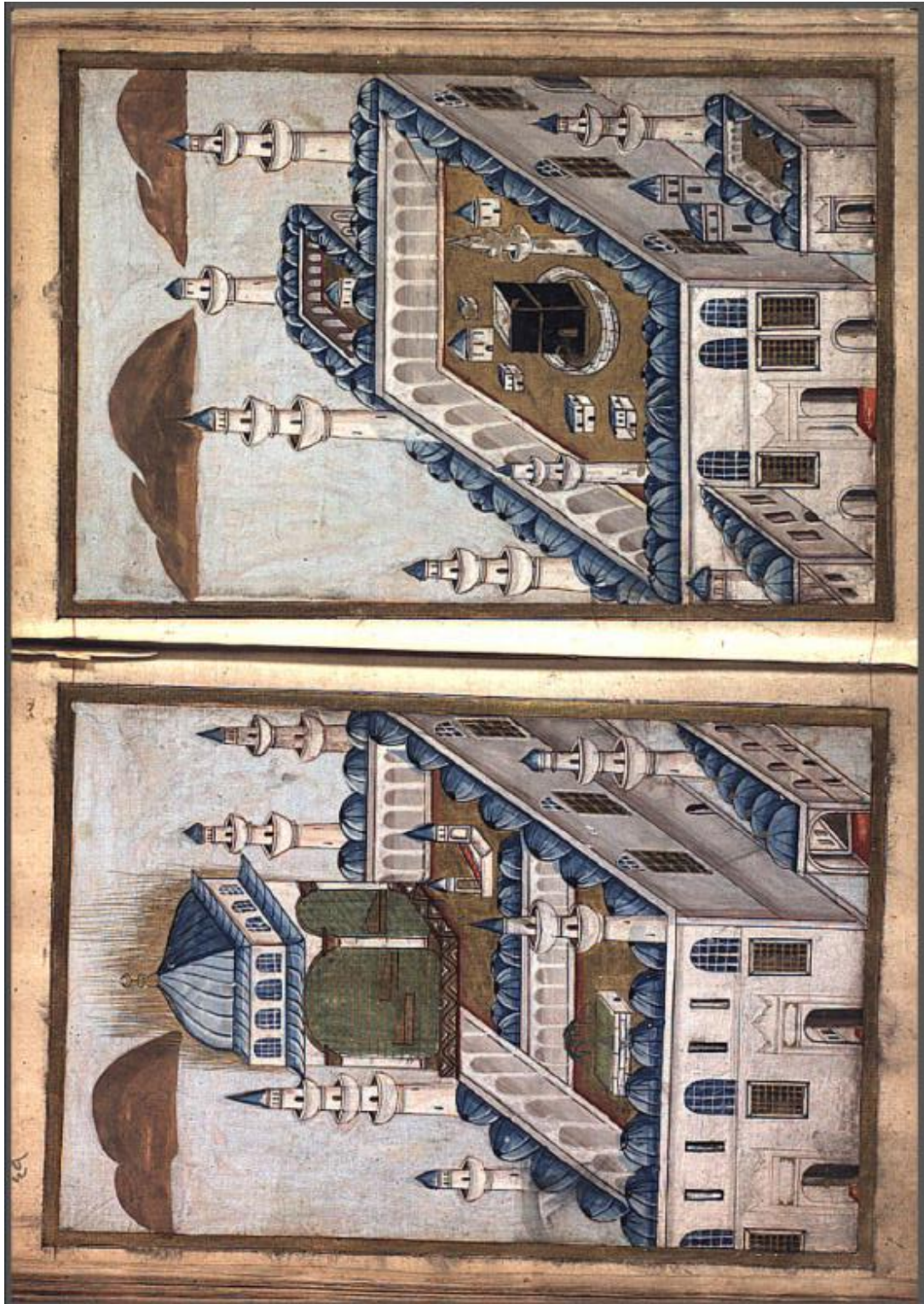


Figure 104 Masjid al-Haram and Masjid al-Nabawi. *Şerh-i Delâ'ilü'l-Ḥayrât*, 1160/1747–48, 22 x 14.5 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3963, fol. 48b–49a



Figure 105 Jerusalem. Murakka, 29.2 x 21.8 cm. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 447, fol. 8a

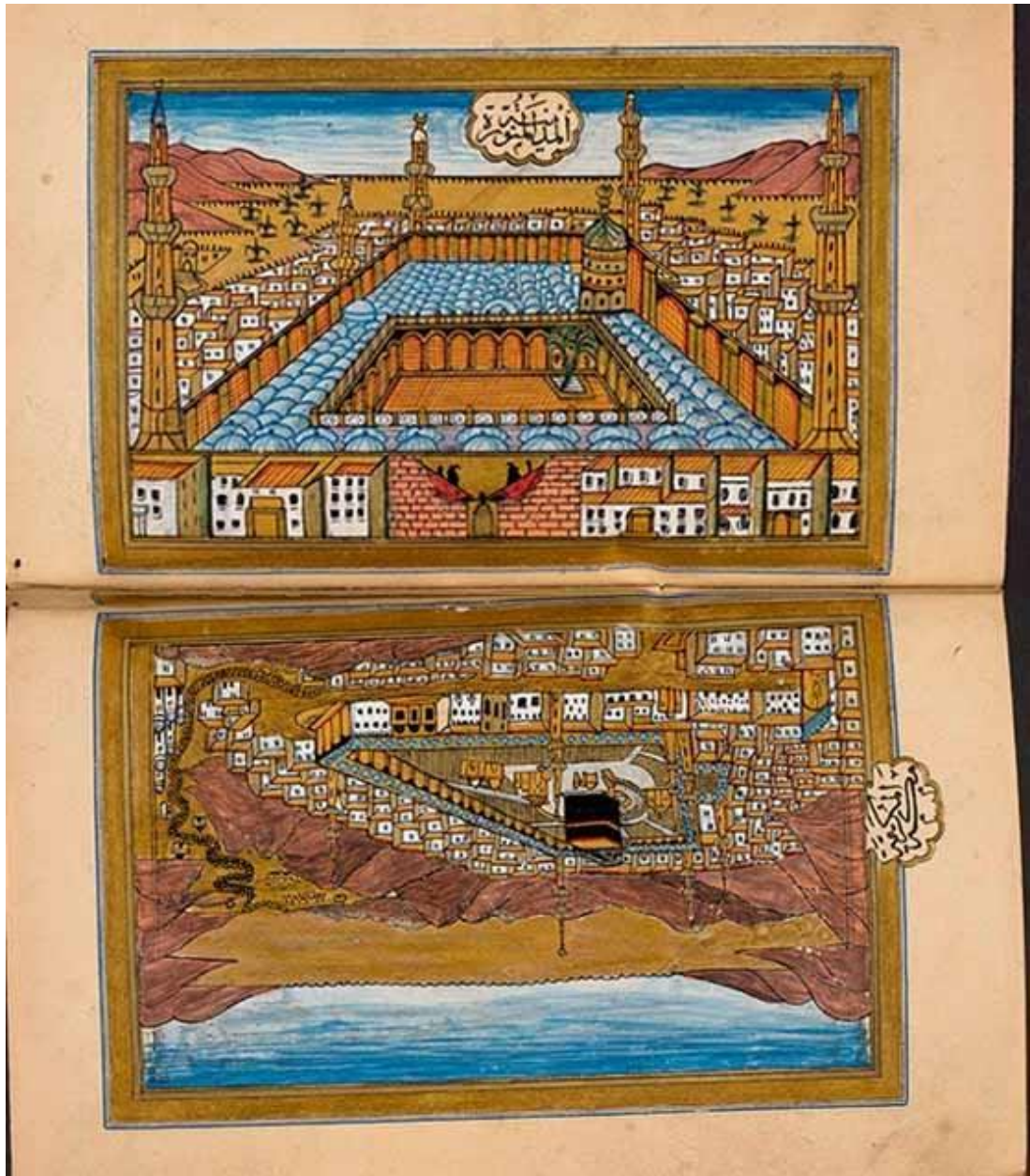


Figure 106 “Medīne-i Münevvere” and “Mekke-i Mükerrreme.” *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1293/1876–77, call.: Hafız Osman Nuri Burduri (Kayışzade), 16.9 x 10.2 cm, opaque watercolor on lithographic print. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 12075, 17b–18a

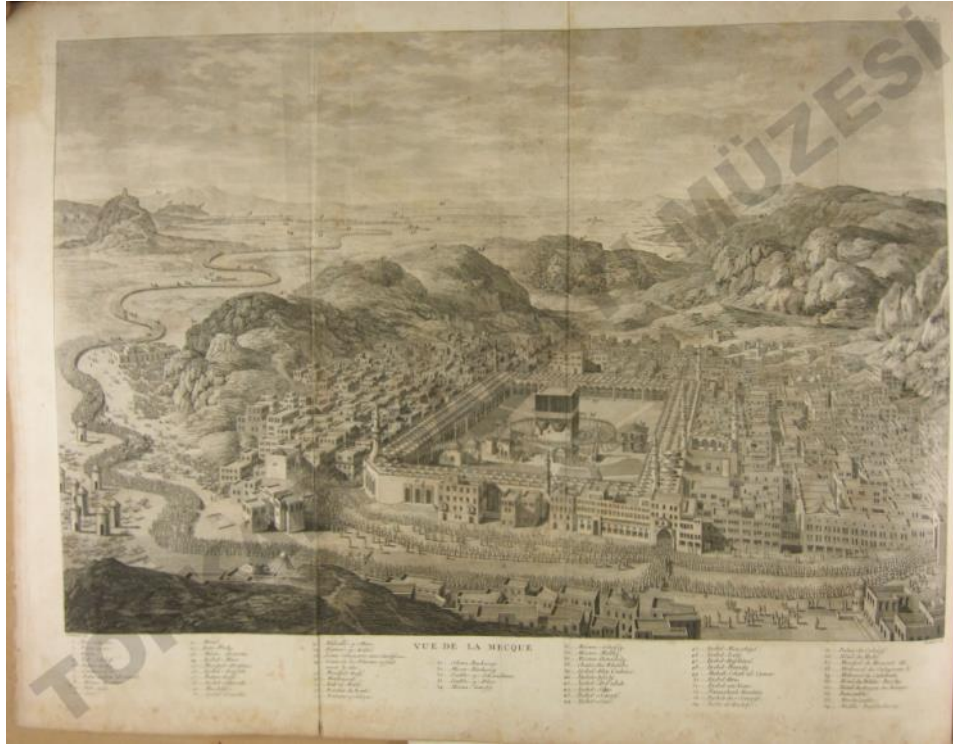


Figure 107 “Vue de la Mecque.” Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman*, vol. 2, 1789, #45, engraved by Berthault after l’Espinasse, 49.2 x 63 cm. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YB 3441

Figure 108 “Médine.” Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’Empire othoman*, vol. 2, 1789, #53, engraved by Tilliard, 32.4 x 49.2 cm. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, YB 3441

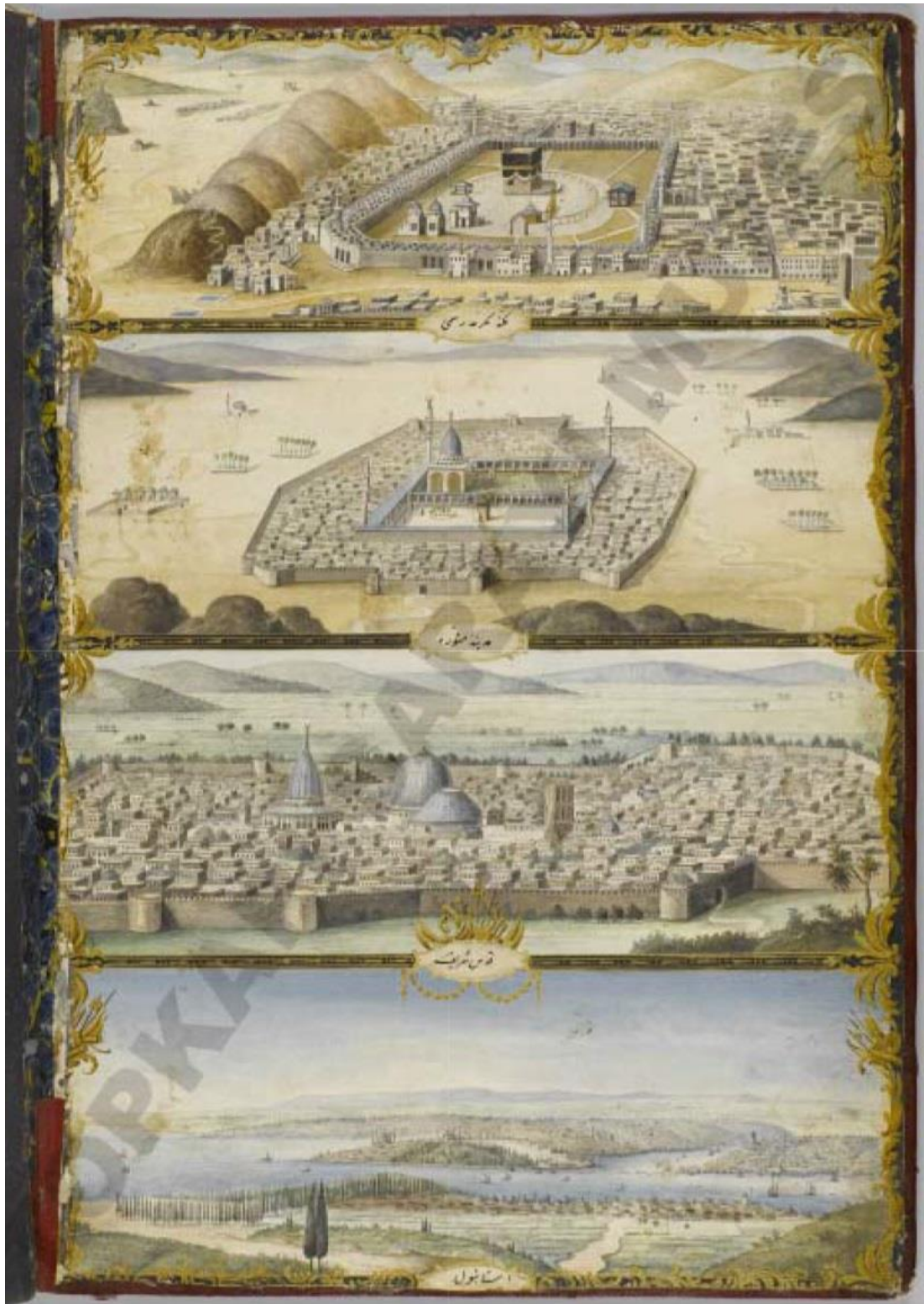


Figure 109 Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. In the front doublure of an album presented to Selim III, 1793. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A 3689



Figure 110 Bosphorus, Dardanelles, Bursa, and Edirne. In the back doublure of an album presented to Selim III, 1793. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A 3689

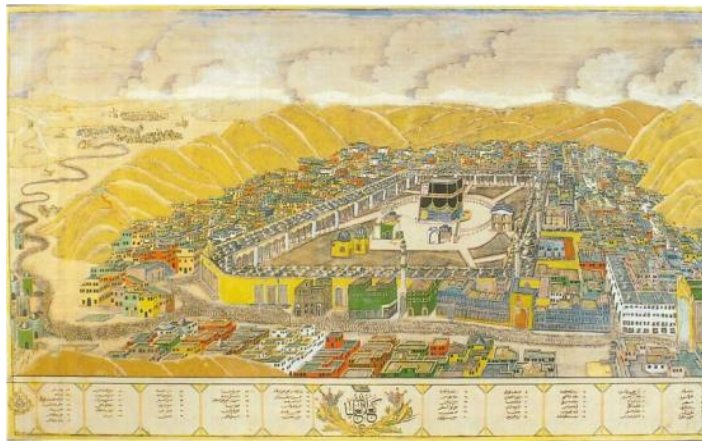


Figure 111 Ka'betullāhū'l-'Ulyā. 1803, engraved by Carl Ponheimer after Andreas Magnus Hunglinger, 48.7 x 85 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, ARC.PT 75

Figure 112 Ka'betullāhū'l-'Ulyā. 1286/1869–70, signed by Mahmud, print colored by hand, 56 x 91.5 cm. Istanbul, Calligraphy Museum, no. 2205

Figure 113 Mecca. Wall painting in Havatin Türbesi, Yeni Valide Mosque Complex, Eminönü



Figure 114 Rawda. *Dalā' il al-Khayrāt*, 1193/1779–80, copyist: el-Hacc İsmail Fethi, disciple of Süleyman Şeyhi, 16.7 x 10.5 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 1213, fol. 46b–47a

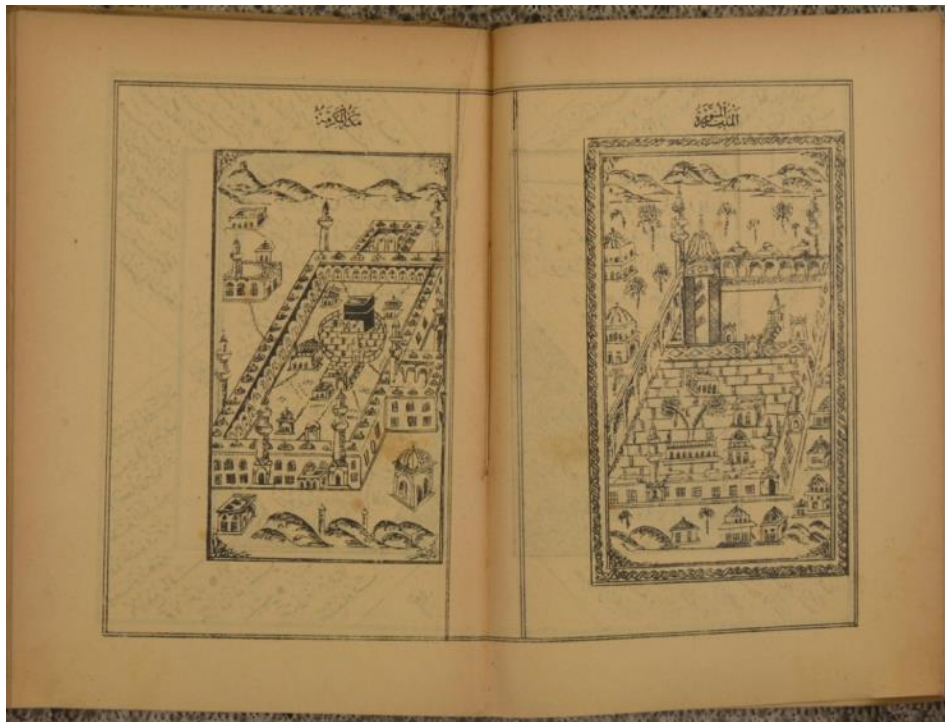
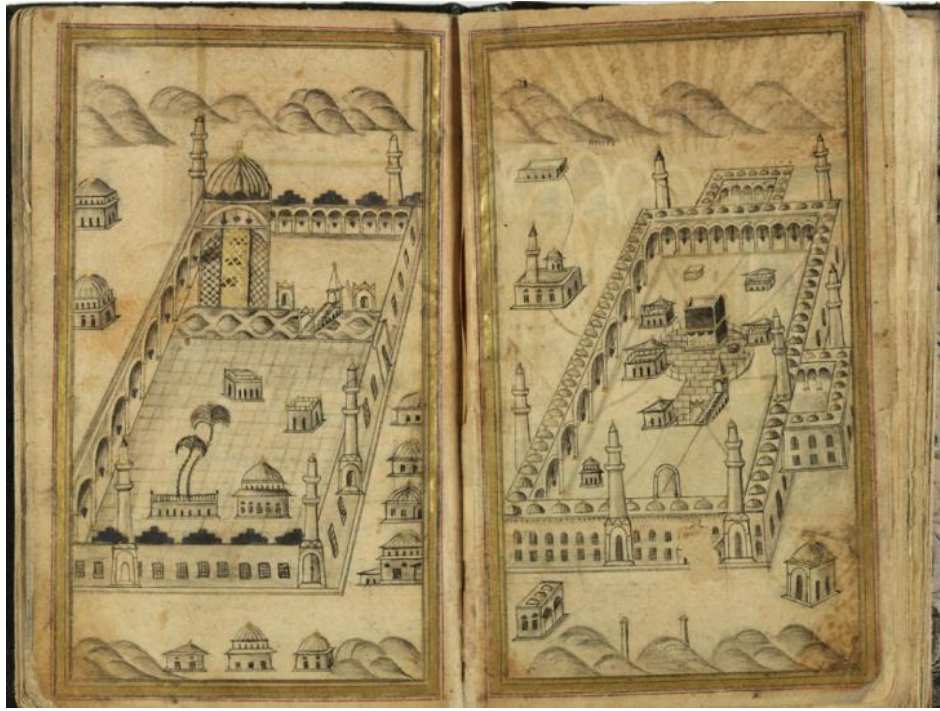


Figure 115 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1193/1779–80, copyist: el-Hacc İsmail Fethi, disciple of Süleyman Şeyhi, 16.7 x 10.5 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 1213, fol. 47b–48a

Figure 116 “Madīna al-Munawwara” and “Makka al-Mukarrama.” Miscellany including the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1325/1907–8, call.: Hüseyin Hüsnü, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Şirket-i Sahafiyye, İstanbul, Millet Manuscript Library, AEarb 1928, p. 16–17



Figure 117 Interior panorama of the Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Mosque, Manisa



Figure 118 Late-comers' porch panorama of the Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Mosque, Manisa



Figure 119 Mecca. Wall painting in the Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Mosque, Manisa



Figure 120 Medina. Wall painting in the Soma Hızır Bey (Çarşı) Mosque, Manisa

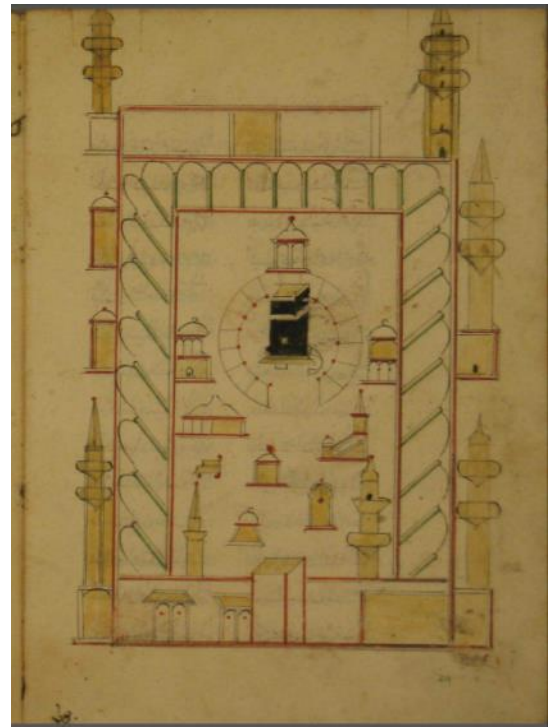
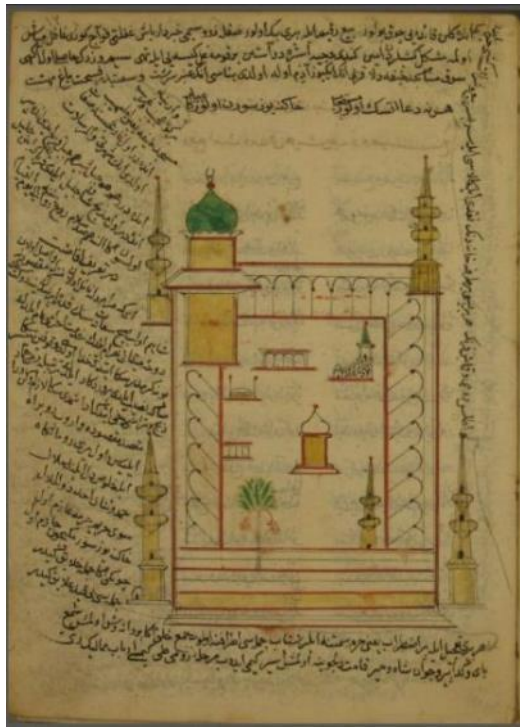


Figure 121 Masjid al-Haram. *Manzūme-i der Menāsikü'l-Hacc*, 1056/1646–47, copyist: Hacı Ahmed Efendi, 19 x 14 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Ahmed Paşa 344, 7b

Figure 122 Masjid al-Nabawi. *Manzūme-i der Menāsikü'l-Hacc*, 1056/1646–47, copyist: Hacı Ahmed Efendi, 19 x 14 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Ahmed Paşa 344, 13a

Figure 123 Masjid al-Haram. *Chao Jin Tu Ji* (Record of the Pilgrimage Journey), 1861, author: Ma Fuchu (Ma Dexin), woodblock print on rice paper, 26.3 x 15.2 cm. Toronto, Aga Khan Museum, no. 681

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VUES PHOTOGRAPHIQUES

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4. La prière autour de la Kaaba. (Cote N.-E.) ;
5. Porte de Safa à la Mècque ;
6. Mouda (tombeau des parents de Mohammed) à la Mècque ;
7. Campement des pèlerins pendant la fête de sacrifice à Mounab, en 2 feuilles ;
8. Campement des pèlerins autour du mont Arafat ;
9. Vue de Médine. (Cote N.) ;
10. Vue de Médine avec la place du campement des pèlerins en 2 pl^{es} ;
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- 14, 15. Vue de Médine avec la place du campement des pèlerins ;
16. Intérieur de la mosquée-Mohammed, à Médine ;
- 17, 18. Portrait du grand chef de la mosquée de Médine et des serviteurs attachés au tombeau de Mohammed.

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Figure 124 Pamphlets for advertising Sadiq Bey's portfolios. Auctioned at Sotheby's



Figure 125 Sticker on the back of a photograph. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, no. 2135-1924

Figure 126 Seal of Sadiq Bey on a photograph mount. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, Shapazian Collection, 2010.R.20, T 12

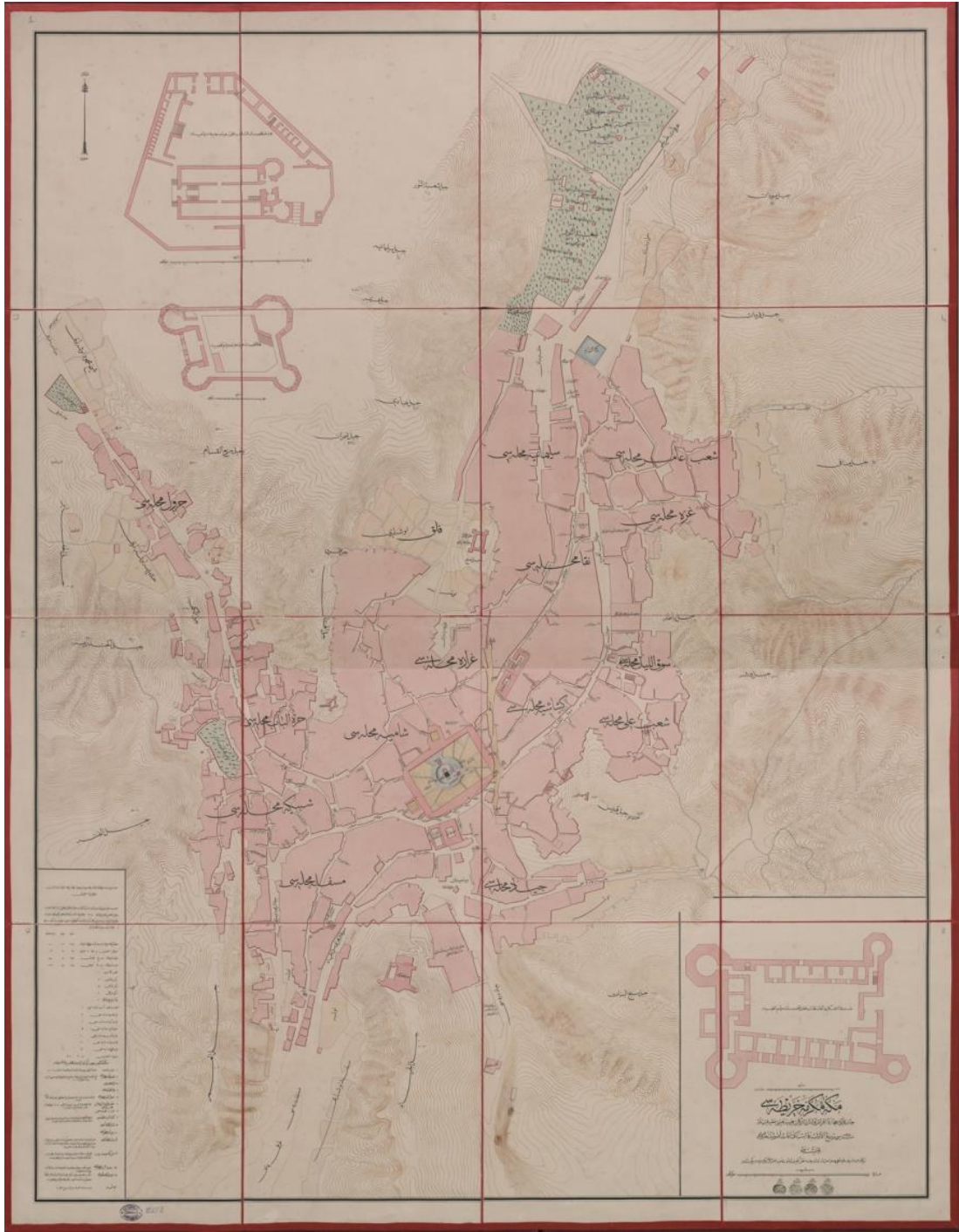


Figure 127 Mecca. Rebiülevvel 1298 / February–March 1881, 138 x 108 cm, scale: 1/2000.
Istanbul University Library, no. 92252

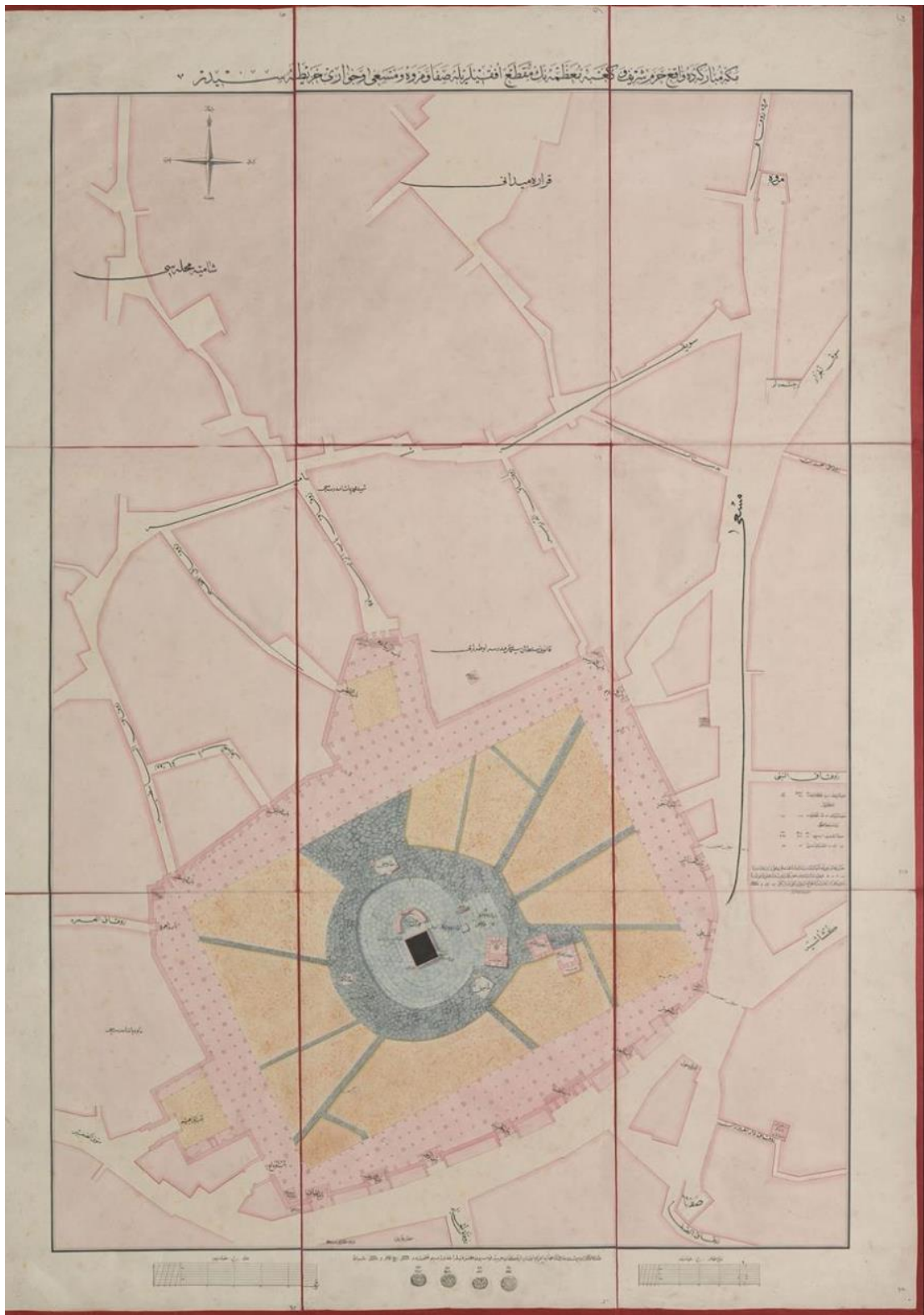


Figure 128 Masjid al-Haram. Rebiülahir 1298 / March 1881, 122 x 87 cm, scale: 1/160.
Istanbul University Library, no. 92256

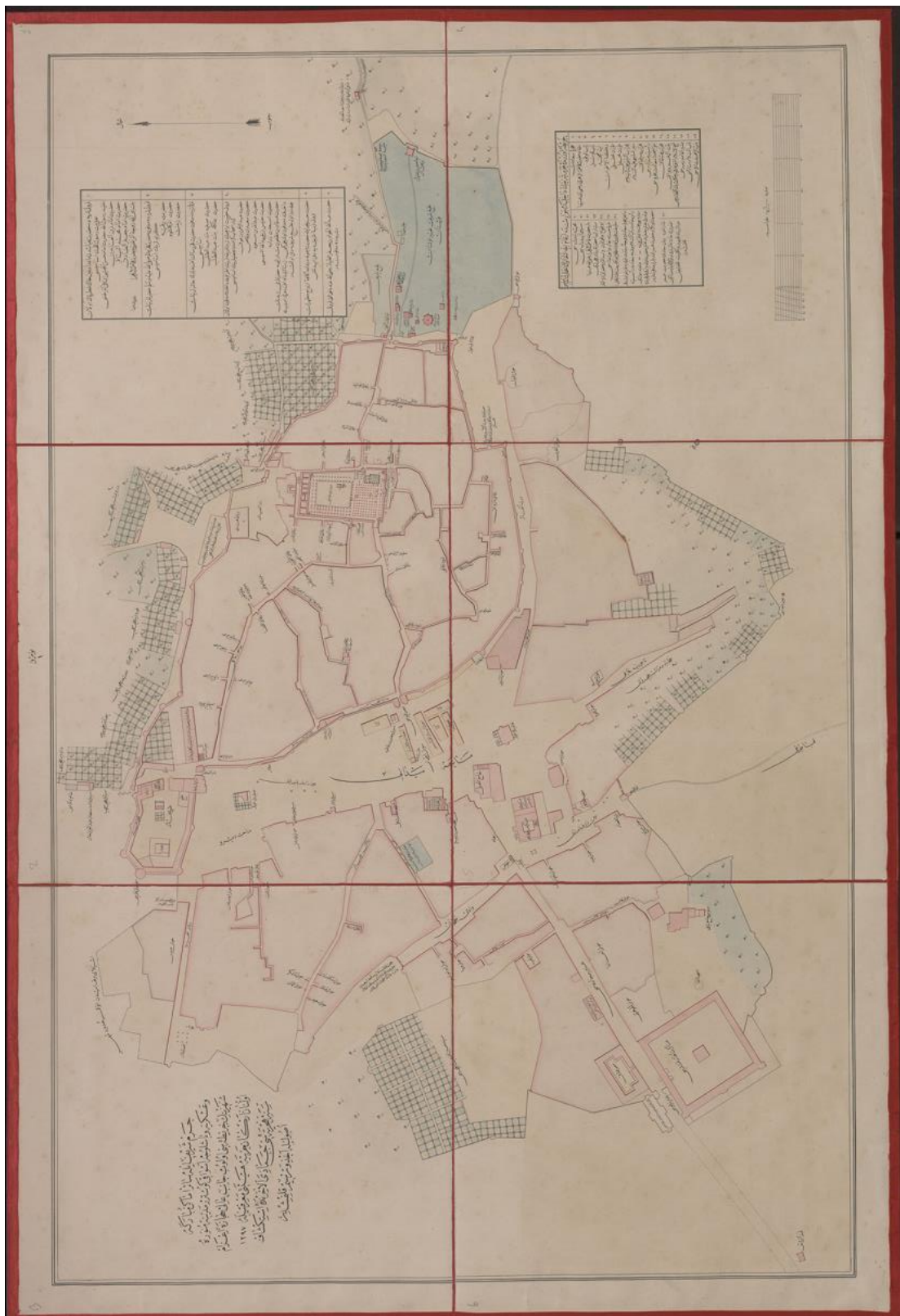


Figure 129 Medina. Cemaziyelahir 1297 / May–June 1880, 68 x 100 cm, scale: 1/2000.
Istanbul University Library, no. 92259

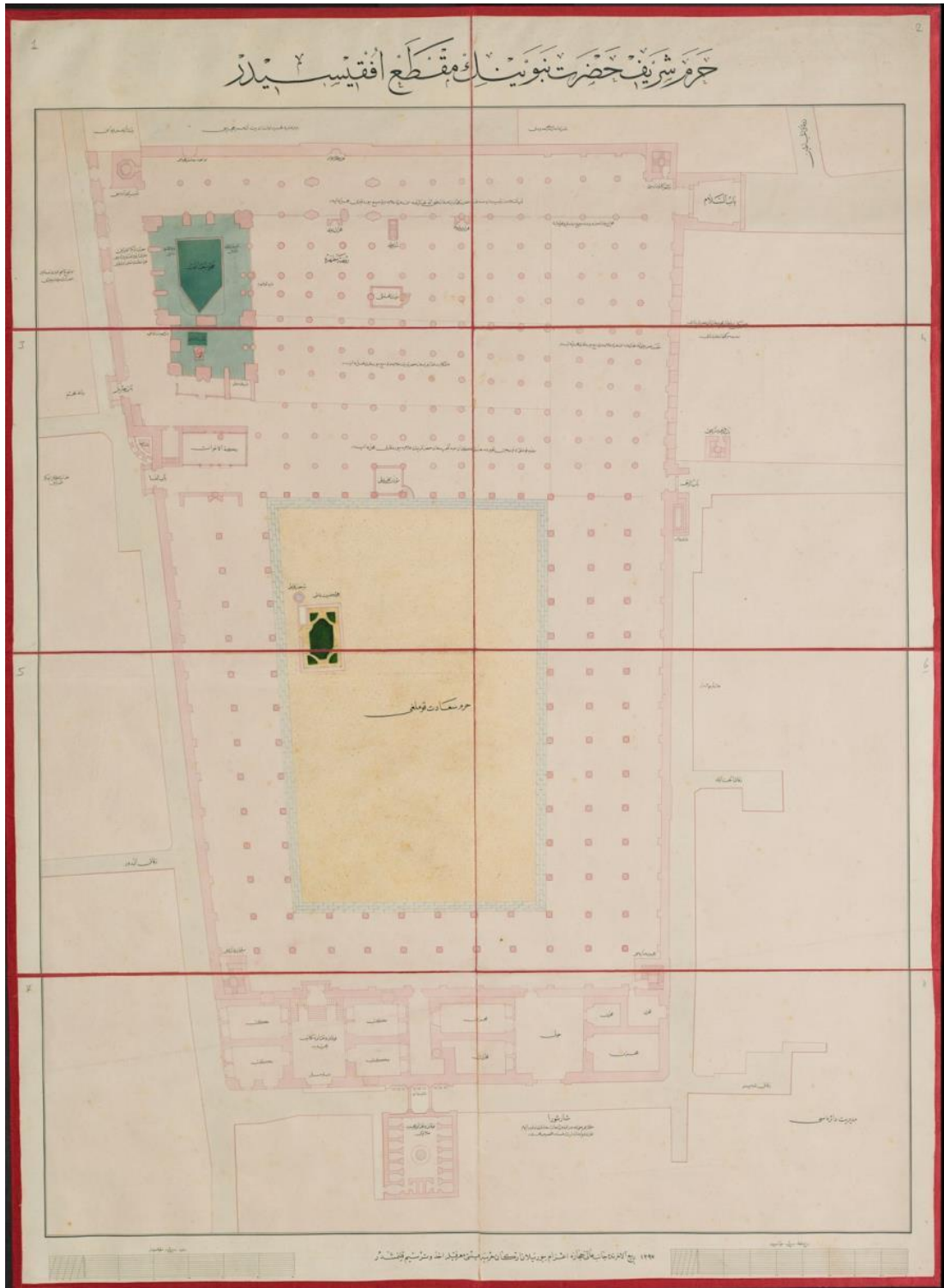


Figure 130 Masjid al-Nabawi. Rebiülahir 1297 / March–April 1880, 112 x 82 cm, scale: 1/160. Istanbul University Library, no. 92255

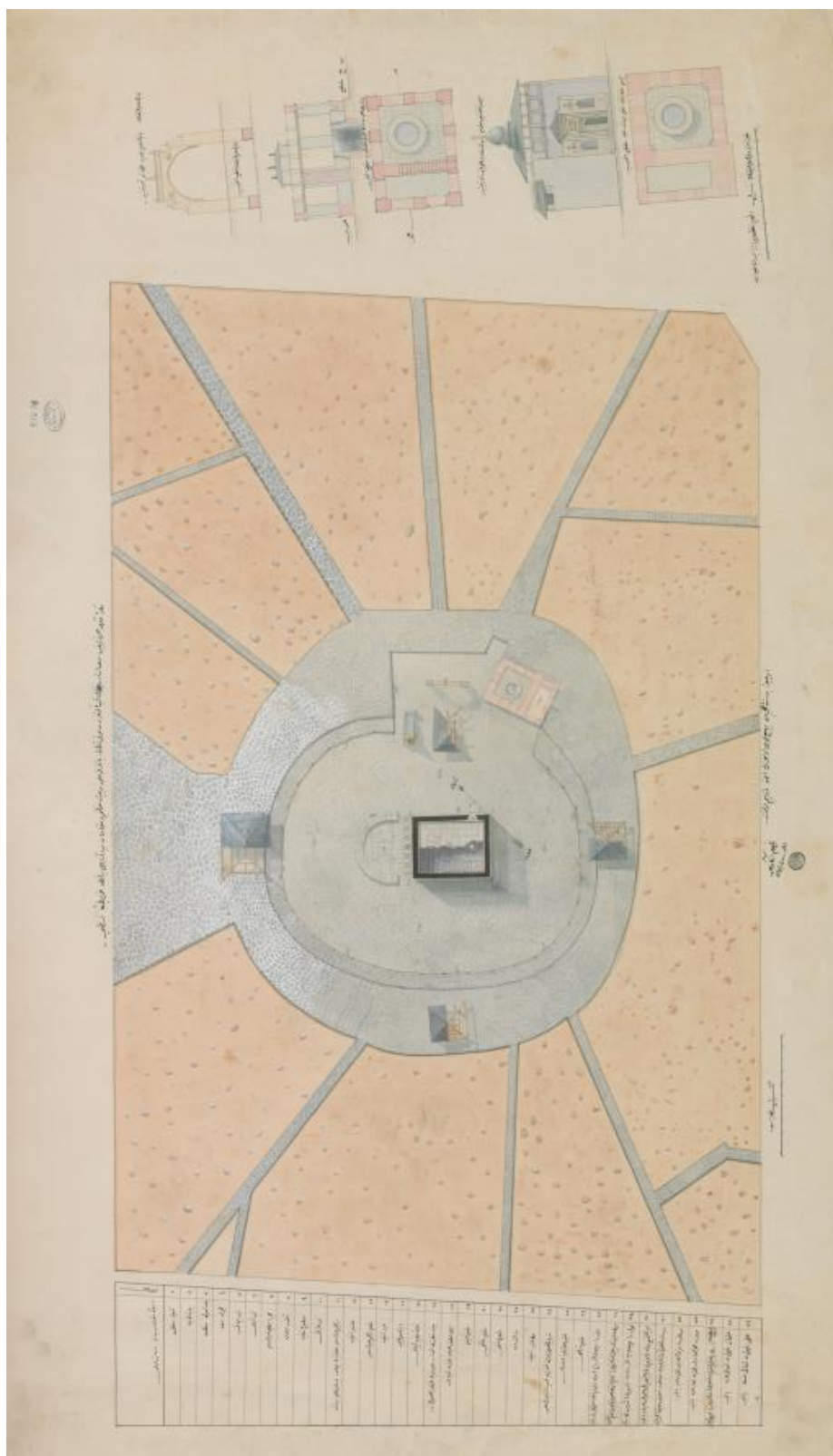


Figure 131 Courtyard of the Masjid al-Haram. 1301/1883–84, 71 x 122 cm, scale: 1/200.
Istanbul University Library, no. 93679

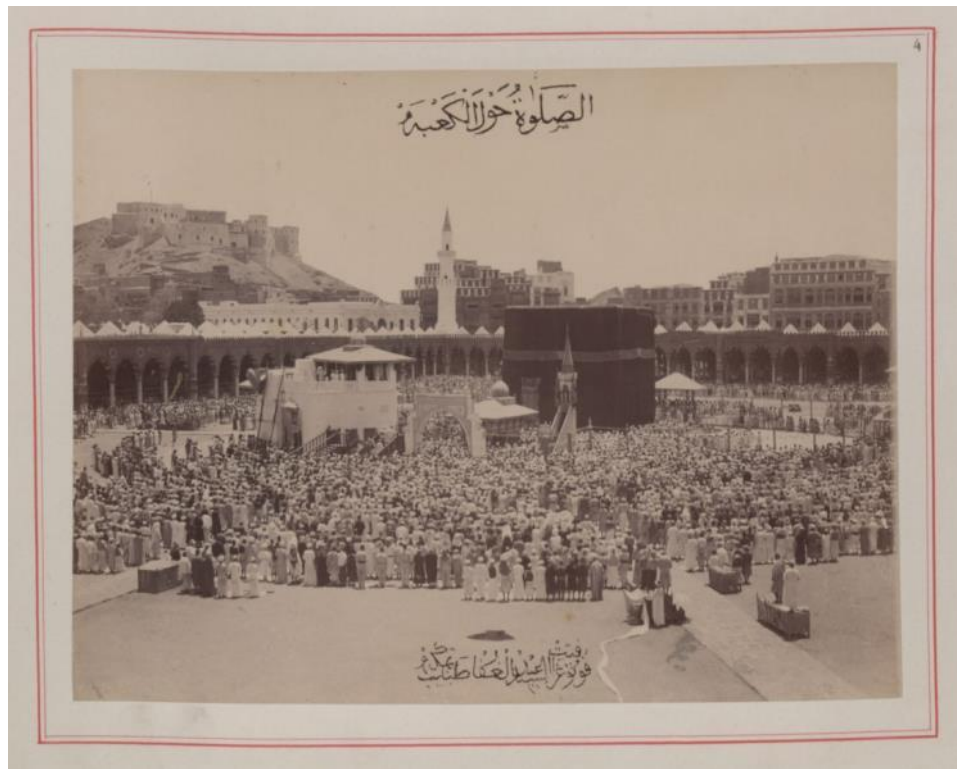


Figure 132 “Ansicht der Moschee.” Collotype, 27 x 36 cm, 18.6 x 23.7 cm. Christiaan Snouck Hurgonje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, 1889, #1

Figure 133 “Al-ṣalawat ḥawla al-Ka’ba.” Albumen print, 19.5 x 25.5 cm, 31 x 39.5 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90789/4



Mekkanerin.



Lehndiener und Eunuch mit dem Kinde seines Herrn.



Mekkanerin im Brautanzug.

Damen in Haus- und Straßentollette (Djiddah).
Aufsahen von Siegfried Langer.

Figure 134 Meccan woman, servant, and eunuch holding the baby of their patron, Meccan woman in wedding dress, Ladies in the house and street costume. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and Siegfried Langer, collotypes, 36 x 27 cm, 13.8 x 9.7 cm. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder Atlas*, 1888, # 25



Figure 135 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1333/1914, Cairo: 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad. Leiden University Library, 8203 C 15, p. 30–31

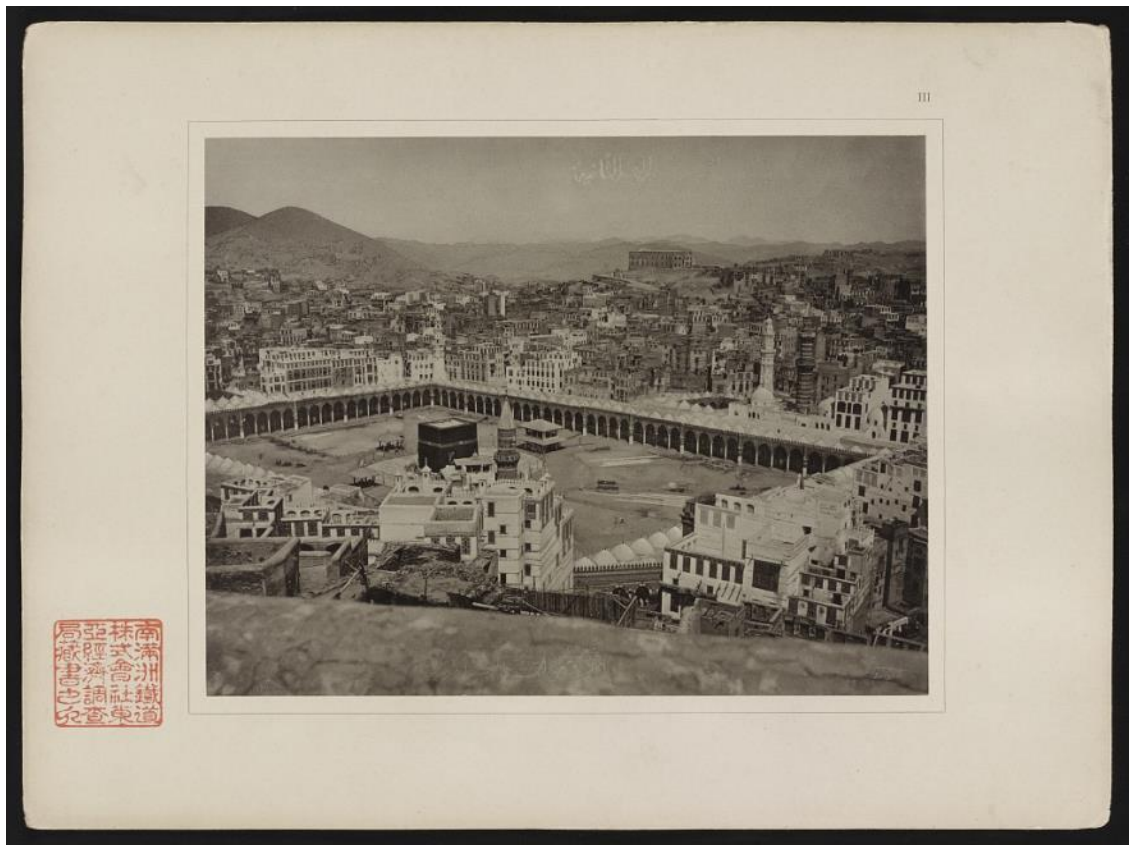
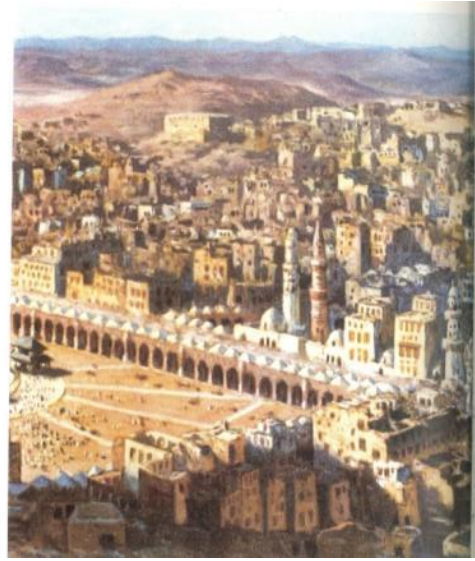
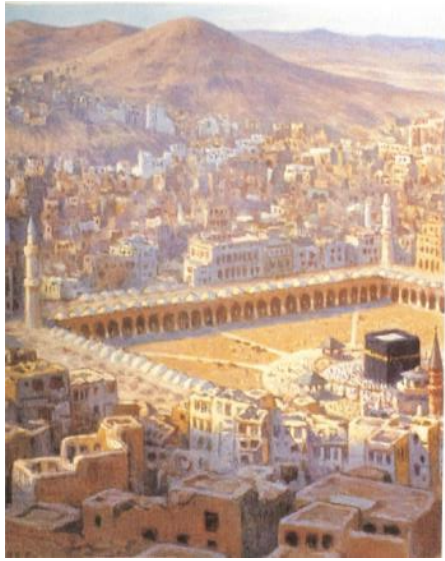
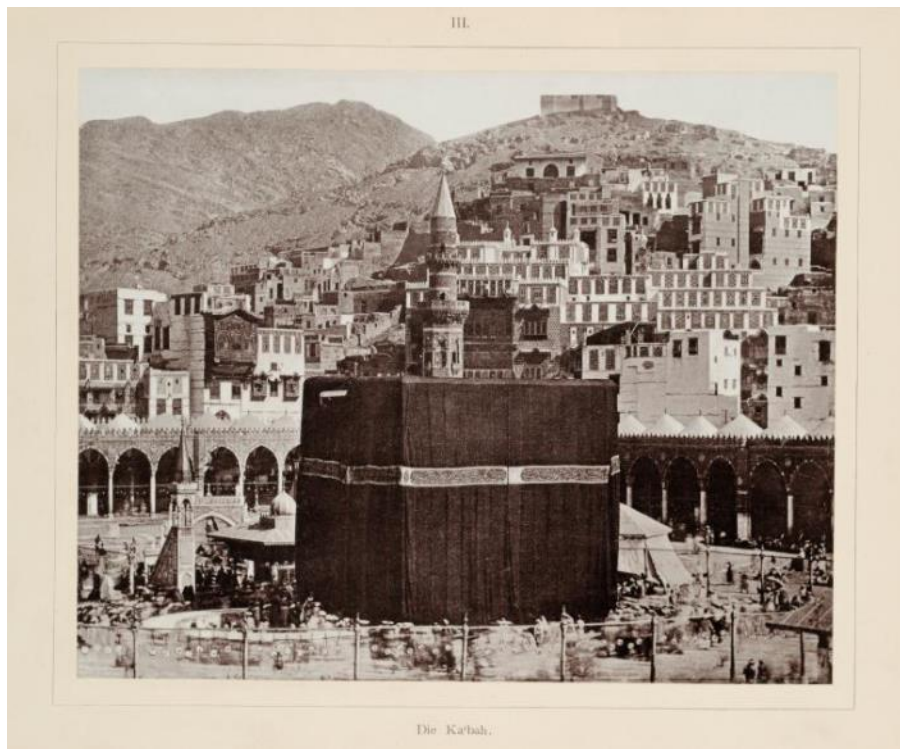
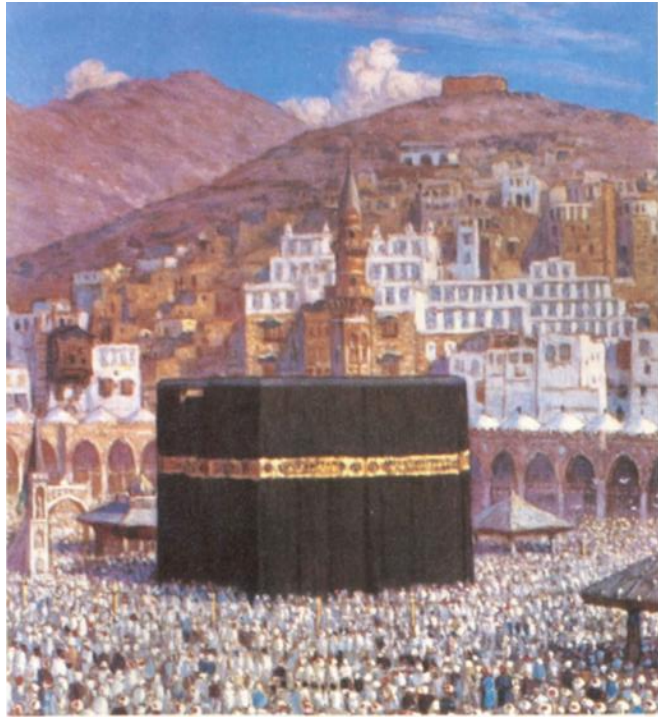


Figure 136 Mecca. Étienne Dinet, before 1914, oil and tempera on cardboard, 27 x 22 cm (each).
Frédéric Lung Collection

Figure 137 “Zweite Ansicht der Stadt Mekka ...” Collotype, 18.7 x 24 cm, 27 x 36 cm. Christiaan
Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, 1889, # 3



Die Ka'bah.

Figure 138 Masjid al-Haram. Étienne Dinet, before 1914, oil and tempera on cardboard, 25.5 x 23 cm. Frédéric Lung Collection

Figure 139 "Die Ka'bah." Collotype, 17 x 21 cm, 27 x 36 cm. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder Atlas*, 1889, # 3



Figure 140 Medina. Mahmud, 1332/1913–14 or 1916–17, oil on canvas, 80 x 115 cm. Istanbul, Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture

Figure 141 “Medīne-i Münevvere Şehri.” Albumen print, 51.5 x 87.4 cm, 16.7 x 38.3 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90743, 10a–b

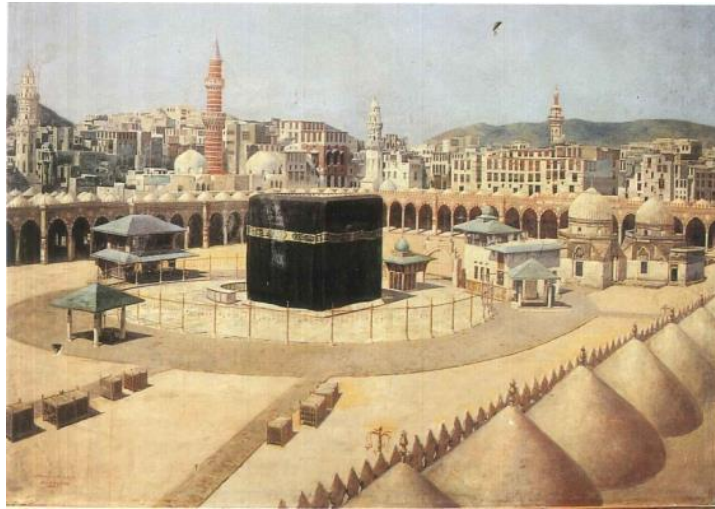


Figure 142 Masjid al-Haram. Kolağası Ali Rıza, 1317/1899–1900, oil on canvas, 116 x 130 cm. Istanbul, Calligraphy Museum, no. 1698

Figure 143 “Harem-i Şerif.” Albumen print, 52.5 x 75.5 cm, 18.8 x 23 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90744/14



Figure 144 Interior panorama of the Fatih Mosque, Istanbul

Figure 145 Mecca, Medina, and Istanbul. Mimarzade Mehmed Ali, 27 Ramazan 1323 / 25 November 1905, oil on canvas, 174.2 x 239.7 cm (with the frame), 130.4 x 195.4 cm. Istanbul, Fatih Mosque

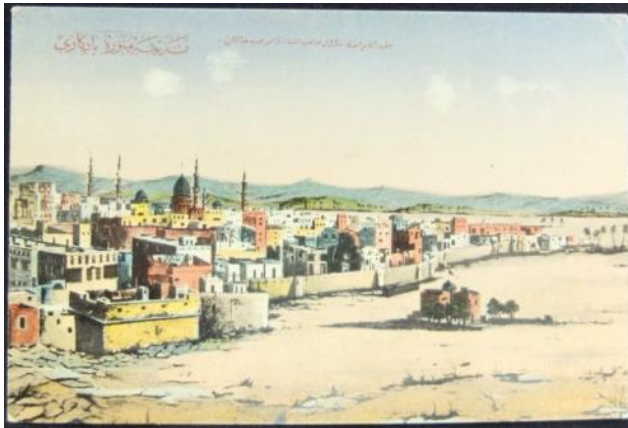


Figure 146 Medina detail. Mimarzade Mehmed Ali, 27 Ramazan 1323 / 25 November 1905, oil on canvas, circa 135 x 190 cm. Istanbul, Fatih Mosque

Figure 147 “Medīne-i Münevvere Yādigārı.” Chromolithograph, 8.9 x 13.8 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, ARC.PC 473

Figure 148 Medina. 11 Zilkade 1315 / 3 April 1898 or after, chromolithograph, 53 x 69 cm. Istanbul, National Palaces, Painting Collection, no. 54/2500



Figure 149 “Medīne-i Münevvere Manzara-i Mübārekesi...” signed by Sadiq Bey, 1298/1880, albumen print, 24 x 62.5 cm, 16 x 38 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90770/4

Figure 150 Medina. Albumen print, 21.5 x 27.6 cm. Leiden University Library, Or. 12.288 L/6



Figure 151 Mecca detail. Mimarzade Mehmed Ali, 27 Ramazan 1323 / 25 November 1905, oil on canvas, circa 135 x 190 cm. Istanbul, Fatih Mosque

Figure 152 “Al-Ḥaram al-Mekka.” Signed by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, 1880s, albumen print, 31 x 39.5 cm, 19.5 x 25.5 cm. Istanbul University Library, no. 90789/1

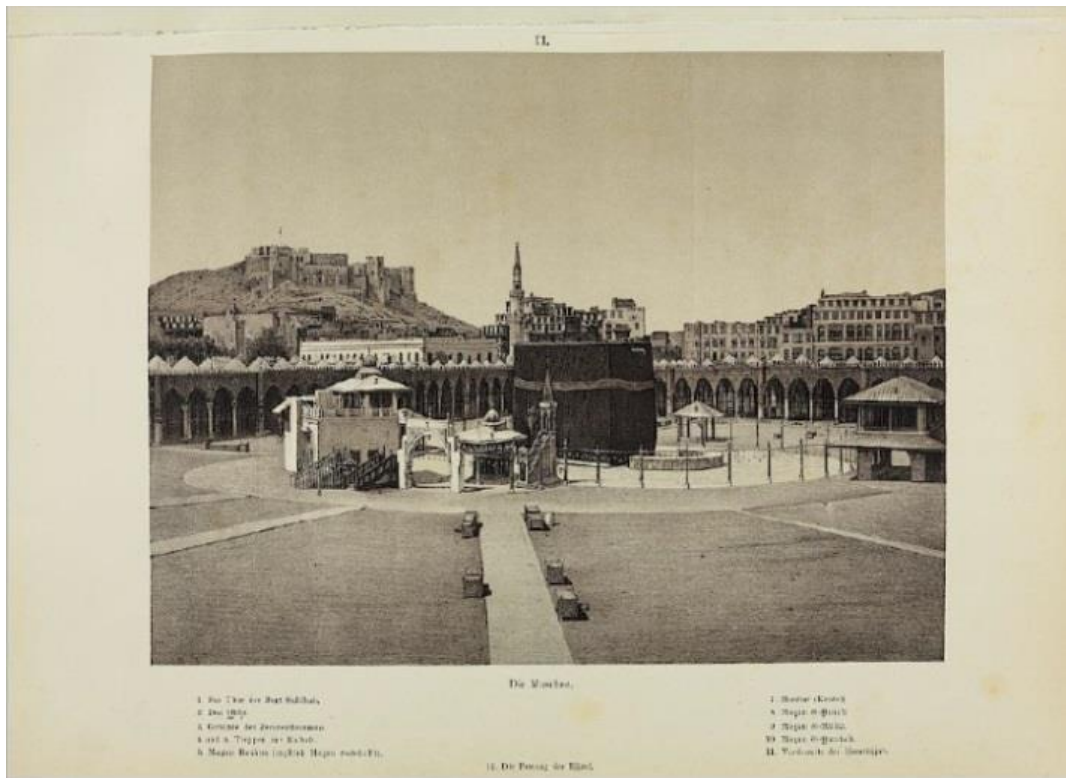


Figure 153 "Al-Hara[m] al-Mekka." Signed by 'Abd al-Ghaffar, 1880s, albumen print, 21 x 28.2 cm. Leiden University Library, Or. 26.367/5

Figure 154 "Die Moschee." Tinted lithograph, 27 x 36 cm, 20 x 26 cm. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder Atlas*, 1888, #2

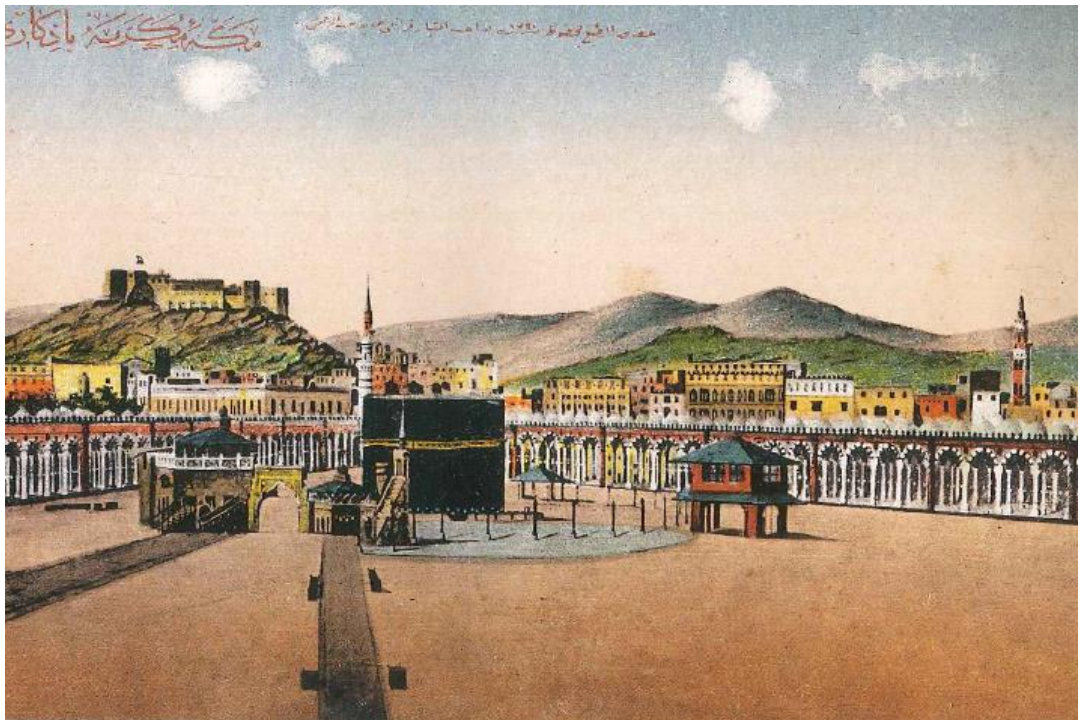


Figure 155 “Zentrum der Moschee.” Lantern slide, after 1889, 8.3 x 8.3 cm. Leiden University Library, Said-Reute Collection 59/3

Figure 156 “Mekke-i Mükerrerme Yâdigârı.” Chromolithograph, 9.1 x 13.6 cm. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, ARC.PC 472



Figure 157 Masjid al-Haram. Prayer rug, 17th c.? 146 x 130 cm.
Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, no. 287

Figure 158 Masjid al-Nabawi. Prayer rug, 1332/1913–14, 143 x 100 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, TXT 59

Figure 159 Masjid al-Haram. Hereke prayer rug, 1909, Private Collection



Figure 160 Masjid al-Haram. 1070/1659–60, commissioned by Etmekçizade Mehmed Paşa, stonepaste, underglaze painted, 30 x 30 cm. Istanbul, Rüstem Paşa Mosque

Figure 161 Circle of six views of the Ka'ba. Albumen print, 14 x 14 cm. Leiden University Library, Or. 26.368, G1



Figure 162 Rawda description and Jerusalem. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 23 Zilhicce 1207 / 1 August 1793, copyist: Mahmud Raci, disciple of Mustafa Kütahi, 15.8 x 9.5 cm. London, British Library, Or 6314, fol. 15b–16a



Figure 163 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 23 Zilhicce 1207 / 1 August 1793, copyist: Mahmud Raci, disciple of Mustafa Kütahi, 15.8 x 9.5 cm. London, British Library, Or 6314, fol. 16b–17a

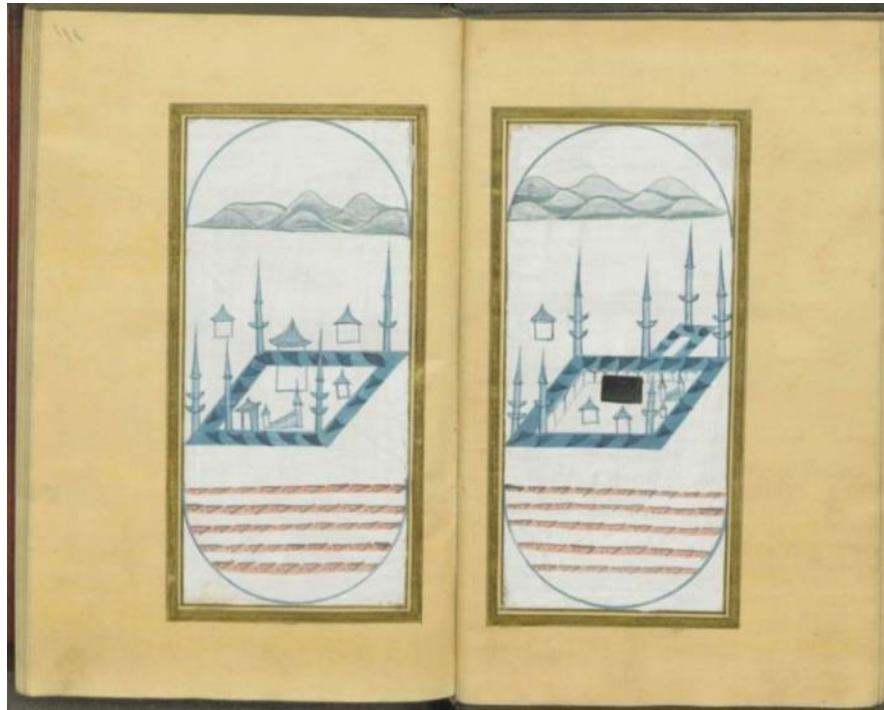
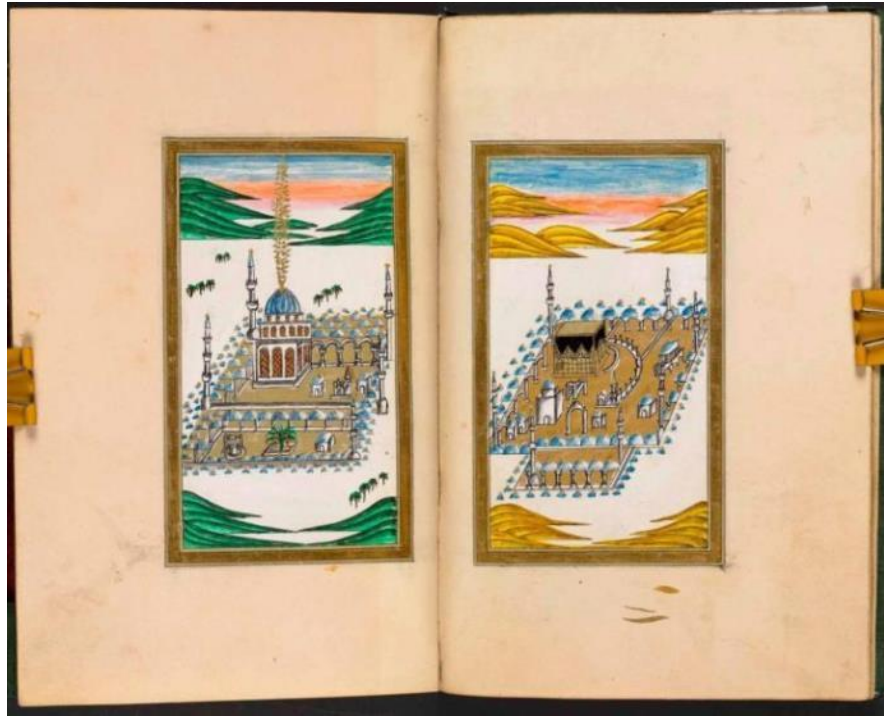


Figure 164 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 15 Şaban 1285 / 1 December 1868, copyist: Ali Şükri, disciple of Trabzoni Emirzade İbrahim Edhem Efendi, 17.2 x 11.1 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 19048, fol. 21b–22a

Figure 165 Mecca and Medina. *Şerh-i Delā'ilü'l-Ḥayrāt*, 23.8 x 14.5 cm. Istanbul, Beyazıt Library, Veliyyüddin 3569, fol. 110b–111a



Figure 166 Ownership records. *Dalā`il al-Khayrāt*, 19.7 x 15.2 cm. University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Arab. 32 (A 12042), fol. IIIb–1a

Figure 167 Marginal glosses. *Dalā`il al-Khayrāt*, 19.7 x 15.2 cm. University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, Arab. 32 (A 12042), fol. 59b–60a



Figure 168 Pilgrimage certificate of John Lewis Burckhardt.
 9 Dhu al-Hijja 1229 / 22 November 1814, 21.3 x 15.4 cm.
 London, Royal Geographical Society, LMS. B. 62

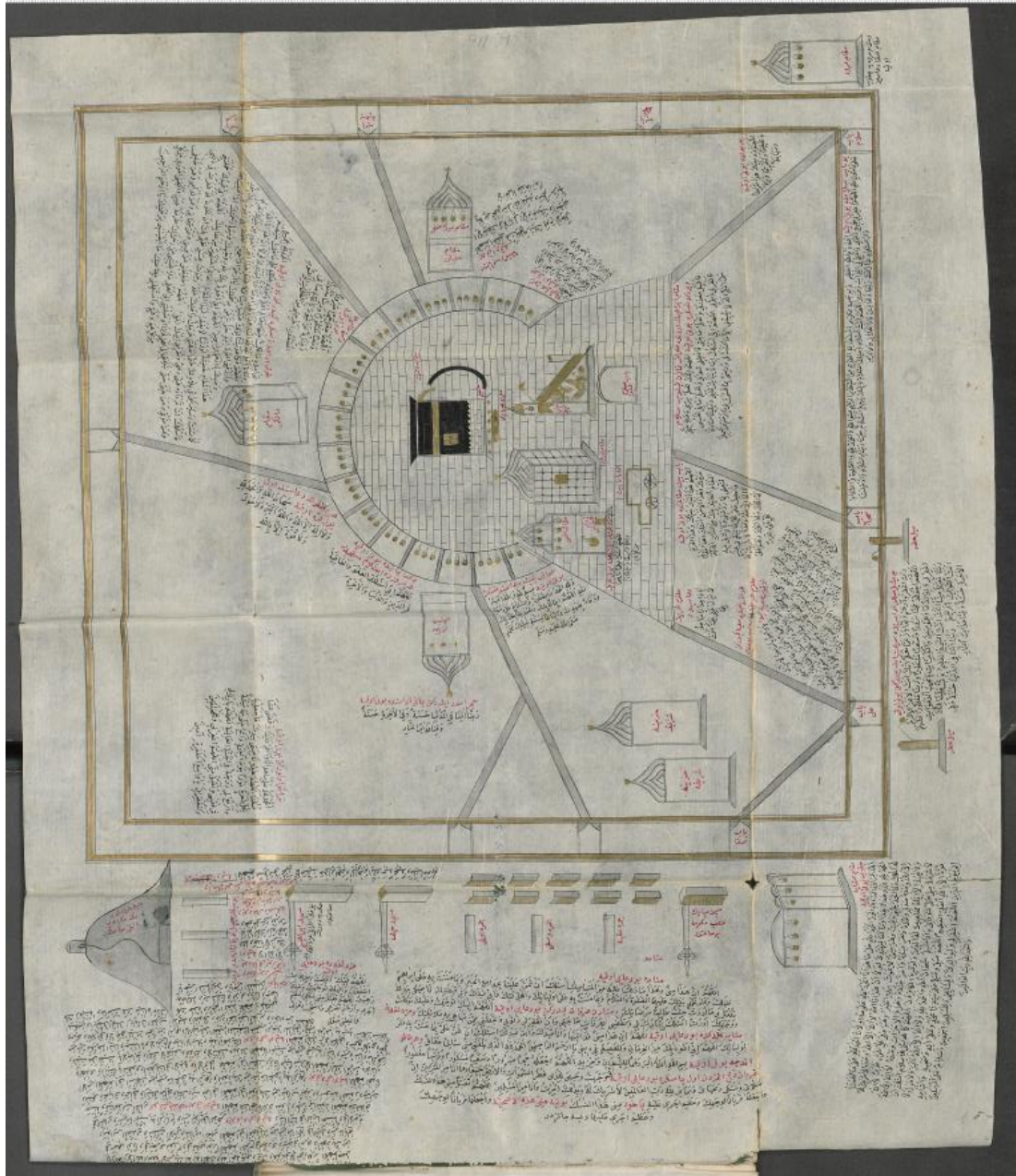


Figure 169 Mecca. *Nebzetü'l-Menāzil*, 40.5 x 48.2 cm.
Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H 116

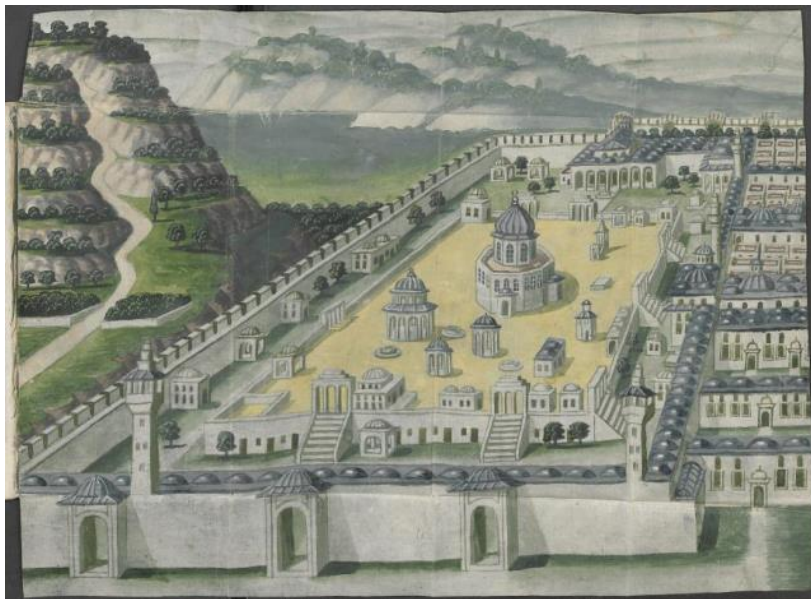


Figure 170 Medina. *Nebzetü 'l-Menāzil*, 34.4 x 32 cm.
Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H 116

Figure 171 Jerusalem. *Nebzetü 'l-Menāzil*, 31.1 x 42.8 cm.
Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H 116

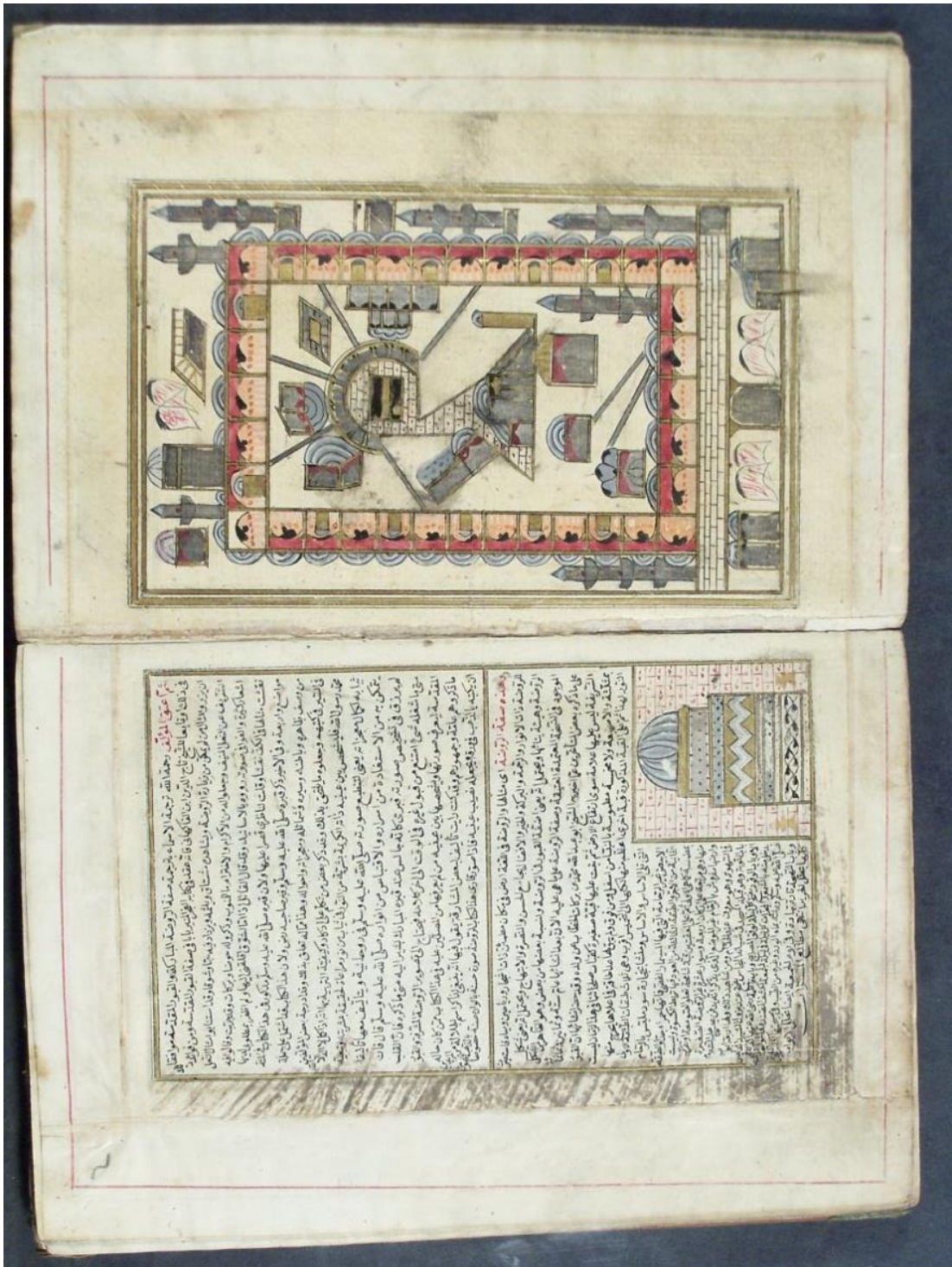


Figure 173 Masjid al-Haram and Burial Chamber. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1160/1747–48, copyist: Osman b. Ahmed Efendi. Bursa, İnebey Manuscript Library, Or. 367, fol. 5b–6a

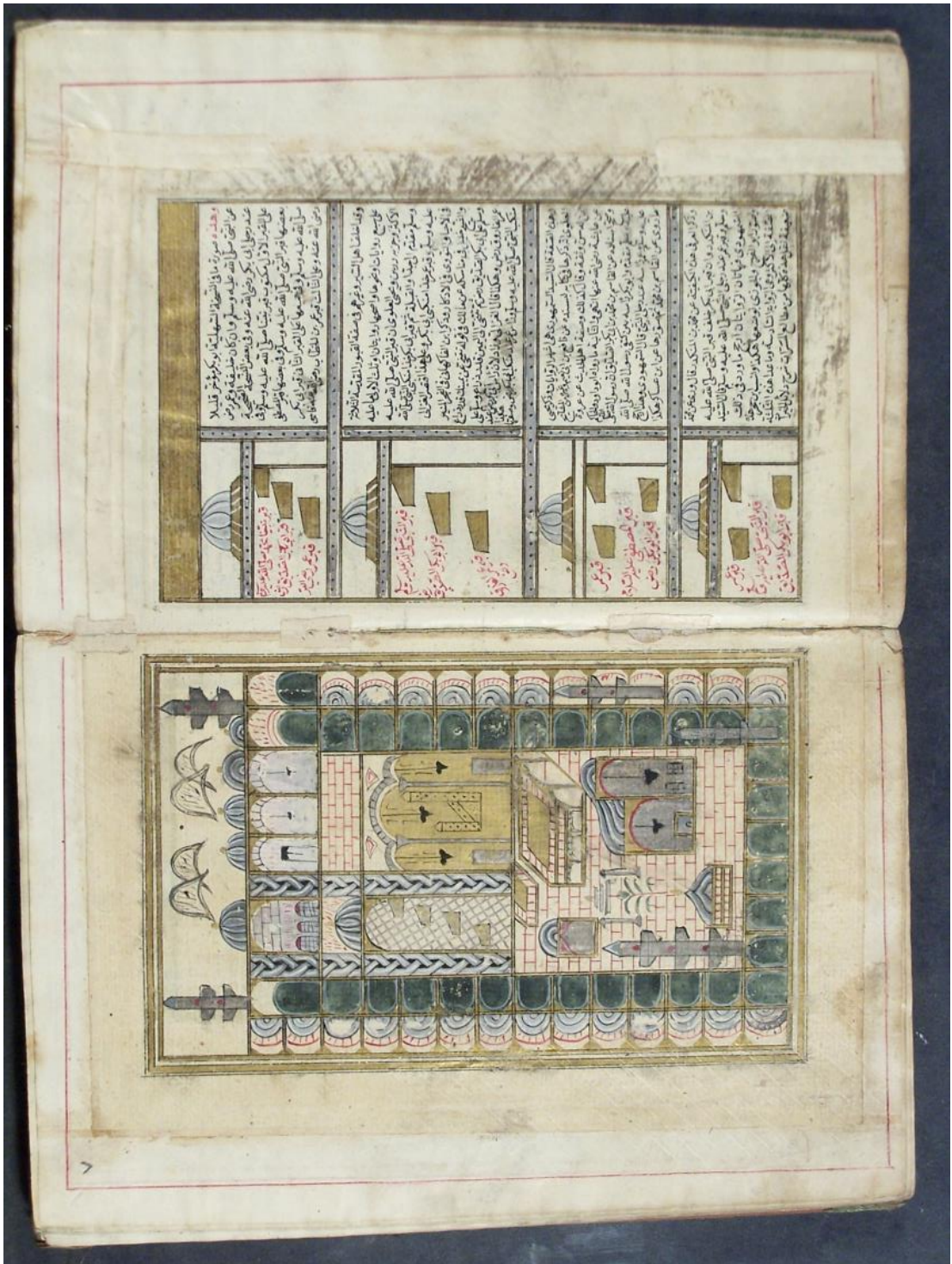


Figure 174 Tombs of the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs Abu Bakr and ‘Omar and Masjid al-Nabawi. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 1160/1747–48, copyist: Osman b. Ahmed Efendi. Bursa, İnebey Manuscript Library, Or. 367, fol. 6b–7a

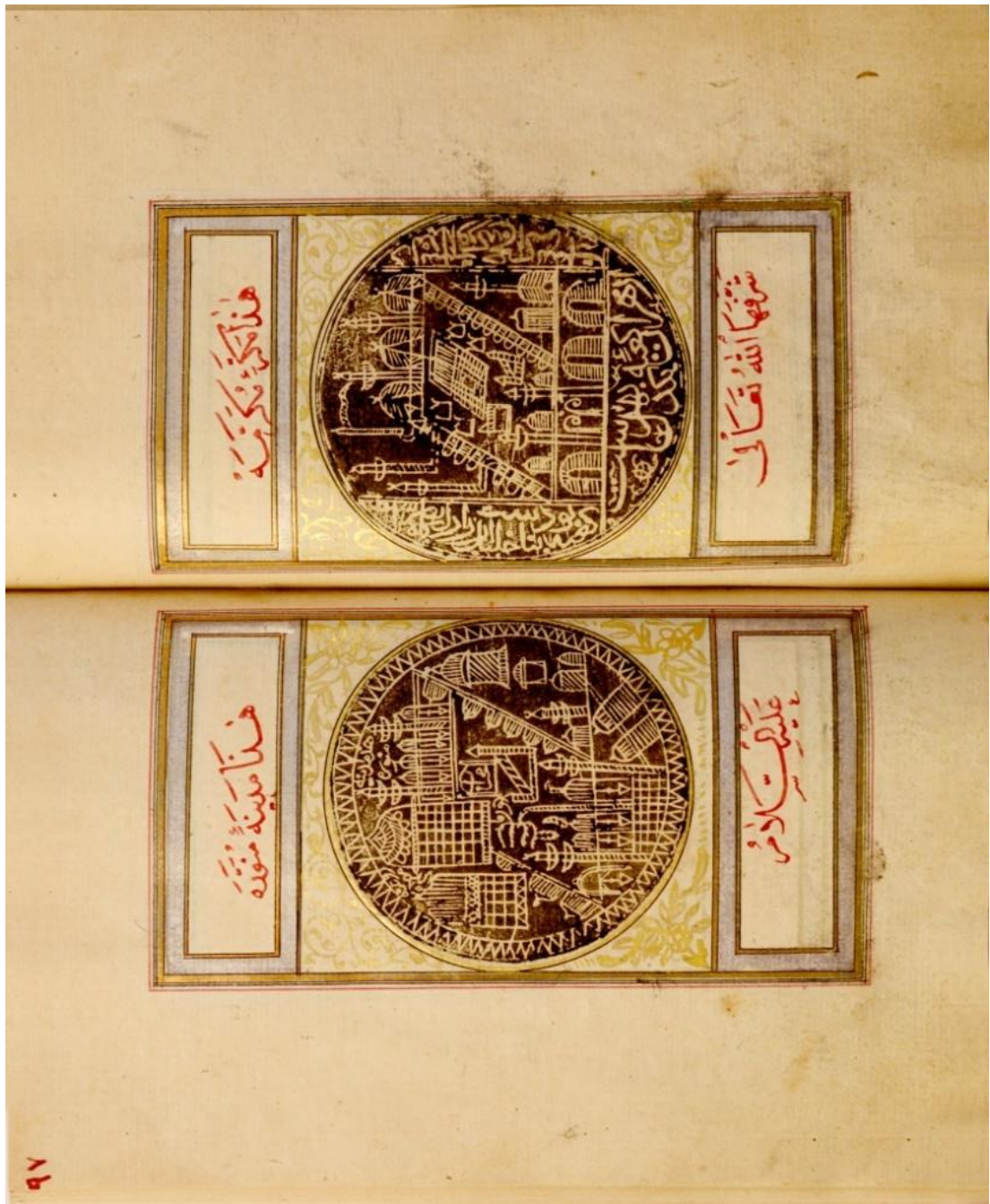


Figure 175 “Mekke-i Mükerrereme” and “Medīne-i Münevvere.” *En ‘ām-ı Şerīf*, before 1282/1865–66, 15.5 x 9.7 cm. Istanbul University Library, A 5573, fol. 96b–97a



Figure 176 “Kudüs-i Şerīf” and “mühr-i nübüvvet.” *En’ām-ı Şerīf*, before 1282/1865–66, 15.5 x 9.7 cm. Istanbul University Library, A 5573, fol. 97b–98a

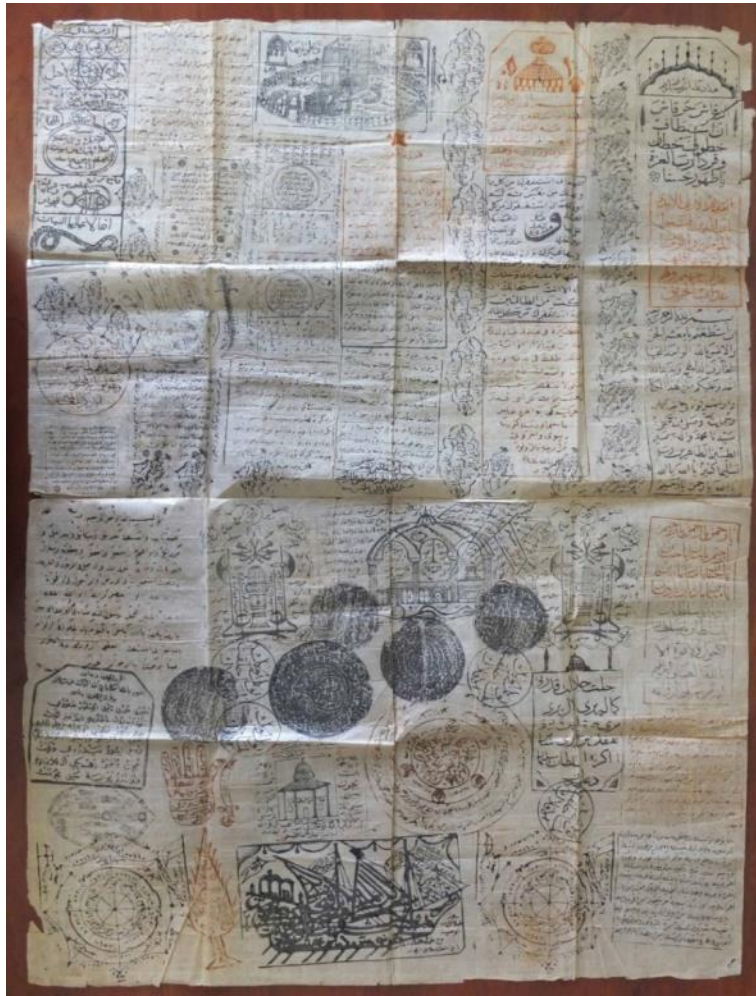


Figure 177 Talisman. Prints on paper, 86.2 x 60.5 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 16340

Figure 178 Detail of the Ka'ba impression. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 16340



Figure 179 Masjid al-Nabawi. *Futūh al-Haramayn*, 20 x 14.2 cm.
Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 1150, fol. 31b



Figure 180 Mecca. Metal stamp, d.: 5.2 cm. Istanbul, Haluk Perk Collection

Figure 181 Medina. Metal stamp, d.: 4.8 cm. Istanbul, Haluk Perk Collection



Figure 182 Printing plate. Engraved bronze, 26.5 x 16.3 cm. Istanbul, Haluk Perk Collection

Figure 183 Detail of Mecca and Medina. Istanbul, Haluk Perk Collection



Figure 184 Levha. Hand colored print on paper with a wooden mount, 39 x 22 cm. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 15317



Figure 185 Detail of Mecca and Medina. Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 15317



Figure 186 Talismanic shirt. Silk and ink, h.: 69 cm.
Topkapı Palace Museum, Padişah Elbiseleri 13/1401

Figure 187 Talismanic bowl. Before 1746, cast bronze, incised, inlaid with silver, d.: 18.7 cm,
h.: 5 cm. Florence, National Museum of Bargello, Collection of the Grand Ducal Armory, Bronzi 316

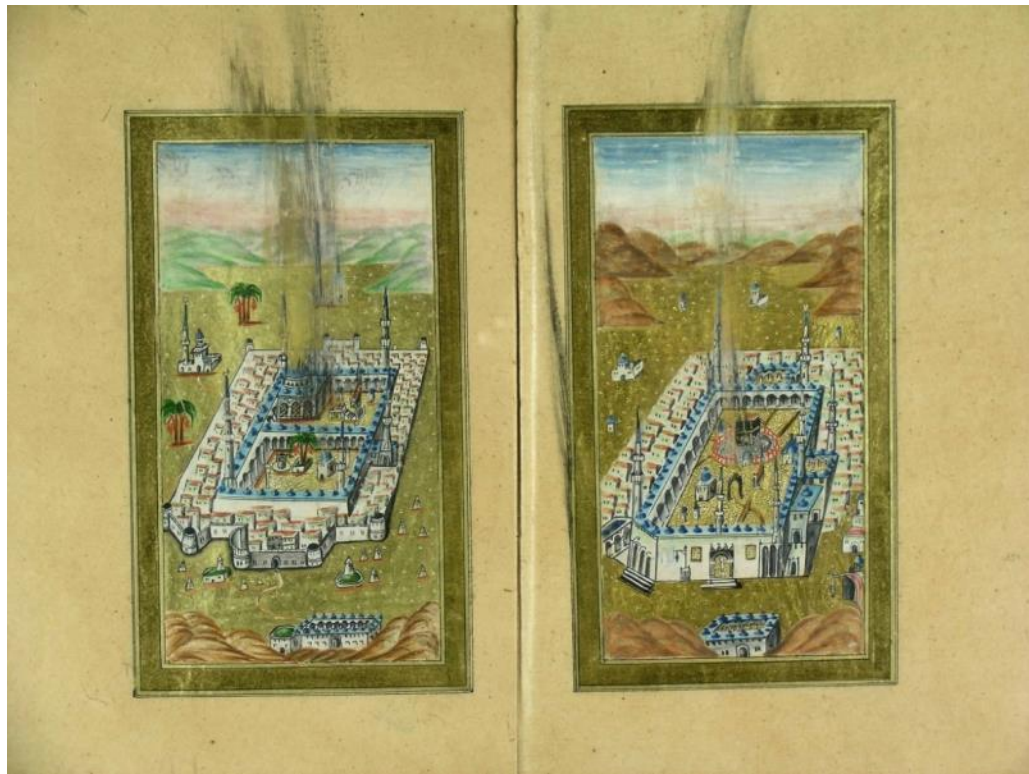


Figure 188 Mecca and Medina. *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, 20.8 x 12.6 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3986, fol. 12b–13a



Figure 189 Masjid al-Haram and 'Arafat. *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn*, 1012/1603 and a later reconstruction, 28.7 x 20 cm. Leiden University Library, Or. 11.079, 27b–28a



Figure 190 “‘Ayn-i şerîf” and “dâ’ire-i şerîf.” *En ‘âm-ı Şerîf*, 15.5 x 10.8 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Yazma Bağışlar 7627, fol. 5b–6a

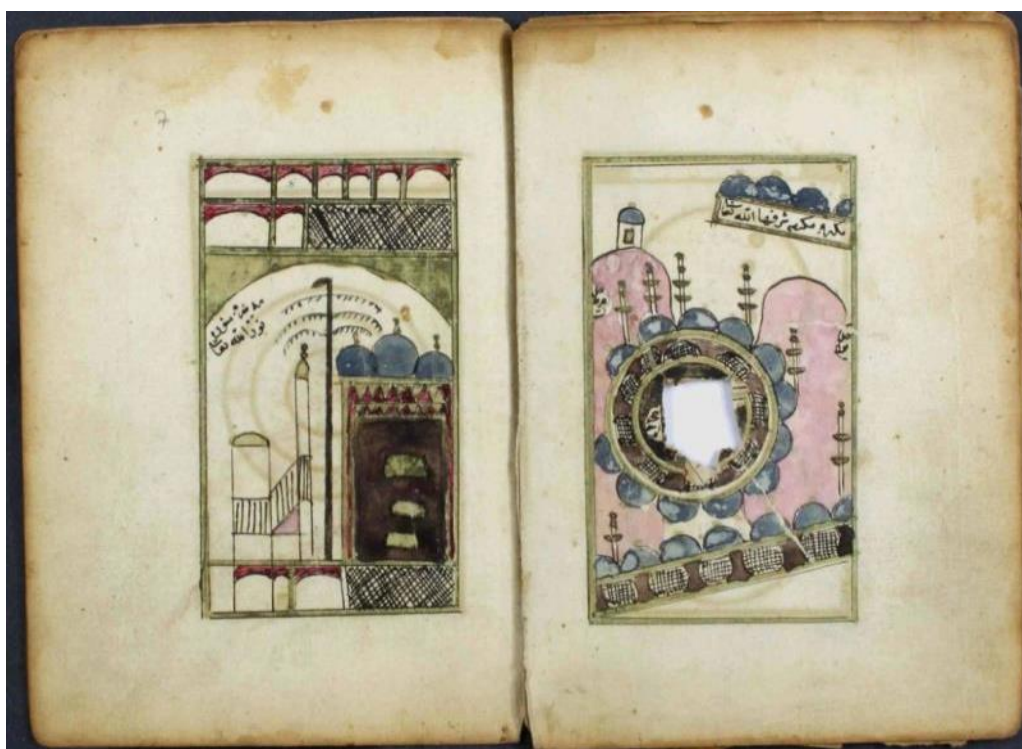


Figure 191 “Mekke-i Mükerrreme” and “Medîne-i Münevvere.” *En ‘âm-ı Şerîf*, 15.5 x 10.8 cm. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Yazma Bağışlar 7627, fol. 6b–7a



Figure 192 Mevlid ceremony at the Sünbülü Tekke in Fındızkade, Istanbul. 1334/1915, painter: Nurullah Efendi, the last shaykh of Merkez Efendi Tekkesi

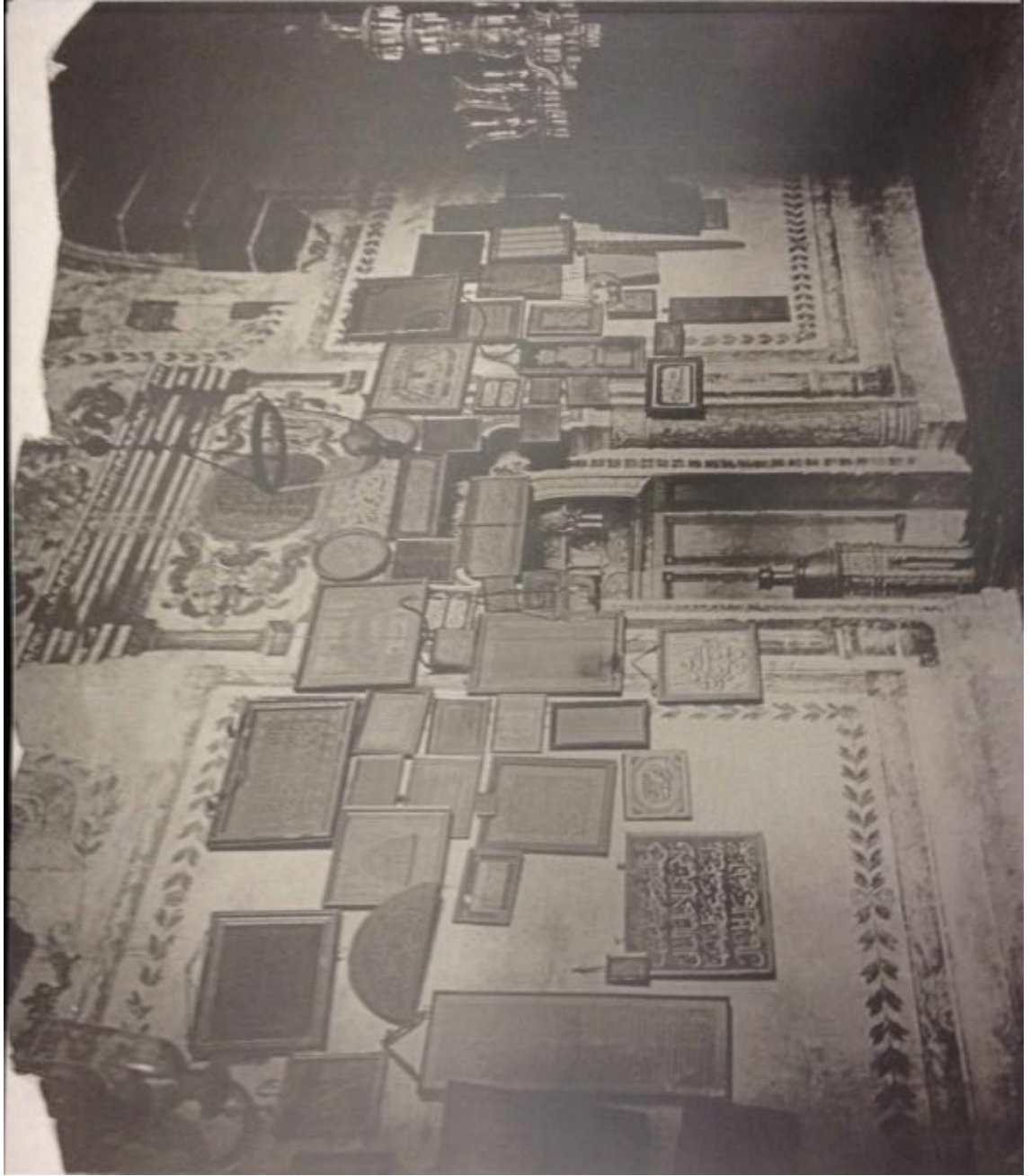


Figure 193 Hangings at the mihrab of the Masjid Hamza. 1916–18. Istanbul, Research Center for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, Fahrettin Paşa 21114



Figure 194 "Interior of the 'Shah Zindreh'. Tomb of Mohammed's Relative." 1910–11, photographer: Morgan Philip Price, 26.6 x 36 cm, 12.1 x 17 cm. London, Royal Geographical Society, F 37/49



Figure 195 Levha. Reverse glass painting, 50 x 65 cm.
Auctioned at Nişantaşı Müzayede



Figure 196 Heritage VIII. Erol Akyavaş, 1988, acrylic on paper, 168 x 58 cm

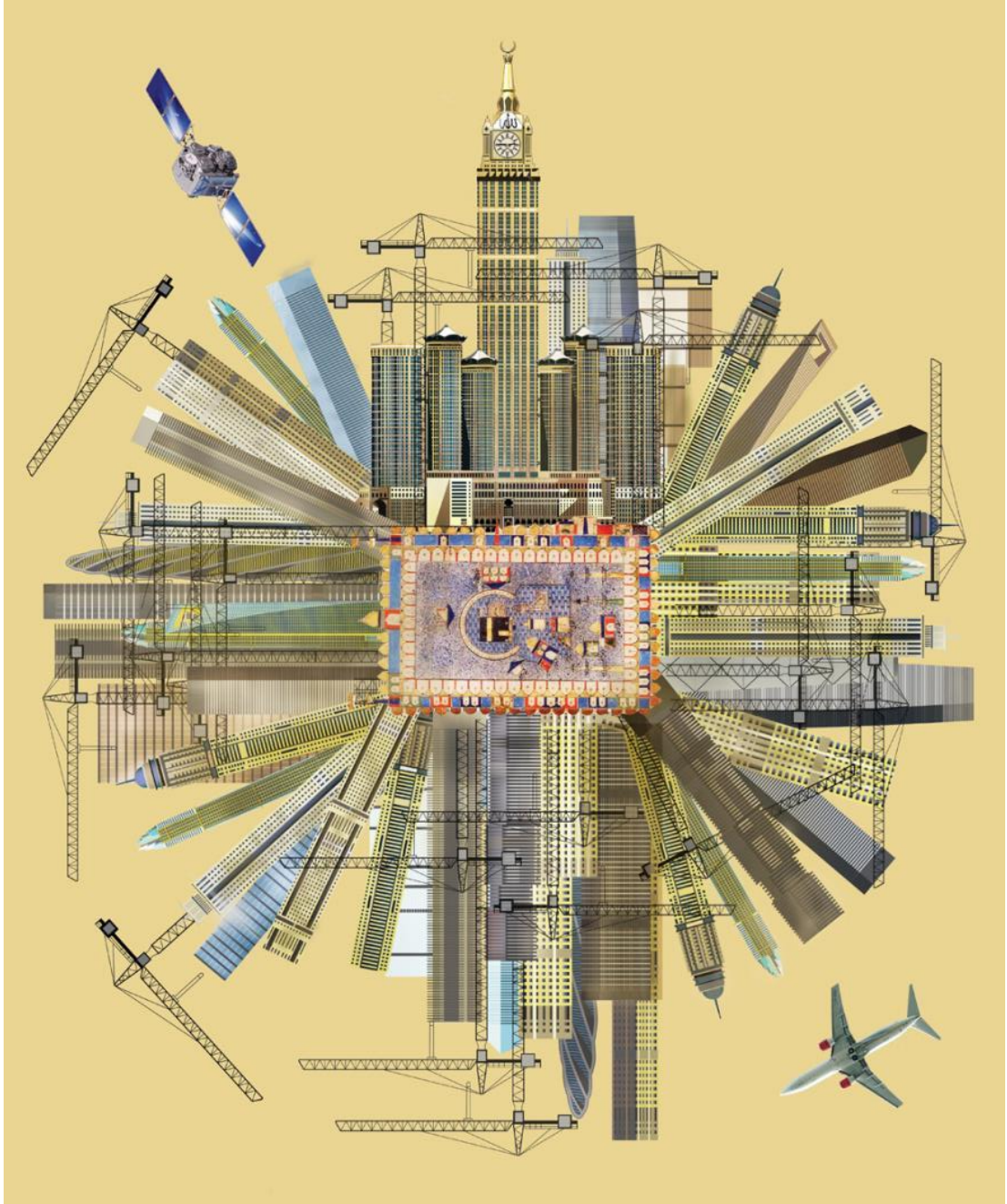


Figure 197 “Makkahatten.” X-Architects, 2014, collage